EUROPEAN
CIVILIZATION

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ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

BY

VARIOUS CONTRIBUTORS

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CONTENTS

MAPS

Drawn by PHYLLIS GOMME

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MEDIEVAL EUROPE

By DAVID C. DOUGLAS *Lecturer in Medieval History to the University of Glasgow*

PREFATORY NOTE

THE purpose of this essay is strictly limited. It makes no claim to comprise, even summarily, the history of Europe in the Middle Ages. It seeks simply to isolate the main factors in the development of Europe between the crisis of the fifth century and the perfection of the medieval political system. Medieval studies have made great progress during the last fifty years, but it can hardly be contended that popular notions of the Middle Ages have shown a corresponding change. It may in consequence perhaps be hoped that a useful end will be served by a secondary treatment, restricted in its scope, and positive rather than annalistic in its arrangement. In any case, I have gratefully to acknowledge the encouragement and help given to me in the pursuance of this object by my friends Professor Andrew Browning and the Rev. W. E. Brown.

<div align="right">D. C. D.</div>

CONTENTS

THE CONTRAST AND THE TRADITION
I

THE subject of this essay is the development of medieval civilization in Europe. Its object is to explain the causes of that unique growth. Such a plan delimits the scope of our inquiry and it will dictate alike the relevance of individual topics and the arrangement of the general matter. But it does not, of itself, set up any exact chronological limits to our study. For example, it would be impossible to select a particular date as marking the beginning of medieval history. Thus, though the first five centuries of our era have been treated elsewhere in this book[1] a discussion of medieval origins cannot start arbitrarily with the opening of the sixth. The crisis of the fifth century was to have profound effects upon the future, and the genesis of medieval development may be discovered in the special conditions which arose in Europe from the breakdown of the Roman government in the West, the influx of barbarian tribes into the Empire and the establishment of barbarian kingdoms on the imperial soil. It is in short the clash and interpenetration of two social orders which we must first watch as constituting the starting point of a new period of growth.

II

There can be no doubt that at the beginning of this period Europe presented an immense contrast. Even after the entry of the barbarians a sharp division may be drawn in Europe between the Roman Empire and those lands which lay outside it, and the student of the Middle Ages should bear constantly in mind the limits of what had once been the Empire of Rome. At the beginning of the sixth century, in spite of disasters and recent change, men were still familiar with a vast imperial unit containing the whole Mediterranean basin, including modern

[1] See S. N. Miller (*supra*, vol. II) where the conditions in the late Empire will be found fully discussed. Here a mere selection of some of those features which were to influence the future has been made.

France, modern Spain, and much of modern Britain, and bounded roughly by the Rhine, the Danube, the Euphrates, the Sahara, the Atlantic, and the isthmus of Forth and Clyde. This unit will be modified later by reason of invasions from outside Europe, but the countries which it contained will be those which are most significant to the growth of medieval Europe. Indeed the boundaries of modern Europe will be to a large extent determined by the degree to which the countries that had once composed the Roman Empire succeed in holding together in some sort of common consciousness.

But the division between the Roman Empire and the lands outside it in this period was in no sense merely a geographical one. It is better expressed in the simple antithesis between civilization and barbarism. The Empire had contained all that there was of European civilization, all city life, almost all agriculture, all the arts, the letters, and the culture of the time. And within certain limits that culture was itself uniform. The conventional pottery patterns found, for example, in Africa are not unlike those found in Britain. In the matter of language also there was a unity. Greek, it is true, still pervaded the East, but throughout the Empire, Latin was the official language and almost everywhere the language of common speech. Latin literature is represented at the end of the Empire by such names as those of the African Augustine, of the Spaniard Orosius, of the Gaul Sidonius. There seems also reason to suppose that, even in the outlying provinces like Britain, Latin was used commonly by humble people as the means of expression in the ordinary affairs of life. In the Empire of Rome during the fifth century we are presented with the remarkable spectacle of an enormous complex of territory alone in Europe united in the possession of a common culture and a high material civilization. Wealth, comfort, good roads, and the amenities of life existed in the Empire to a remarkable degree, whilst outside the Empire there were none of these things. That is the really important sense in which the Roman Empire of the fifth century may be said to be a unity. All the lands comprised in the vast imperial structure possessed a common

language, a common culture, and a common civilization which they alone in Europe enjoyed. These things were in the fifth century of no ephemeral significance. They go far, as we shall see, to explain the future development of those countries which had once pertained to the Empire of Rome. They influenced the whole course of European growth, and simple as they are, the historian can hardly accord too much importance to them. The cultural unity of the Roman Empire is a fact upon which the historian of the Middle Ages must concentrate his attention.

But at the beginning of the sixth century men bore in their minds the memory of an Empire which had been a political unit also, and one which had possessed a remarkable system of government. In spite of its vast size a uniform administration had operated through that enormous state, and men had submitted to the same government on the edge of the Sahara, by the banks of the Tagus, and in the shadow of the Sussex downs. This had not failed to impress the imaginations of men, and it was not forgotten, for Caesar had become a part of the common consciousness of civilized Europe and the significance of Caesar remained. The reason for this permanence, moreover, lay just in the fact that it was in the person of Caesar that the unity of the Empire was held to be best expressed. The strength of the Roman administration which held together so many diverse peoples lay probably in the rigid discipline which, without a preponderance of military force, it was able to enforce and apply. That discipline emanated from the person of Caesar, for the Emperor represented the State, and against the State the individual in the Empire was considered to have no rights. But the State itself was held nevertheless to exist for the welfare of all within it. It was *respublica*; and herein lay the importance of the imperial office for future generations. In the latter days of the Empire the Emperor may be regarded as absolute. He is an autocrat, but is nevertheless not a personal despot, for he is regarded as absolute only in that he represents the unlimited rights of the State over the individuals within it. The Emperor therefore is considered as having a definite duty to perform, and that duty is good government. That was why

the imperial rule was by the provincials in the Empire not only tolerated but supported. A fifth-century provincial can observe: 'The Emperor represents the idea of protection, of safety; he is the guarantee of property and his concern is the common good.' This ideal of monarchy we shall see copied and developed during the Middle Ages. Its essence is the association of the welfare of the community with the idea of autocracy.

The Roman Empire might be rightly regarded therefore as a unity in the contrast which it presented to the rest of Europe. It had comprised many peoples differing widely both as regards race and as regards previous development, but possessed of a common and uniform civilization. This civilization was made up not only of the material amenities of life, but of a common language and a common political government, embodied in an autocracy which was held to represent the Empire and to be responsible for its good rule. But at the beginning of the sixth century the Roman Empire represented the ideal not only of cultural and political unity but also that of a common citizenship. The social self-consciousness of the Empire had been perhaps its most remarkable feature. Over this great state there had prevailed the notion of a citizenship which held together the countries which had composed the Empire and gave to them a principle of unity after the political organization of the Empire had passed away in the West. It was a citizenship which was indifferent to race and conscious only of sharing a unique civilization. This notion was one of the most important legacies of the Empire to the future history of Europe. Even at the close of the Empire there can be no doubt that this sentiment was widespread and profound. By the provincial writers of the time, pagan and Christian alike, we find the same idea expressed. 'Of all the peoples of the civilized world', says St. Augustine, 'all have been made Romans and all rejoice in the name.' A pagan Italian remarks: 'Rome has made of the earth with its diverse peoples a single country.' A Christian Spaniard, Orosius, speaks in almost the same terms. 'Rome', he says, 'has stripped exile of its terrors, for wherever I go I come as a Roman among Romans.' But perhaps it was a Gaul who expressed the

notion best of all when he remarked that Rome was the place where everybody was at home 'except the slave and the barbarian'. Such sentiments lie at the very root of the solidarity of the Empire. They survived its downfall, and we shall meet them again and again in the future development of Europe. The Empire had held together civilized Europe not only by means of a common culture and a common government but also by means of a common citizenship.

The Roman Empire had become a unity in contrast to the rest of Europe in another way also. It had become possessed of a common and vital religion, and this was the aspect of its unity which had the greatest influence on the future. At the beginning of the sixth century men visualized the Roman Empire as a society which was predominantly Christian and which was the only part of the world which could boast of being so. The study of the growth and organization of the Church in the Empire has been dealt with elsewhere in this book[1], but we must note the general political results of that growth in so far as they were to influence the future. By the time when our period begins it may generally be said that Christianity had triumphed over paganism in the Empire and that the Church had succeeded in maintaining a fighting unity in its own ranks.[2]

The point, however, that needs here to be emphasized is the relation of this religious revolution to the organization of the Empire itself and the effect which it was later to exercise upon European development. At one time there had undoubtedly been a danger that the triumph of the new religion might be dangerous to the existence of the Roman State, for there were elements in the teaching of many of the apologists of Christianity which were definitely anti-social. The use by these men

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[1] Vol. II.

[2] That, for our present purpose, we may regard as the future significance of the struggle to preserve and define orthodoxy during the last centuries of the Empire. Of the history and importance of the various heretical movements such as Pelagianism, Nestorianism, and Arianism see S. N. Miller (*supra*, vol. II). Arianism, as we shall see, was to have a future career before it, for after having been overcome in the Empire it re-entered into it, since it was the form of Christianity which had been received by most of the barbarian kings.

of material taken from earlier Christian writings pushed to logical conclusions would have made social life impossible. That view which finds itself expressed in much of the writings of Tertullian and even in certain sections of the *Civitas Dei* of St. Augustine would have proved fatal to the very existence of European civilization if it had been allowed to prevail. As it was, it gave rise to the charge of the adversaries of Christianity in the Empire that the new religion was responsible for the disasters of the fifth century. 'Rome has fallen in these Christian times', they said, and the theory popularized by Gibbon in the eighteenth century still has its adherents to-day.

These anti-social elements in the writings of certain of the early Christian thinkers of the fourth and fifth centuries can hardly be regarded as representing the predominant Christian policy during this period. The general Christian teaching of the age is that the civil power in the Empire exists for the sake of providing the needful discipline for man. It deserves therefore respect and obedience. Even a bad ruler, say some of these men, is permitted to rule by God and should therefore be respected. St. Ambrose could preach submission to secular authority, and St. Augustine could remark that even a Nero ought to be obeyed. It would be the greatest mistake to think of fifth-century Christianity in the Empire being a kind of organized sedition. It sought in the main to inculcate obedience to the civil power.

But the triumph of Christianity did produce a revolution in the ideas of temporal government. As we have seen, the Roman Empire in common with all ancient societies recognized no limits to the power of the State over the individual. The citizen was held to exist for the State and to have no rights against it, and patriotism thus embraced his religious as well as his political life. With Christianity this was flatly denied. There were, it was now said, certain things that need not be rendered to Caesar. This was to be the charter of ecclesiastical liberty in later days, but even in the Empire it was important that there was for the first time sharply marked off a region of action which concerned only the individual, his conscience, his Church, and his

God. It created that distinction between the spiritual and the temporal which was to pervade medieval politics.

This led to conflicts even in the later Empire between the two powers. On the one hand, the emperors sought, not always without success, to exercise pressure on the arrangements within the Church, and on the other, an ecclesiastic like St. Ambrose could publicly reprove an emperor for his sins. A definite theory of relationship between the two powers which was to be quoted throughout the Middle Ages was actually put forward before the Roman Empire had wholly passed away. This is associated with the name of Gelasius I, who was Bishop of Rome from 492 to 496, and it suggested that the two powers were mutually independent of each other, that in temporal matters the Church was subordinate to the State but that in spiritual matters the Church was master. The practical application of this theory was always fraught with extreme difficulty, but its mere enunciation in the fifth century shows the position that was already occupied by the Church in relation to the Empire.

It is in truth the close connexion of Church and Empire in the fifth century that the historian of the Middle Ages has the greatest need to notice, for that was the vital fact in their mutual relationship and it was that fact also which dominated the future. The two societies came to comprise the same set of people. In Bryce's words, 'To be a Roman was to be a Christian'. Christianity as well as civilization came to be almost co-terminous with the Roman Empire. Moreover, there was also a remarkable parallelism as regards structure. The city, which was the basis of the Roman administration, was also the fundamental unit in the ecclesiastical organization, and the provinces and dioceses of the Church had tended to conform to the Roman administrative divisions. From another point of view also the same correspondence is to be observed. One of the most prominent features of the Roman government was, as we have seen, the prevalence throughout the Empire of one law. This had also, consciously or unconsciously, been copied by the Church. Before the beginning of our period there is already in existence

the beginning of canon law, which was to play such an important part in the Middle Ages.

The unity, the coalescence of the two societies, was certainly the feature of the Roman Empire which most impressed the men of Europe at the beginning of the medieval period. It was an idea which persisted throughout the Middle Ages. At the beginning of the sixth century this unity has been marked in several ways. The intellectual energies of the Empire are being gradually absorbed in the Church. Pagan literature is gradually dying. The names get less and less important, the works more imitative and sterile. But at the same time there is a great output of literature. The vast accumulated wisdom of the Fathers written in the languages of antiquity showed the direction which men's intellectual activities were taking. This union and mutual absorbtion between the Empire and the Church had moreover a tremendous importance for the future. It meant that, when the political organization of the Roman Empire in the West broke down, civilization in Europe was not overwhelmed; that there still survived another society embodying the civilization of the past, that the imperial idea was become fused in the idea of Christendom.

III

Civilization in Europe, Christendom, and the Roman Empire may therefore at the beginning of the sixth century be regarded almost as coincident. Outside them there was barbarism. And the historical significance of barbarism and its influence can only be understood from the point of view of sixth-century politics in relation to the contrasted unity of the Empire. The vast numbers of scattered peoples who lived outside the Empire during this period would be very hard to classify. There were the Teutons proper, numerous tribes scattered eastward from the Rhine and stretching along the shores of the North Sea and into the middle of modern Germany. To the north and east of these were the Goths who inhabited the shores of the Baltic and at length penetrated south through what is now Poland as far as the Danube. Beyond these, eastward, were the

numerous Slav peoples, and beyond them again the great nomad hordes—from whom later came the Huns—who moved about central Asia with their flocks and herds.

It is very doubtful whether the ethnical distinctions at present applied to these numerous peoples can be regarded as final. But it may at least be confidently observed how all these peoples possessed certain characteristics in common contrast to the political structure in the Roman world. Their social organization was at once tribal and local. The family was still regarded as the fundamental social unit. The community was but a union of families in a social whole. Political organization was as yet little more than the occasional adaptation of tribal custom to meet the exigencies of war, whereby, for example, the military leader tended to become king and his immediate followers to constitute a nobility of arms. Anything like the Roman conception of the State was unknown.

This society moreover was not only tribal and local in its organization: it was also primarily pastoral in its pursuits. Agriculture there was in Germany in the fifth century, but it was still in a primitive state. The main source of the life of all these peoples was to be found in their flocks and herds. And this implied much. For pastoral pursuits prohibit the existence of those settled conditions which are essential to civilized life. There are constant migrations from summer to winter pasturage. Lack of settled conditions in its turn tends to prohibit the development of any highly organized political institutions or the growth of either trade or art in any specialized form. Whilst pastoral conditions prevail there can be no town life. 'There are no cities,' had remarked Tacitus, 'in all Germany.' This in the ancient world meant much, for cities (as the name implies) were the very essence of ancient civilization. To a pastoral people all settled life is impossible. In its place there are wanderings and constant petty wars, and the tribal bond normally remains the sole political tie.

There could, therefore, hardly be imagined a greater contrast than between the social orders of the Empire and of the rest of Europe at this period. Yet by the beginning of the

sixth century the two systems had reacted on each other. The fifth century had been marked by the infiltration of barbarians into the Empire, later by armed invasion, and finally by the establishment of barbarian kingdoms on the imperial territory. This movement, however, may easily be misunderstood, and we have to be careful to note what exactly had been the immediate effects of the incursion of barbarism into civilization, how it was regarded by the men of the time, and what were likely to be its effects upon the future.

It would be by no means easy to explain why the Roman Empire was unable to withstand the barbarian invasions in the fifth century.[1] 'It is probable that the barbarian invasions of the fifth century were not more formidable than those of the third which were triumphantly repelled or than those of the fourth which were rolled back by the genius of Julian the Apostate.' To assign the causes for the catastrophe is not within the scope of this essay.[1] Many writers as we have seen blamed the Church for the disasters of the fifth century, but there are other quarters from which an explanation may be sought. They have been attributed to the evils resulting from a too rigid bureaucracy which was incapable of casting out abuses. The cause has also been found in economic conditions whereby during the latter centuries in the Empire wealth was concentrated into fewer and fewer hands. This resulted in the decline of the middle class in the Empire, a decline which was emphasized by the operation of a disastrous taxational system. A military explanation has also been put forward, and its exponents have pointed to the decline and indiscipline of the Roman forces during this period and to the progressive employment of barbarian mercenaries. Finally it has been suggested that the cause of the disasters was moral and social. There is little to support this. 'The Roman world at its close suffered from lack of energy rather than lack of morals.' On the other hand, the eugenists have suggested the possibility of a race failure. To discuss the relative importance or even the combined adequacy of these causes is not here our purpose.[1] Suffice it to say that in the fifth century civilization

[1] *Ante*, S. N. Miller, pp. vol. II.

had seemed unable to ward off as heretofore the attacks of barbarism.

The form which that attack had taken, its character, and the measure of its success are really to be explained by the contrast between the two societies which we have watched. That antithesis with its implications precludes many of the views which were current about half a century ago concerning the events of this period. The local and pastoral condition of barbarian society meant that there could never be anything in the nature of a racial war between Roman and Teuton. The Teutonic tribesmen frequently came to serve as mercenaries in the Roman army. Frequently whole tribes asked of themselves peaceably to settle under the Roman rule. Throughout, the barbarians are always as ready to fight for Rome against other barbarians as against the Empire. Even the Huns, the most terrible of the barbarian hosts, frequently served in the armies of the emperors of the west. Aetius, a Roman general of the first third of the fifth century, had used them, for example, against the Visigoths. Later the triumphant march of Attila was stayed by Gothic armies fighting under Roman leadership. The modern notion therefore of a race-conflict between Roman and Teuton was quite alien to the conditions of the fifth century. The average barbarian was impelled to the invasion by a lust for plunder, whilst the aims of the more enlightened of the barbarians were well expressed by a speech which Orosius the Spanish historian puts into the mouth of Ataulf, victorious king of the Goths. 'I was', says Ataulf, 'at first eager to extinguish the name of the Romans and to submit the whole Empire to the rule of the Goths . . . so that Ataulf should be what Caesar Augustus had once been. But since experience has taught me that neither the Goths in their unbridled barbarism can obey laws nor a state subsist without laws, and since I was incapable of transforming the Empire, I preferred the glory of restoring by Gothic strength the name of Rome.' That speech represents the attitude of the barbarians to the Empire. They had no hatred for the Empire as such. The barbarian hosts which entered the Empire were not (with

the exception of the Huns) in any sense indiscriminate destroyers.

And if it is a mistake to think of a race-war as in existence in the fifth century so also is it wholly erroneous to think of the barbarians as acting in unison. The invasions throughout are made by isolated tribes or groups of tribes. The social structure of the barbarian world produced therein constant warfare and shifting populations. Frequently it is the conquered tribe that in its flight breaks over the boundaries of the Empire. There was never a Teutonic invasion of the Empire. There were many invasions by isolated barbarian tribes.

The explanation, the common characteristics of the barbarian invasions are in short to be found in the general nature of barbarian society. The most common feature of a nomad or a pastoral people is the migratory character of its inhabitants. Further, such a people have inevitably an advantage over the dwellers in settled civilization unless the latter have taken steps to perfect an elaborate military organization adequate to protect them, and it was just this aspect of the Roman government that was declining in the fourth and fifth centuries. The nomad barbarian is (unlike the civilized man) a professional warrior; of necessity he neglects labour, and (as Tacitus expressly says of the Germans) he despises all wealth that is not won by the sword. This, then, had been the first and most obvious characteristic of the invasions of the fifth century. They were inspired by the normal desire of the barbarian for the fruits of civilization without the labour of producing them.

The circumstances of the time were well calculated to give play to this desire. In the fourth and fifth centuries the constant migration of populations within Germany frequently left whole tribes deprived of their lands. The invaders of the Empire were often themselves fugitives in search of land only anxious to settle down peaceably where they could find a home. There was in this respect indeed a peaceable aspect to the invasions. The declining strength of the armies of the Empire made the imperial government often ready to enrol such barbarians as soldiers of the Empire and in return to give them lands. These men

were called *foederati*, men under treaty, and this form of 'invasion' was common until the first quarter of the fifth century. It was as the soldiers of Rome that the barbarians entered the Empire.

There is one specially important phase of this movement which became prominent from the beginning of the fifth century. The Germans were threatened themselves with a terrible menace from the East. The vast nomad hordes of central Asia (for reasons never adequately explained) were at this time on the move and were constantly pressing across Europe upon the Teutonic tribes. These invaders themselves came once right through into the Empire in the middle of the century with the terrible armies of Attila the Hun, armies composed of men who were not Teutons at all but Asiatics from the plains of Tartary, Mongolia, and southern Siberia. In the main, however, this pressure from the East was important from its effects on the Teutonic peoples. The constant ravaging of German territory by Eastern enemies led whole tribes to seek land elsewhere. They turned naturally towards the Empire. The beginning of the series of incursions which marks the close of the Empire came about in this very manner. Late in the fourth century the Goths on the northern banks of the Danube were heavily defeated by the Huns. Certain Gothic tribes forthwith demanded lands in the Empire and became *foederati*, receiving in return territory in the north of the Balkan Peninsula.

The barbarian invasions of the fifth century thus presented certain common characteristics. They were caused primarily by the character of the social life of the barbarian tribes themselves and by the weakness of the military defences of the Empire at this period. The barbarians first appeared as mercenary troops of the Empire, then as *foederati*. Afterwards, the constant intertribal war in Germany brought them into the Empire as armed invaders, and this movement was accelerated by Asiatic pressure bearing down upon Germany from the East. Never was there anything like a race-war, never anything in the nature of a concerted attack upon the Empire. Rather it was a gradual process first of infiltration and then of armed invasion.

In the earlier half of the fifth century there had been five definite waves of such invasion. In the first place, there was that of the West Goths—the Visigoths. These were led by their great king Alaric. They started from the northern banks of the Danube and came into Italy in 402, and in 410 Alaric sacked Rome itself. They afterwards passed on westwards and finally settled in Spain and southern France. This settlement was completed by about 460. Almost at the same time as the Visigothic invasion came a horde composed of Vandals, Burgundians, and Suevi. Between 405 and 420 these were in Italy, and their invasion spread to France and Spain. The Burgundians formed a kingdom of their own on the banks of the Rhone. The Vandals, however, proceeded into Spain, and after having fought long with the Visigoths they moved into Africa, where their king Genseric formed a kingdom after prolonged fighting, in the course of which he crossed over into Italy and pillaged Rome in 455. By 460 the Vandal kingdom may be said to have been established in the north African province. In the middle of the fifth century a far more terrible incursion took place. This was the Asiatic invasion of the Huns under Attila. These were pure marauders, a great host held together by the personality of their leader alone. In 441 they were pillaging the Balkan provinces. They then moved right across central Europe and in 450 entered Gaul by the north-east. Here they were heavily defeated by a Gothic army fighting under Roman generalship at the Battle of the Mauriac Plain. Much weakened, they turned southwards and entered Italy. But they left no permanent mark of their invasion behind them, and they dispersed after the death of Attila himself in 452. Meanwhile two other barbarian settlements had taken place, of which we shall hear much hereafter. Before the fifth century was ended, the Franks had already settled along the banks of the Rhine and in north-eastern Gaul, and the Saxons were settling in England.
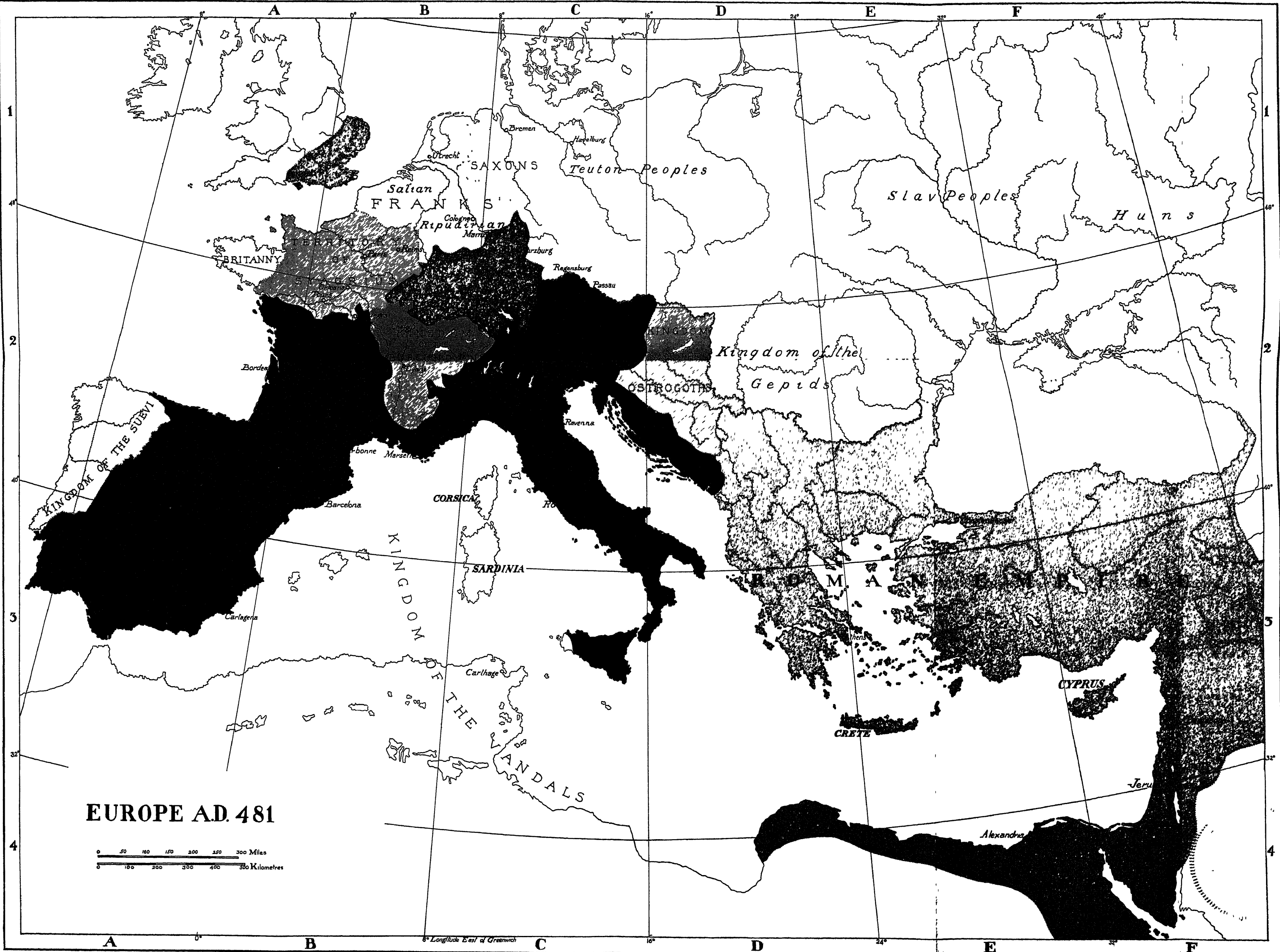
At the beginning of the sixth century, therefore, there were already established in the Empire Visigoths in Spain, Vandals in Africa, Franks in Gaul, and Saxons in England. But men did

not think that because of this the Empire had come to an end. Nor did such a thought arise even when in 476 the last of the Caesars of the West was deposed by a revolt of barbarian troops in Italy.

By the year A.D. 500 men could look back on a recent transformation of the political aspect of Europe, but they did not regard this as a cataclysm. Nor was this the view of any of the great political thinkers of the Middle Ages proper. In the pages of Dante, for example, there is no suggestion that the Roman Empire ended in the fifth century. Rather, for him, transformed into Christendom, it survived as the ideal political society. We shall have hereafter to see whether such an historical judgement was sound. Certainly the barbarian invasions of the fifth century may be better regarded as the climax of a long process of barbarian infiltration than as a concerted attack or as a sudden revolution. At the beginning of the sixth century large barbarian kingdoms had been established in the Western Empire. The imperial administration had itself broken down in the West. But these barbarian invaders never regarded themselves as the destroyers or even as the enemies of the Empire into which they had entered. They were, as we shall see, always eager to learn the lesson of civilization, anxious to become themselves members of the comity of civilized peoples. They were eager to adapt themselves to the tradition of the Latin past. And the elements of that tradition at the end of the fifth century are moreover plain. Firstly there is the idea of a European society recognizing no divisions within it, governed by one law and submitting to one central administration. Then, there is the notion of a citizenship overriding all racial boundaries and conscious only of a common share in civilization. Finally there is the notion of a religious society coextensive with European civilization itself. The clash between barbarism and civilization in the fifth century weakened the two secular elements in the tradition, and though they were never lost, it was the ecclesiastical unity of an Empire that had become merged in Christendom which was the fact that above all impressed the newly settled barbarians. One other consideration also emerges from our preliminary

survey. The civilization which was ultimately evolved in the Middle Ages in Europe bore the same general features which we have observed in the tradition. It was European; it was non-national; it was above all, ecclesiastical. How far therefore, we may ask, did the one grow naturally out of the other? How far may this Latin tradition at work in barbarian society be considered the formative influence in the growth and development of European society in the 'Dark Ages?'

EUROPE A.D. 481

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Map labels: SAXONS · Teuton Peoples · Slav Peoples · Huns · Salian FRANKS · Ripuairian · Bremen · Utrecht · Cologne · Regensburg · Passau · BRITTANY · KINGDOM OF THE SUEVI · Bordeaux · Barcelona · Cartagena · Narbonne · Marseilles · CORSICA · SARDINIA · Ravenna · Rome · OSTROGOTHS · Kingdom of the Gepids · ROMAN EMPIRE · KINGDOM OF THE VANDALS · Carthage · SICILY · CRETE · CYPRUS · Athens · Jerusalem · Alexandria

Scale: 50 100 150 200 250 300 Miles · 100 200 300 400 500 Kilometres

THE TRADITION AT WORK

I

THE problem for Europe was clearly set at the end of the fifth century. The fundamental antithesis between the social systems of civilization and barbarism had been emphasized by the enforced interconnexion between the two orders. The vast implications of that essential contrast remain. The old frontiers of the Empire still mark off—nothing is more remarkable—what is insignificant from what is vital to the formation of Europe. Yet whilst this duality remains the most important fact in the political geography of Europe, a new trichotomy has been superimposed upon it. Within the Empire itself a division had now been made between those countries under the political domination of the barbarians and the unconquered part of the old Roman Empire in the East. The interpretation of the history of Europe from the fifth century to the onslaught of Islam will depend upon the answers that we give to two questions. For the autonomous Empire the issue is clear, for we shall have to consider how far that Empire was able to preserve or perhaps to extend the imperial system it had inherited. But for the barbarian kingdoms the problem is more difficult. There we shall have to determine how far civilization succeeded in absorbing its barbarian conquerors and how far those conquerors influenced the civilization into which they entered.

II

It was in Italy that the issue between barbarism and civilization was expressed in what was in some respects its clearest form. For Italy had been the centre of the old civilization, and in Italy there were established successively two strong barbarian kingdoms—that of Odovakar and that of Theodoric. Moreover, the events in Italy have been given a special significance by subsequent historians.

In 476 there was deposed Romulus Augustulus, the last of the

long line of Caesars of the West; and a barbarian made himself
master of Italy. This event has been held to mark off sharply one
epoch from another. Yet there is little in the events which sur-
rounded the deposition or in the changes that they brought
about to warrant such an interpretation being put upon them.
We have already noted the whirling chaos of Italian politics
during the earlier half of the fifth century. On the one hand,
more and more barbarian troops were imported into Italy; on
the other hand, wave after wave of barbarian invaders had
swept across the Alps to the capital of the world. The disasters
of the time had been marked by the spectacular sack of Rome
by Alaric the Goth in 410 and by Genseric the Vandal in 455,
whilst successive claimants to the imperial office had sought
to use the invasions for their own ends. The whole peninsula
was given over to the anarchy inseparable from a complete
bankruptcy of political authority. And whilst the imperial
government remained divided against itself, the real power lay
in the hands of the barbarian soldiery, largely recruited from the
tribes of the Rugii, the Sciri, and the Heruli whose own home
was the north bank of the Upper Danube. The imperial power
in the East, occupied with its own affairs, could pay little atten-
tion to Italy.

The last act of this sordid drama was in reality nothing more
startling than a revolt of mercenaries. The barbarian troops in
Italy, tired of serving for a precarious pay, demanded, as so
many of the barbarians had demanded, to become *foede-
rati*, that is to say, to receive lands in return for their mili-
tary service. At this time the head of the imperial troops was
Orestes, who had recently made his son Romulus, nicknamed
Augustulus, emperor. Orestes refused the demands of the
troops. They replied by choosing a leader of their own race,
Odovakar. Odovakar succeeded in capturing and killing
Orestes and in deposing the young Romulus, who retired into an
honourable captivity for the rest of his life. There was no
longer an Emperor of the West.

Such were the events which have been held to mark the
end of the Roman civilization and to inaugurate a new

epoch. But of the contemporary chroniclers only one gives to these events the cataclysmic character which has later been ascribed to them. In general the happenings of 476 passed with very little comment; compared, for instance, with the sack of Rome by Alaric, which really did shock the civilized world, the deposition of Romulus created very little disturbance. Emperors had been deposed before and the lack of a puppet successor seemed in practice to make very little difference. The establishment of Odovakar was merely the conclusion of a successful rising of mercenaries resulting in conditions very similar to those which had existed before, and such an explanation of the event provides the only possible interpretation of the peculiar nature of Odovakar's rule. The true position of this leader of barbarian troops, the principles which animated his government and the manner in which that government was regarded by his subjects, may be seen in two famous embassies which went from Rome to Zeno, the Emperor of the East, in 477 and 478. These embassies purported to come from Romulus Augustulus, who was still alive, but in reality they came from the Roman Senate at the command of Odovakar. They are thus very significant as representing the new ruler's view of the change which had just taken place, and the wording of the first is perhaps the most important piece of evidence we have for estimating the historical significance of the year 476. It stated that the Senate did not need a separate royalty for Italy but that Zeno as sole emperor would suffice; that Odovakar, a prudent statesman and a brave warrior, had been chosen by them to defend Italy. Thus even at this time there was no thought of the extinction of the Empire and no suggestion of any violent break with the past. Odovakar did not regard himself as in any way superseding the Empire or even as standing outside it. He wished to step into a place which had often before been occupied by barbarians within the Empire. He wished to become the governor of a province, and he desired for this purpose a title from Zeno—a Roman title which only a Roman Emperor could bestow. He had no thought in deposing Romulus of introducing a new epoch, no notion that the Roman Empire so long declining had at last passed away.

All that we know of Odovakar's personal rule confirms this view of his government. The Church in Italy as elsewhere, more than any other institution, represented the ideals of the past. Odovakar moreover, like most of the other barbarian kings, supported the Arian heresy. Yet in spite of this we have two edicts of Odovakar which show him to have been the friend of the Church, eager to preserve its spiritual integrity and its temporal welfare. Even his foreign wars take on a special character. Under the auspices of Constantinople his expeditions against the barbarians of the north appear not so much the wars of one barbarian chief against another as the defence of the Empire by a barbarian lieutenant in its service. By such wars he increased his own and his master's dominions until his realm stretched far into central Germany and included a large portion of the coast of Dalmatia.

The domination of Italy by Odovakar prepared the way for the establishment of the great Ostrogothic kingdom of Theodoric. The Ostrogoths were the remnants of those Gothic tribes which had been left on the banks of the lower Danube after the migrations of the Visigoths. In the middle of the fifth century they had suffered much from the Huns, and after the death of Attila they became *foederati* and settled in the province of Pannonia. As such they speedily became a most powerful influence in the politics of the Eastern Empire. During the civil war of the earlier part of Zeno's reign, Theodoric, who later became the ruler of Italy, was one of their chiefs and was fortunate to support the winning side, and on Zeno's establishment on the imperial throne he tended to dominate the politics of the Eastern Empire, a man strong in military power and, from constant attendance on Zeno's court, in touch with civilized manners and customs. This was really the crisis in the history of the Ostrogoths, and it is easy to deduce the causes that led to their great *trek* westward. Theodoric was an ambitious man and may have seen the possibilities latent in the formation of an Italian kingdom outside the immediate influence of the Emperor. Zeno, on the other hand, was probably not unwilling to rid himself of the presence of such a

powerful vassal. Odovakar's conquests in Dalmatia, moreover, brought him disagreeably near to the personal dominions of Zeno, whilst the constant friction between the sees of Rome and Constantinople provided plenty of opportunities for hostility. But behind all these causes there was probably one more profound than all. The lands of the Goths in the Empire were not extensive; they were insufficient for the requirements of the settlers thereon. The fact that the expedition started in mid-winter gives a hint of famine conditions.

The new invasion of Italy took on the character of a migration. Not only the men went, but the women and children also with the flocks and herds in the traditional manner of a nomad people. Once Theodoric was in Italy the struggle lasted five years. Odovakar met the invaders on the Isonzo and was defeated. He fell back on Verona and was defeated again, and shut himself up in his marsh stronghold of Ravenna, where he was blockaded in 490–1. After desultory fighting a treaty was made; Theodoric entered Ravenna in state and, once established there, took the opportunity of having Odovakar killed. From that time forward he was master of Italy.

Theodoric was, after Justinian, the greatest political figure of his age and the most notable barbarian king. In him antiquity and the Middle Ages seem to meet, and no ruler more fitly summed up in himself the transition through which Europe was passing. It is therefore, necessary to observe the political principles upon which he acted and in particular the relation in which he stood to the constituted and legitimate imperial authority in the East. In a sense Theodoric was king by conquest. He had come at the head of a victorious horde. He was *rex Gothorum* and the Goths were masters of Italy. But for contemporaries and for Theodoric himself, that by no means summed up the matter. This cannot be too heavily stressed, for it is the explanation of the whole of this important reign that Theodoric entered Italy, not as the enemy of the Empire, but as its friend. Theodoric started his career as the chosen and favoured emissary of the imperial power, and he always professed to be zealous to give it honour and respect; and once

established in Italy, he showed clearly that he had no wish to be regarded as a mere barbarian chief. From the start he proclaimed his desire to maintain the tradition of Rome. In his own words he sought to promote *civiltas*, and *civiltas* for Theodoric meant all the benefits of the old civilized rule. He professed that 'by our wars we are giving security to the Romans', and he claimed as his highest title to fame that he defended the majestic greatness of imperial Rome from the barbarians without, 'thus showing forth the justice of the Goths, since they have taken to themselves the wisdom of Rome and the valour of other nations'. Nor were these mere empty phrases. They explain the whole of Theodoric's rule of Italy. On the one hand for the first time for many years a strong government was set up by him in Italy, and on the other hand the form and the methods of that government were Roman.

Like the imperial system, the centre of the new government was the palace of the royal court at Ravenna. The old bureaucracy can immediately be seen at work once more with but one new functionary attached thereto—a Count of the Goths appointed to look after the special interests of the new settlers. In general the whole administrative system was taken over from the old order. So far as the machinery of government is concerned there is no break with the past. Nor was this all. Bureaucracy depends for its character very largely on the men appointed to fill the offices of state, and it might well have been expected that the new rulers would distort the spirit of the old government whilst maintaining its forms. Such, however, was not the case. The men who worked this complicated administrative machine under Theodoric were all, nearly without exception, not only Italians but Italians of senatorial rank whose ancestors had for generations been responsible for the administration of the Empire. Cassiodorus and Ennodius the writers, Senarius, Agapitus, Olybius, and Eugenitus were all men of this type. No less than thirteen members of the official family of the Anicii filled governmental posts under Theodoric. There was thus no break even in the personnel of the civil service. The great Roman families were invited wholesale to serve the new

government, and almost without exception they did so well and faithfully. It was a Latin government carried on under a Gothic prince.

This continuity makes intelligible the whole policy of Theodoric. It explains his respectful treatment of such institutions as the Senate and the Consulate, which entered upon a new period of prosperity under his rule. It explains also the peculiar character of Theodoric's efforts at law-making, which was summed up in a curious text known as the Edict of Theodoric that in fact contains few additions to the Roman jurisprudence, is written in Latin, and is derived, though crudely, from the Theodosian Code. It is an unskilled re-statement of law at the hands of a barbarian prince. For the same reasons the settlement of the Goths in Italy was a peaceable one. We do not know the principles upon which that settlement was made, but we do know that it was effected without bloodshed. This was in itself a great achievement and it showed that in men's minds the social order of Italy was persisting. 'Have you not', exclaimed Ennodius to Theodoric, 'enriched innumerable Goths, and yet the Romans hardly know what you are doing?' This continuity with the past, this desire to promote *civiltas*, is also exemplified in Theodoric's zealous patronage of all the arts of civilization. The literary men of the time were favoured and encouraged by this barbarian ruler. Cassiodorus the indefatigable letter writer and Ennodius the historian were both his trusted officials. Boethius the philosopher, the man who left behind him a most influential literary legacy, was treated with great respect by Theodoric until in the last year of the reign he involved himself in a political conspiracy and suffered accordingly. But it was as a builder that Theodoric best deserves to be remembered in the history of culture. The remains of much of his work can be seen to-day at Ravenna, and he was, more significantly, a great restorer of the buildings of antiquity not only at Rome but throughout Italy. In short, he sought to preserve in all its forms the Latin tradition, and it is thus that till the last year of his reign he remained the respectful friend of the Eastern Empire. He gloried in his title of patrician and he

treated the Emperor with unwavering loyalty. The reason for this is to be found in the whole character of his policy. 'Our royalty', he tells the Emperor Anastasius, 'ought to be an imitation of yours, a copy of the only Empire.'
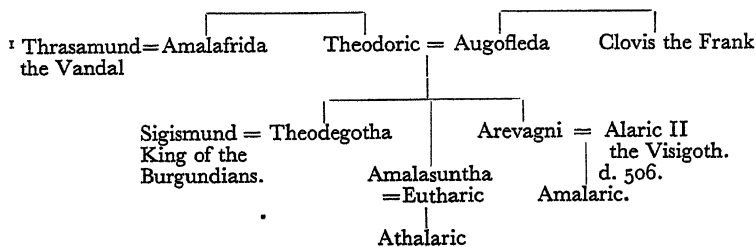
In one matter alone was Theodoric divorced from the tradition which he strove so sedulously to preserve. An essential part of that tradition, as we have seen, was the blend between the notion of Empire and the notion of Christendom. Like so many of the barbarian kings Theodoric was an Arian. This exiled him to a great extent from the religious consciousness of Europe, and it gave to all the discontented parties in Italy an excuse to clothe revolt in the garments of legitimacy. It provided a constant danger of a breach with the Eastern Empire and with the militantly orthodox see of Rome. It was indeed the fatal weakness in the position of Theodoric, and it affected his policy at many points. During Theodoric's reign there occurred, for instance, that dispute which is known as the Laurentian Schism, in which two rival claimants appealed to the see of Rome and both sought the support of Theodoric. Still, Theodoric, whilst in practice he went far to settle the matter, managed to preserve the appearance of neutrality and thus staved off the opposition which would inevitably have been aroused at the spectacle of an Arian prince interfering openly in the affairs of the Church. Throughout, indeed, it is his remarkable tolerance which most needs emphasis in this respect. We cannot command the religion of our subjects,' he wrote, 'since none can be forced to believe against their will.' By this enlightened policy, Theodoric sought to cope with the difficulty of his own ecclesiastical position. He could not, however, avoid for ever its ill effects. With the accession of an enthusiastically orthodox emperor in the person of Anastasius, new attacks upon Arians throughout the Empire began. This at once involved Theodoric himself. Between the see of Rome and an orthodox emperor there was a common cause for hostility towards an Arian king, and the Senate too became involved when an anti-Goth party of disgruntled aristocrats made the religious difficulty a cloak for political rebellion.

With the threatened breach with the East the whole of Theodoric's civilizing work was threatened, and the legal basis of his position upon which he had so long insisted was menaced in its turn. It was, therefore, not unnatural that Theodoric should act vigorously and sternly, but it was his misfortune that prominent and respected men found themselves implicated in the revolt. Boethius and John the Pope suffered death at his hands, and when Theodoric died a few months later, the disasters of the last year of his life were allowed to conceal the real character of his work both for some of his contemporaries and for many succeeding historians. But from the evidence which has already been cited it is clear that this quarrel at the end of the reign is symptomatic of a weakness latent in Theodoric's rule rather than of its general character, which was an imitation of Roman usage in close connexion with the Roman Empire in the East.

The policy of Theodoric was in the main highly successful, and it enabled him to maintain a predominant position in the Western part of the Empire now under barbarian rule. The methods he adopted in his relations with his neighbours were always the same. In order to secure peace and tranquillity for the propagation of his scheme in Italy he sought to gain as much influence outside as possible, and to do this he had recourse, first to diplomacy, and then, when necessary, to war. He found four great barbarian kingdoms round him, those of the Vandals, the Burgundians, the Franks, and the Visigoths. The Vandal kingdom of Africa was already beginning its decline owing to the differences between its Arian rulers and its Catholic population. Thrasamund the king was anxious therefore to keep the peace at all costs, and the alliance was symbolized in the marriage of Amalafrida, the sister of Theodoric, to the Vandal king. The internal problems of the Burgundian kingdom were of the same religious character, aggravated, however, by the constant menace from the Franks. Here again Theodoric exercised a permanent influence, and here too this found expression in a marriage alliance between Theodegotha, Theodoric's daughter, and Sigismund, the king of the Burgundians. The Franks were

a much more serious problem, and Theodoric was compelled frequently to interfere in the affairs of Gaul. But once more the policy of marriage alliance was adopted and Theodoric himself married the sister of Clovis. The relations of Theodoric, however, with the other great branch of the Gothic race—the Visigoths of Spain—were the most important feature of his foreign policy. Pursuing his normal policy of intervention by means of marriage alliance Theodoric had given his daughter in marriage to Alaric II, the Visigoth, and on Alaric's defeat and murder by the Franks in 507, Alaric's son and Theodoric's grandson, Amalaric, succeeded, with the help of Theodoric, in taking possession of the Visigothic crown. In fact Theodoric ruled personally for the boy and during the latter years of his life reigned not only over Italy but over Spain and southern France.

A glance at the genealogy,[1] by which this elaborate policy of dynastic alliance may most conveniently be studied, shows the vast scope of Theodoric's European scheme. Round him were grouped all the barbarian monarchies of the West, and in all he essayed to make himself the preponderating influence. On the whole he succeeded. His diplomatic system did much to preserve stability in the West, but he lived in a troubled age. In 499 he was not able to prevent a war between Clovis and the Burgundians, whilst between 507 and 511 he was almost continuously himself fighting to maintain against Clovis and his allies the claims of his grandson Amalaric. In these wars he was, however, very successful and the huge extent of his possessions at his death testifies alike to the efficiency of his foreign policy and the influence he exercised on contemporary

[1] Thrasamund＝Amalafrida   Theodoric ＝ Augofleda   Clovis the Frank
    the Vandal

Sigismund ＝ Theodegotha   Arevagni ＝ Alaric II
King of the   the Visigoth.
Burgundians.   Amalasuntha   d. 506.
                     ＝Eutharic   Amalaric.

                     Athalaric

Europe. Not until the advent of the menace of Islam do the politics of Europe display the unity which they exhibit under Theodoric. Under Theodoric the general tendency in the development of Europe seems to be controlled by this Gothic ruler of Italy. Nor can there be any doubt as to the general direction of that tendency. Jordanes, the Gothic historian, in a moving and significant passage describes the death of Theodoric.

When he had reached old age and knew that he would soon depart this life, he called together the Gothic counts and chieftains of his race and appointed Athalaric as king. He was a boy scarce ten years old. As though uttering his last will and testament, Theodoric adjured and commanded them to honour their king, to love the Senate and the people of Rome, and to make sure of the peace and goodwill of the Emperor as next after God.

In those words is summed up the historical significance of Theodoric for Italy and for Europe. For under his rule Italy passed through the first phase of the great transition without any loss of contact with the old order; and the tradition of civilization was free to operate in the most important province of the West. Within two years of Theodoric's death there succeeded to the imperial throne Justinian, and the great scheme of the reconquest of the West for the Empire was begun. In that struggle the Arian weakness of the Ostrogothic kingdom proved its ruin. But when Italy returned for a brief space to the imperial rule it returned to something whose spirit had never been allowed to die. There had been no break with the past, and the Latin tradition had remained as the formative influence in the development of Italy under the Ostrogoths.

III

The history of Italy under Odovakar and Theodoric is significant in that it symbolizes the main features of the transition which was overtaking Europe. On the one hand the Empire is, in the West, broken into by barbarian tribes. On the other hand the tradition of civilization is fighting hard to mould barbarian

society after its own model. After Theodoric's death two *motifs* in European history have to be watched. In the West there is the establishment of the kingdom of the Franks, whose characteristics must be most closely watched if the dominant forces in the development of Europe are to be ascertained. In the East the unconquered Empire makes a great attempt at recovering its political supremacy in Europe and under the meteoric genius of Justinian attempts the first of those great experiments in revived imperialism of which medieval history largely is made up.

The realm to which Justinian succeeded as the Emperor in 527 was in many respects very remarkable. It was the Empire shorn of the provinces which had passed under barbarian rule, an Empire much shrunk in extent but still of vast size. It contained the Balkan Peninsula up to the Danube; in Asia, all Asia Minor and Syria; in Africa, Egypt and the provinces along the north coast up to the Vandal kingdom. Moreover, its political continuity with the past had never been broken. That point is essential to an understanding of its momentous history in the sixth century. It is as yet inaccurate to speak of this Empire as Byzantine or Greek. In a sense it was both; but what is far more important to remember is that it was still the Roman Empire of the past. Its rulers officially spoke the same imperial language, its administration was carried on by the same machinery as formerly. It is still the Roman Empire over which these Emperors of the East ruled. This explains not only the government of the Empire by Justinian but also his foreign policy and the immense prestige which he exercised from the start over all the barbarian tribes outside.

Still, there can be little doubt that owing to the barbarians in the West the Empire in the East reached a crisis in its history during these years. Justinian's immediate predecessors, Zeno, Anastasius, and Justin, had showed few individual characteristics. Zeno (474–91) is mainly important for his relations with Odovakar and Theodoric, and for his abortive attempt to settle the theological controversy between the Monophysites and Catholics in the Empire by means of a theolo-

gical formula known as the Henoticon. The rule of Anastasius (491–518) was characterized by his rigorous opposition to Arianism, by the quarrel that this entailed with Theodoric and by the money which he amassed for the imperial treasury. After his death the army proclaimed an Illyrian peasant, Justin, as Emperor. The policy of this man became early associated with that of his nephew Justinian. A few years after his accession he accepted him as his colleague in the Empire and in 527 he died, leaving Justinian as sole Emperor.

The problems before Justinian were acute and their solution was a matter of vital concern for Europe. The administration had become clogged with corruption. There was a regular sale of government offices and court favouritism had reached a climax. While the central government was frequently distorted by undue and often feminine influence, the provincial administration was riddled with peculation so that throughout the latter years of the fifth century we hear of constant complaints of extortion. Without, the situation was still more acute. The barbarians were in possession of the greater part of the Empire in the West and they were ever pressing on the still intact frontiers in the East. Not only was this so but at this period the old enemy of Rome, the Empire of Persia, underwent a renaissance and once more renewed the attack of Asia upon Europe. Moreover, the conditions of ecclesiastical politics in the Eastern Empire were at this time peculiarly difficult. The Church in the East was weakened by the presence therein of many hostile parties of which the Monophysites were the chief. As the head of the Christian Empire the Emperor could not disregard religious controversy, more especially as the ecclesiastical parties were beginning to reflect provincial differences. He had thus a difficult task to preserve that religious unity which was becoming ever more and more essential to the political unity of the Empire. In particular he was faced with a great problem for only two policies were open to him, and each one presented its own disadvantages. If the Eastern Emperor tried to adopt a conciliating policy towards all the sects in the East he at once came into conflict with the see of Rome backed by the

III   D

Western Church. If, on the other hand, he himself, like Anastasius, sought to apply the uncompromising doctrinal decisions of the see of Rome, he had to face a continual opposition from the various ecclesiastical parties in the East. That difficulty remains in the policy of the Eastern Emperors for many centuries.

In spite of the difficulties which he had to face, Justinian inherited certain elements of strength in the Empire. The first of these and the most important was that immense prestige which still pertained to the Empire and to the imperial office. In the second place, the efforts of Anastasius had enabled him to start the reign with a full treasury. Finally, in the army of the Empire Justinian had inherited the finest fighting machine of the age. This explains the constant success which attended the campaigns of Belisarius and Narses and the smallness of the force with which these were carried out. Alone in Europe during the sixth century, in the army of the Empire were the principles of strategy and tactics intelligently studied. But this army had one fatal defect. It was an army of mercenaries and, as such, it depended very largely upon plunder for its rewards. This tended to turn any province it passed through into enemy country. Moreover, it meant that much depended upon the personality of the generals if order was to be maintained at all. The danger from this mercenary army in fact persisted throughout the reign. Two things were necessary to counteract it, regular pay and a tactful and firm command. Throughout most of his reign Justinian could supply both of these, but when at the end of the reign the pay of the army began to be precarious, the invincibility of the armies of Justinian was at an end.

Out of this dubious inheritance Justinian constructed a vast political system which exercised an abiding influence. It impressed itself upon the minds and imaginations of men and exercised a great influence in determining the form upon which Europe should later be developed. The personal character of the man need not concern us, nor the story of his romantic marriage with Theodora, daughter of the keeper of the bears in the circus. But the dominant ideas underlying his policy are of the very first

importance. The true greatness of Justinian lies precisely in the fact that he had sufficient imagination to understand the significance of his political inheritance and sufficient energy to act upon it. He was a great conqueror, a great administrator, a great lawmaker. But all these aspects of his work are connected by the same overmastering idea. Justinian thought of himself as the heir to the Caesars and as the ruler of a Christian Empire. He thought of his power (as is shown by the language of his numerous edicts) as an autocracy held of God to be exercised for the preservation of Roman civilization. He wished to win back to the Empire the lands which had been lost to it, to protect it against further invasions and to rule it according to Roman Law and the ethics of Christianity. For this reason future generations looked back to him with a reverence which was almost a worship, and Dante, for instance, gave him a proud position in Paradise as one directly inspired of God. He represents many of the most powerful and constructive forces in medieval political life. That was why he impressed with such strength his contemporaries and his successors. As M. Diehl points out, he was 'the incarnation of the imperial idea reinforced by the idea of Christendom and it is for that union that we may call him great'.

That is the mainspring of the effort at imperial re-conquest which marks the reign. The wars entailed in the attempt to reconquer the Western provinces are, for our purpose, important mainly for their results. It is perhaps their vast scope which most impresses the student. The endeavour began in the Vandal kingdom. In 533 Justinian intervened on behalf of the Catholic population against the Arian persecutor King Hilderic. Belisarius, the imperial commander, was everywhere victorious; his success was marked by the capture of Carthage, by the victory of Tricamerium. Hence forward the Vandal kingdom was subject to Justinian, but for a long time he had a difficulty in making his power felt. Numerous expeditions were sent to Africa in the course of the reign, and it was not till fifteen years after the first invasion that the whole province of North Africa passed back fully into Roman hands.

The conquest of the Vandal kingdom paved the way for the conquest of Italy. This was a much more formidable task. Theodoric had been succeeded by his daughter Amalasuntha, who acted as regent for her young son Athalaric. Faced with the inevitable opposition which a minority rule always excites, the princess implored the protection of Justinian. It was just the excuse Justinian needed; Amalasuntha and her son disappear, and a struggle begins between Justinian and the Gothic kings who are elected one after another to oppose his armies. In 536 Belisarius invaded Italy. Theodahad, the first of these Gothic kings, offered no capable resistance and soon disappeared. Witigis, who succeeded him, managed to collect an army and besieged Belisarius in Rome. Reinforcements, however, came from Byzantium in time, under Narses, who though he relieved Belisarius could not co-operate with him. It was only after the recall of Narses that the offensive against the Goths was taken. Already the Franks from the north, hearing of the troubles that had overtaken Italy, had started an invasion on their own account in a sort of nominal alliance with the imperial troops. Finally Witigis was forced into Ravenna and at length abdicated. The last and most formidable phase of the Gothic resistance came with the election of the new king Totila, who conducted highly successful campaigns against Belisarius from 541 to 548, and was only defeated at Taginae in 552. There only remained the invading Franks, and by 555 all Italy south of the Alps was in the hands of the Emperor.

The third field of activity in Justinian's scheme of imperial reconquest was Spain. Here once again it was a disputed succession which gave Justinian the opportunity to intervene. Agila, the reigning king of the Visigoths, was faced with a rival claimant to the throne, called Athanagild. Justinian supported the latter and then deposed him and by this policy secured for the Empire some of the chief towns of southern Spain.

It would be a complete mistake to think of these wars of Justinian as inspired merely by personal ambition on the part of the Emperor. They were undertaken because Justinian wished to extend the Roman name and Roman institutions to countries

THE EMPIRE OF JUSTINIAN

THE EMPIRE OF JUSTINIAN
AT ITS FULLEST EXTENT

The Empire at the accession of Justinian

Justinian's reconquests

which had lost them. This same feeling inspired also the elaborate schemes of Justinian to defend the Empire on the East. There he had to face in acute form the old danger from the Empire of Persia, which was, at the time of Justinian, ruled by a capable prince, Chosroes I. The Persian wars of Justinian in fact lasted throughout the reign. They were three in number: the first lasted from 528 to 532; the second from 540 to 545; and the third, known as the Lazic War, from 549 to 552. The details of these wars are irrelevant to a general survey, but it is important to note that Justinian had to face the Persian menace at its worst and that he prevented the Persians from acquiring any hold on the territories of the Empire. The same is true of the policy of Justinian with regard to the barbarian tribes north of the Danube. These were constantly breaking into the Empire, and the northern wars of Justinian turned whole provinces almost into deserts. There was little spectacular in these expeditions, and Justinian on occasion did not scruple to buy off the invaders by payments which were scarcely different from tribute. But the reign marks a crisis in this as in so many other respects, and Justinian at least saved the Eastern Empire from the disaster which had overtaken the Empire in the West a century earlier. That was no small achievement.

The wars of Justinian were thus highly successful, but his schemes of reconquest in the West and of the defence of the East were materially aided by an elaborate system of fortification which he devised and by a remarkable diplomatic system which in itself is nearly as important as his wars. The frontiers of the Empire as newly delimited by Justinian were everywhere marked by the construction of immense fortifications which were manned by soldier settlers in the border districts. At the same time the old Roman system of dealing with the barbarians outside was developed in a remarkable manner by the Emperor. We have noted the immense respect that was entertained by the barbarian kings for the Empire and the imperial office. Justinian exploited this in a way that had never been attempted before, and by this means he was frequently able to play off one barbarian chief against another. Still, the chief

interest of this diplomatic system lies elsewhere and shows the transformation that had come over the Empire. Justinian, it cannot be too often repeated, not only thought of himself as the head of the Roman world, he also regarded himself as the protector of Christendom. It was thus that the Christian missionary under Justinian worked in close connexion with the political agent. Everywhere the conversion of ruling barbarian houses meant a strict alliance of these houses with Justinian. The conception of a Christianized Roman Empire dominated the diplomatic work of the reign.

The significance of this vast imperial experiment is to be seen in Justinian's government of the Empire which he reconquered and defended. He had to face four problems above all others; these may be called, the problem of order, the problem of administration, the problem of finance and the legal problem. In the solution which Justinian attempted to find for each of them we may see the same guiding principles of politics which dominated the whole reign. The problem of order was quickly set and quickly solved. It took the form of a revolt in the capital itself, fomented by those curious factions of the circus, the 'greens' and the 'blues', which combined a love of sport with a penchant for political intrigue and religious fanaticism. This revolt, known as the Nika Riot of 532, shook the foundations of the throne itself, but it was successfully put down with great slaughter by Belisarius. The importance of the Nika Riot was that it established Justinian once and for all firmly on the throne, so that after the massacres of 532 there was no other serious resistance to the Emperor. The problem of order was virtually ended.

The problem of administration was far harder to solve, and here it may be said that Justinian failed; but he did not fail from lack of energy. A long series of edicts against administrative corruption has come down to us. In 535 a general outline of his reforming policy in this respect was laid down. It embraced a reorganization of the whole scheme of provincial government and included also the judicial system in its scope. These reforms were, however, never applied in detail to the

Western provinces, but there also a number of special edicts were issued which leave no doubt of the Emperor's motives. In 534 one of these dealt with the government of Africa, and in a vast wealth of detail the dominating ideal is clearly set forth. The purpose of the new government is to establish 'order', that is to say, the guarantee of the existence of the civilized state. In the same year another of these edicts dealt with the government of Italy. Its aim is yet more strikingly expressed; it is 'to give back to Rome the Roman privileges'. In short Justinian not only wished to reconquer and defend the Empire, he wished to revive the whole Roman political system with all that it entailed.

There existed one fatal obstacle to this far-sighted policy. Justinian throughout his reign was faced with the worst of political misfortunes—the lack of money, whilst his imperial scheme entailed endless expense. The treasure accumulated by Anastasius was soon exhausted but the needs of the Empire remained and his penury went far indeed to vitiate Justinian's reforms. To carry on the Empire Justinian needed money; money (especially after the great plague of 542) was ever harder to obtain, and the Emperor was often fain to accept what was offered to him without asking too many questions as to how it was procured. This explains the terrible increase in taxation which went on throughout the reign, a taxation which (if we trust the uncharitable author of the 'Secret History') amounted almost to a devastation. It explains also the difficulty that the Emperor always found in stamping out oppression and corruption on the part of the provincial governors. There is indeed some justification in this respect for the accusation that Justinian for the sake of his foreign policy ruined the population of the Empire over which he ruled. Still, it would be unjust to the Emperor to conclude with a wholesale condemnation of his administration. He had to face an economic crisis following on the barbarian invasions and he had nothing less than European civilization to defend. If the reconquered provinces were oppressed by rapacious tax collectors their condition was probably better than the anarchy which, for instance, had marked the Vandal government of Africa. Everywhere under Justinian's

rule we can see the outward signs of civilized life appearing once more. Towns and buildings were restored and new edifices built. The great church of Santa Sophia is the symbol of Justinian's rule over the Empire.

The most enduring legacy left by Justinian and the most complete demonstration of the principles which he represents, was in his legal work. Justinian rightly thought that the Empire, which he was at such pains to defend and revive, should be governed by the old Roman Law. At the beginning of the reign there were two sources of this Roman Law. On the one hand there were the imperial ordinances, which were called *Leges*; on the other hand there was what we should call unenacted law, a case law (termed *ius*) consisting of the opinions of great jurists on individual cases. The enunciation of both forms of law, the one official, the other only semi-official, but both legally binding, was of very long duration, and the sources of Roman law were thus widely scattered, hard to obtain, sometimes contradictory, and very prolix. The necessity of compiling some authoritative collection of such law had long been felt, and in 438 the Theodosian Code had been published. This only comprised the imperial ordinances, but it immediately became the authoritative statement of statute law up to that time. Even with this collection available the confusion at the accession of Justinian was very great.

Justinian's legal work was done with great rapidity, and throughout, the Emperor had the help and perhaps the inspiration of a great minister, Tribonian. In 529 the Justinian *Code* was published; this was a collection of all the laws of the Theodosian Code, of certain others which it had omitted, and of all the new statutes which had been enacted by later Emperors. In the very next year a more important step was taken and the plan launched of making an authoritative summary of all the opinions of the great Roman jurists, of all that hitherto uncodified case law which was the outcome of so many centuries. In 533 the *Digest* made its appearance, a summary of the legal wisdom of the Roman past. Besides the *Code* and the *Digest* however, Justinian also prepared a shorter summary of both,

called the *Institutions*, which was used as a book of legal instruction but was also to have the full authority of a statement of law. At Justinian's death, therefore, Roman Law consisted of four sources; the *Code*, the *Digest*, the *Institutions*, and finally those new edicts, called *Novels*, which Justinian had himself issued from time to time to meet particular circumstances.

The importance for the future of Justinian's legal reforms can hardly be exaggerated. They contained, it is true, imperfections of detail. The *Digest* is suspected of deflecting widely on occasion from the works it professed to summarize and it contains evidence of the extreme haste with which it was prepared. But for all that, the achievement was an immense one, for it did nothing less than ensure that one of the best features of the Latin past should be at the service of future generations. From another point of view also the work of Justinian was here important. It was not as a mere preserver that Justinian as a lawyer is noteworthy; this codifier of the laws of the past has been called a bold innovator (Troplong). The Roman Law traditionally inscribed upon the twelve tables was a local law—a tribal law. In it the stranger had no rights. Gradually, alongside of this a special jurisdiction applicable to strangers in Rome, had grown up which was called the *ius gentium*. This found its practical expression in the Praetor's Edict and was held to be based upon the principles of law which were themselves applicable not only to one race but to all men. Now this practical development was made significant by meeting a philosophic theory emanating from the School of the Porch. The Stoic philosophers had visualized a law which pertained to man as man, which was not the result of the specific enactments of separate states, but which embodied in itself the essential rules of conduct which no state could abrogate or repeal. This they called the Law of Nature, and this theory of an ideal and universal Law speedily affected the practical evolution of the *ius gentium* itself. The Christian thinkers took over the idea of the Stoics and restated it in theological terms; the Law of Nature became the Law of God and superior to the enactments of any particular state. That is in short what Justinian meant when he spoke of the Corpus as

'an holy temple of Roman justice'. And it was the universality that came finally into Roman jurisprudence with Justinian which ensured its permanent importance. It was through Justinian that the Latin tradition contained for all the Middle Ages the notion of a state founded upon law, and the ideal of a law which was the product of reason, which was universally applicable, and which was itself the expression of the government of civilized Christendom.

The legal work of Justinian was as it were the coping-stone of the majestic political structure that he raised. The significance of that stupendous imperial experiment we hope we have made clear. It contained, however, elements of weakness, and these probably explain the decline of the political system of Justinian in the period after his death. Apart from these, the causes of the decline are by no means clear. The Emperors who followed Justinian, Justin II (565–78), Tiberius II (578–82), and Maurice (582–602), lacked his imperial genius, but they were good rulers who strove manfully against the ever-increasing disasters of the time. It is not until the accession of Phocas, a centurion who led a military revolt and had Maurice murdered, that we find in power in the Eastern Empire a ruler of no merit whose reign marks perhaps the lowest point in the history of that State.

In truth the work of Justinian showed too great a disproportion between aims and resources. It represented all that was best in the political life of Europe at the time, and it had an incalculable effect upon contemporaries. But the immediate successors of the Emperor had to pay the price. The old problems continued. The barbarian tribes to the north remained a constant menace, and this period is marked by perpetual raids from Avars and Slavs, who succeeded in taking Sirmium and effecting settlements within the Empire itself. At the same time the perpetual war against Persia continued. It is true that it never reached any effective conclusion, but it acted as an additional drain upon the resources of an Empire taxed to the utmost. The lack of money indeed explains the continued administrative corruption; it also explains the disastrous character of wars now waged by dissatisfied mercenary troops. The

soldiers' revolt which placed Phocas on the throne was a typical episode in the military history of the period. Another weakness in the imperial organization also made itself felt at this time. There was no settled principle of imperial succession. Tiberius II came to the throne by means of arbitrary adoption. Maurice's claim was the same. Phocas achieved power by means of a military conspiracy. Such conditions weakened the imperial control over the permanent civil service, itself fast becoming an hereditary caste, and undermined the personal authority of the Emperor, which was the main source of the unity of an Empire already threatened in other directions. Justinian, in spite of his efforts, had failed like his predecessors to restore unity to the Church. He had pursued a persecuting policy except with regard to the Monophysites, whom he strove to conciliate, and had involved himself in a deplorable theological controversy over a formula known as the Three Chapters, which led him into violent conflict with the bishop of Rome, whom he brought as a captive to Constantinople. At Justinian's death the Church was as divided as at his accession, and that, as we have seen, was fatal to the solidarity of an Empire which strove to represent Christendom. As before, secular and ecclesiastical disruption here were closely connected. Monophysite Egypt is ranged against orthodox Constantinople, and the cause of Jacobitism tends to embody also aspirations for Syrian autonomy. The Empire in short was threatened not only with secular but also with ecclesiastical disintegration.

One feature of the disasters of the time deserves a special notice. Italy, reconquered by Justinian, was threatened by a new menace. To this period belongs the settlement of the Lombards in the peninsula. The Lombards came from the lands to the north of the Danube; after the Huns, they were the most uncivilized and wild of all the invaders of the Empire, still heathen, and still completely savage. In 568 they moved southwards under their king, Alboin, and overran what is now Lombardy. Narses, and after him Longinus, could do little more than maintain Ravenna against the invaders, and the successors of Alboin established themselves throughout northern Italy,

whilst tribal groups pushed southwards and founded what were afterwards known as the Duchies of Spoleto and Benevento. Though their conquest took a long time, the definite settlement of the Lombards in Italy can be dated from the last decade of the sixth century. Moreover, the political geography of Italy which resulted from these invasions was important. Just as the Lombard possessions broke into three groups, the kingdom in the north and the two duchies in the south, so also did the Italian possessions of the Empire. In the extreme north-east of the country there was a small block of territory comprising the islands which are now Venice. Farther south, there was the Exarchate of Ravenna, which included Rome, stretching diagonally right across Italy. Finally there was the old Greek territory in the 'toe and heel' of Italy. The result of this division was to create something very like a balance of power between the Exarchs of Ravenna and the Lombard kings. This was to have, as we shall see, a wide future significance. In particular it enabled the rising Papacy to play off one ruler against the other, and thus to achieve a political independence which was impossible to the bishop of Constantinople.

In spite of all these disasters, the history of the Eastern Empire in the period following the death of Justinian has a special importance with regard to the development of Europe as a whole. Under Justinian there was stressed and developed in the most emphatic way the Latin tradition at a critical period in European history. The subsequent significance of this was of far more importance than its immediate results. At the accession of Heraclius in 610 the Eastern Empire seemed on the point of disintegration, and at the same time it was called upon to face the most severe attack that it had yet suffered as the hordes of Islam swept down upon Europe. A new crisis thus developed for the Empire and Europe. But it was important that in the age when the barbarian kingdoms in the West were being established in the Empire, the ideal of a Christianized Empire, uniting the best features of the civilized past with the Christian future, had in a spectacular fashion been put into practice by Justinian.

IV

The policies of Theodoric and Justinian were both guided by a tradition inherited from the past. It remains, however, to be seen how far a similar formula can be applied to western Europe for this critical period. There we have to watch, most particularly, the rise of the Frankish monarchy. But in the middle of the fifth century there was as yet little indication of the later Frankish predominance. Gaul presented at that period a strange medley of political settlements. The Franks themselves were concentrated into two groups, the Salian Franks in the north-east, and the Ripuarian Franks who occupied both banks of the Rhine. West of the Salian Franks as far as Keltic Brittany, there remained a most curious confederation of Roman cities, which still professed their connexion with the Roman Government, and in the late fifth century were ruled by one Syagrius, a man who had used his old position of Roman governor to turn himself into a monarch something like one of the barbarian kings. To the south of the Loire there was the territory of the Visigoths, which was linked up with their Spanish kingdom and stretched eastward into Provence; whilst along the valley of the Rhone was the kingdom of the Burgundians.

The political predominance of the Franks in Gaul starts with the reign of Clovis (481–511). The chief of one of the tribes of Salian Franks, Clovis emerges as a great warrior in Gaul. He defeated the quasi-Roman Syragrius in a battle at Soissons; he took possession of the countries round the Seine and the Loire; he attacked the Ripuarian Franks and put to death many of their petty kings. Throughout his reign, too, he was at war with the Burgundians and the Visigoths, and in a battle against the latter at Vouillé he was signally victorious and able to take possession of all Aquitaine. After his wars, Clovis had a vague suzerainty over all modern France except Gothic Provence and the Burgundian kingdom on the Rhone.

These wars are important for their future effect, but by themselves they would probably have been without significance, merely resulting in the transitory supremacy of a barbarian

chief. In another direction must be sought the cause of the remarkable fact that alone among the barbarian kingdoms, that of Clovis was to survive. By far the most important event in the history of Gaul during these years was the conversion of Clovis to Christianity, and it was with a sane sense of historical perspective that contemporary writers dwelt picturesquely upon it, and that legend grew up around the circumstances under which it took place. Clovis had married a Burgundian princess, Clothilde, who was a Christian and a Catholic, and it is said that in one of his battles Clovis vowed that if victorious, he would be baptized. On Christmas Day 496 he was baptized by Remi, the bishop of Rheims, and three thousand Frankish warriors went to the font with their king.

Now this may have made little personal difference to the manner of life of Clovis or his warriors, but as an event in the history of Europe its significance can hardly be over-emphasized. One modern writer has truthfully remarked that it 'fixed the destinies of Gaul'. The conversion of Clovis gave to him a wholly different position in Europe. He ceased to be regarded as a mere marauding barbarian; he was received as a new addition to the forces which went to make up political Christendom. The men of the time, the writers of a little later date, were quick to see this. Clovis became after his conversion to Catholic Christianity, for the whole Gallo-Roman population, something very different from the pagan barbarian chief which he had been before; something very different, too, from the Arian kings the Burgundians, or of the Goths. This probably helped Clovis with his conquests; it certainly made those conquests permanent. We have indeed some evidence of this in the meagre authorities of the time. Gregory of Tours narrates that Clovis once harangued his troops thus: 'It is not meet that the Goths, who are Arians, should possess a part of Gaul. Let us go forward with the aid of God and subject their country to our power.' It matters not whether Clovis ever actually said these words; Gregory voices here the popular opinion as to his conquest not long after his death. From the other end of Europe, in the pages of a sixth-century Greek historian, Procopius, we have the same

idea expressed. Procopius tells us a remarkable story, how certain of the old Roman troops still stationed in Gaul, being unable to return to Rome because the Burgundians and Goths lay in between, were 'unwilling to attach themselves to the Goths, who were Arians, and enemies of the Empire, and so offered themselves for service with the Franks and gave them at the same time the territories which they were guarding for the Empire'. Such a state of mind must have helped Clovis materially; it may explain, for example, how the single battle of Vouillé was sufficient to subdue the whole country from the Loire to the Pyrenees.

But it is clear that the conversion had a yet wider significance. From what we have said it will be seen how it gave to the Merovingian kings a special place among the barbarian rulers. It accounts for the relations of Clovis with the far-off Eastern Emperor. Like all the barbarian kings, he treated the Emperor with reverence and was proud to receive titles from him and to appear as his delegate. With the conversion, a new reality was given to this relationship. The description given by Gregory of Tours of the conduct of Clovis after his victory over the Goths indicates the real nature of Gaulish development during these years. Then 'Clovis came back to Tours and received from the Emperor Anastasius the insignia of the consulate. He made his entry into the basilica of St. Martin clad in the purple of a consul'. In that ceremony is symbolized the history of Europe during these centuries. The faint light of a new dawn hovers over the pale pageantry. The barbarian chief is decked in the robes of classical dignity, the former pagan warrior at the same time enters the Christian Church. In such a way can we see the operation of the Latin tradition, that blend of Roman imperialism with Christian ethic, operating at the very foundation of the strongest of the barbarian kingdoms. In the shouts that accompanied that portentous procession we seem to hear again of Constantine the Great and to catch a proleptic echo of Charlemagne himself.

The special quasi-religious character which accrued to Frankish royalty from the conversion of Clovis was almost lost

sight of in the dark days that fell upon Gaul after his death.
There had been little that was admirable in the personal
character of the king, and his successors reproduced the worst
features of his cruel and bloodthirsty rule. The dominant theme
in the history of the period is a perpetual orgy of civil war.
Following the normal custom of Teutonic royalty, no principle
of primogeniture was applied, and it was usual for the kingdom
to be split up among the sons of the reigning prince. This led to
constant war among the co-heirs. Such a period ensued on the
death of Clovis himself, and only ended when, by the death of his
brothers, Chlotar I became once more king of all the Franks, in
558. A similar period followed the death of this prince. Once
more there was prolonged civil war until the kingdoms of the
Franks were again united under the rule of Chlotar II in 613.
The civil wars under the Merovingian kings, the violence,
and the crimes that stained every member of the house of
Clovis, had in short discredited the monarchy. Never strong,
it had become completely incapable of controlling the great
men of the land. Its politics are interesting from the ecclesi-
astical point of view. But a continual decline on the part of
the monarchy had taken place. After the death of Dagobert,
in 638, the Merovingian kings became mere puppets under
the control of the greater officials of their administration.

Amid this confused welter of wars we can note but few develop-
ments of permanent importance. During this period the partition
of the Frankish realms into two fairly permanent divisions
took place. The realm of the Ripuarian Franks, stretching
from Bavaria as far as the Scheldt, begins to be known as
Austrasia, whilst in the north there comes into being a kingdom
stretching from Holland to the banks of the Loire which takes
the name of Neustria. These kingdoms for some time vary in
extent according to the power of their sovereigns, but they
form the basis upon which the future consolidation of Gaul is
to be made. During the sixth century, however, all political
conditions appear to be very fluctuating. Two principles of
order alone assert themselves. The one is the religious sanction
accorded to the monarchy, which grows more and more feeble

with the decline of the race of Clovis. The other is strictly akin to it. As in all the barbarian kingdoms, the influence of the Church as the mainstay of order and the preserver of the traditions of the past is to be felt, and throughout this dark period in the history of Gaul, the Church stands as the chief hope of future political

PARTITIONS OF GAUL AMONG THE EARLY MEROVINGIANS

Clovis 481–511

Theuderich I, K. of Austrasia, 511–33

Chlodomer, K. of Orleans, 511–24

Childebert, K. of Paris, 511–58

Chlotar I, K. of Soissons, 511; K. of all Franks, 558–61

Theudebert I, K. of Austrasia, 533–48

Theudebald, K. of Austrasia, 548–55

Sigibert I = Brunhild, K. of Austrasia, 561–75

Charibert I, K. of Paris, 561–7

Guntram, K. of Burgundy, 561–83

Chilperich I, K. of Soissons, 561–84

Childebert II, K. of Austrasia, 575–96; K. of Burgundy, 593–6

Chlotar II, K. of Neustria, 584; K. of all Franks, 613–28

Theudebert II, K. of Austrasia, 596–612

Theuderich II, K. of Burgundy, 596–612; K. of Austrasia, 612–13

Dagobert I, K. of Austrasia, 623–8; K. of All Franks, 630–8

Charibert II, K. of Aquitaine, 628–30

Sigebert II, K. of Austrasia and Burgundy, 613

growth. The bishops of the time are the one section of the community which seems able to give any settled direction to politics, for they are the only people who have inherited anything from the administrative wisdom of the past and consequently become the natural counsellors of the kings. At the same time the influence of the Church is exercised continually at Councils such as that of Epaône in 517, to soften the hard social conditions of the age. When a new house in time arises to bring order to Gaul, it works naturally in close co-operation with the ecclesiastics.

It would be wrong to dismiss the Merovingian dynasty without some reference to the achievements of these men in enlarging the boundaries of their kingdom. This was an age of external conquest which took place mainly in two directions. Between 523 and 532 the Merovingian kings succeeded in obtaining a political supremacy over Burgundy and sharing out that territory among themselves. Also, these kings were successful in Provence. The long struggles of Justinian with the Goths allowed the Frankish kings to attack the Gothic possessions in the south of France, and by 536 Provence was annexed to the Frankish dominions. The only part of France which remained still out of control of the Franks was a section of the western Mediterranean littoral which formed part of the Spanish kingdom of the Visigoths. In the history of the transition from 'Gaul' to 'France' the reigns of these violent and treacherous kings were therefore of considerable importance.

But it is the decline of the monarchy during these years which is most noticeable, and in view of the importance which attached to royalty during this period it is important to watch carefully the causes for this increasing weakness. Partly it was due to the worthless character of most of these men, partly to the evil principle of a divided succession. But its real cause goes deeper than that. Merovingian monarchy at the outset promised great things, and it is necessary to account very clearly for the fact that that promise was never fulfilled. Here, as elsewhere in medieval history, we must dismiss from the mind any lingering notions of modern constitutionalism. Merovingian monarchy was absolute. There was nothing in the nature of a constitutional check on the king's power. It is true that towards the end of the Merovingian period two institutions grew up which had a considerable future importance; these were the assemblies of the March Field and the May Field. These, however, were never 'constitutional assemblies' in the modern sense, and they do not belong to the Merovingian monarchy proper. Viewed generally, it may be said that the Merovingian monarchy was both absolute and hereditary. The only real check on the king's power was the opposition of force to force. And as the

king's power is absolute so also is it theoretically omnicompetent. There is as yet no differentiation of governmental function. The king is the supreme leader in war. He is also the supreme law-maker and dispenser of justice. He cannot, it is true, create tribal custom, but he alone has the right to adapt that custom to particular circumstances. The application of law, is the supreme function of the Merovingian king. Without, he is conceived as being the leader in war but within his kingdom, his main duty is to preserve peace. To fulfil these duties he has special privileges, and the only opposition he has to fear is an armed rebellion. This was a very practical check on abuses. There is a well-known speech reported of Guntram to the people of Paris: 'I adjure you, men and women, remain faithful to me. Slay me not as ye slew my fathers. Suffer me to live yet three more years. If I die you will have no king strong enough to defend you.' Here is the whole theory of the Merovingian monarchy. The king is the protector of the people. To perform his function he has autocratic powers; if he abuses them, let him die. It is a despotism tempered by assassination.

Such a theory of kingship, not altogether unassociated with the Latin theory of autocracy, had a great future before it. The Merovingian kings were not, however, capable of developing it and purging it of its crude elements. There is, however, no doubt that the monarchy was theoretically very powerful. Moreover it created an administrative machinery to enable it to carry out its duties, and that machinery finally proved its own destruction. The centre of this administration was the palace. Just as the Merovingian monarchy was personal in its essence and functionally omnicompetent, so also in the royal palace were private domestic offices and public official posts inextricably intermingled. The king's personal servants are the primitive civil service. These men are called by humble titles; they are stewards, butlers, chamberlains and so on; but the great men of the land hold these domestic offices, and they are the men who, under the king, govern the country. It is a career, and a brilliant one, this of the palace. The noble will send his son there to work his way up among the palace

officials. And in the palace organization are to be found great nobles, great bishops, very often the flower of the Frankish and the ecclesiastical aristocracy.

It is easy to see the immense power wielded by these men, and among the palace officers one speedily emerges of an especial importance. This is the Mayor of the Palace. The office of Mayor of the Palace was not a new creation in the seventh century, nor was it confined among barbarian courts to that of the Frankish kings, though there alone it played a part of constructive importance. Originally the Mayor of the Palace, as his name (*major domo*) implies, was merely the chief of the palace servants. When, however, the palace comes to play a political as well as a domestic role, the importance of the mayor is apparent. He becomes the controller of the administration of the kingdom, and of the great men involved therein. At the same time as this process was going on, the personal authority of the Merovingian kings declined. The monarchy, worn out by civil strife and personal incompetence, faded into insignificance. After Dagobert I the Merovingian kings were mere puppets who exercised no real power and usually perished on the verge of manhood. It was thus that the monarchy in Gaul became unable to control the administration which surrounded it. The result is clear. The palace organization has become supreme and the mayor controls the palace; he has become the greatest man in the land.

All this might have led merely to anarchy. That it did not do so was due to the fact that the mayoralty in Gaul became associated at an early date with a family which played a vital part in the development of Europe. This was the dynasty of the Carolingians. This house was founded by two very remarkable men, St. Arnulf, the bishop of Metz, who died in 641, and Pippin, later nicknamed the Elder, who was Mayor of the Palace to Dagobert I. Both men saw their opportunity in the condition of the country, and both represented what was best in Gaul at the time. Their friendship took on the character of a political *entente* which brought the Mayor of the Palace into close connexion with the Church, a connexion of which we shall

hear much hereafter. The alliance was marked by the marriage of the daughter of Pippin, Begga, with the son of the bishop, Ansegisel, who had been Mayor of the Palace to Sigbert, king of Austrasia. On the death of Pippin the Elder, his son, Grimoald, became Mayor of the Palace of Austrasia. He made an interesting attempt to anticipate future events, for in 656 he strove to make

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CAROLINGIANS

St. Arnulf,
Bishop of Metz, d. 641

Pippin the Elder,
Mayor of Austrasia, d. 639

Ansegisel, — Begga
Mayor of Austrasia,
632–8

Grimoald,
Mayor of Austrasia,
d. 656

Pippin the Younger,
Mayor of Austrasia, Neustria,
and Burgundy, d. 714

Childebert,
Proclaimed K. of Austrasia, 656

Grimoald,
Mayor of Neustria, d. 714

Charles Martel,
Mayor of Austrasia, 717; of all
the kingdoms, 719; d. 741

Carloman,
Mayor of Austrasia, d. 754

Pippin the Short,
Mayor of Neustria, 714;
K. of all the Franks, 752.

Charles the Great

Carloman.

his son king in name and perished in an unsuccessful revolution. After this the family passed into obscurity for a time, and the main part in Gaulish politics was taken by the rival mayors of the Neustrian palace. Towards the end of the seventh century, however, the son of Begga and Ansegisel came into prominence, Pippin 'the younger', the second founder of the house, This remarkable man, Mayor of the Palace in Austrasia, gradually consolidated his power, made himself supreme in Austrasia, and finally took the field against the Neustrian mayor and completely defeated him at Tertry in 687. After that date Pippin was mayor both of Austrasia and Neustrasia and the virtual ruler of all Gaul. On his death his sons quarrelled amongst themselves, but finally the younger, Charles Martel,

concentrated all his father's power into his own hands. All this time the puppet kings were passing across the political stage whilst the real power was in the hands of the mayors, who had not only attained political supremacy but had succeeded in uniting under themselves all the realms of the Franks. Pippin the Short finally felt himself strong enough to throw off the mask, and in 752 he declared himself king of all the Franks. His son was Charles the Great.

Now we shall have much to say of these men in a later connexion. Their rise to power marks, however, the manner in which the Merovingian monarchy created a governmental organization which ultimately destroyed it. A survey of Gaul under the Merovingian kings in fact suggests many features of interest. The details of the political history of the time make dull reading, but they suggest what are the formative as opposed to the destructive influences at work in this distraught society. The monarchy has emerged as, theoretically, the guardian of the people, however much, in practice, it may have disgraced its office. It has become part and parcel of civilized Christendom. It has conquered most of the country that goes to make up modern France. Moreover, we can see many signs in Gaulish society at this time that the transformation symbolized in the conversion of Clovis has been at work. As we pass from the crimes of the royal house to men in humbler walks of life, we see the peasants in their fields performing their tasks in much the same manner as they had done under Roman rule. We make, moreover, the acquaintance of men as original as Venantius Fortunatus, *bon viveur* and scribbler, or as admirable as Gregory of Tours, the historian of his age. Latin, however much corrupted as a language, remained and spread to the rulers of the land. Everywhere the same result seems to have been achieved. There was much anarchic violence in Gaul under the Merovingians; all the horrors of warfare, oppression, and famine frequently visited the country. But there is nevertheless a conscious attempt to preserve civilized conditions. The connexion with the imperial past merged into the Christian present remained. Even in the sixth century there was a

'Roman Society' in Gaul persistently educating and absorbing its conquerors.

V

The political developments associated with the names of Justinian, Theodoric, and Clovis deserve an especial emphasis in that they represent from different points of view the formative influences in Europe during the critical age following on barbarian invasions. In each case we have to watch the operation of a tradition inherited from the Latin past. With Justinian we have that tradition re-stated in the most emphatic terms and translated into an operative political system; for the ideal behind the whole of that vast political structure is that of an Empire ruled by Roman Law, governed by the administration of the past and representing an ecclesiastical as well as a political unity. In the case of Theodoric we have a conscious attempt on the part of a barbarian king to carry on the Latin social system in the province which he has conquered, but the king fails to realize the significance of the ecclesiastical form in which the tradition has been handed down. The weakness of the Ostrogothic kingdom lay in the fact that the Arian faith of its ruler isolated it from the common consciousness of imperial Christendom. The kingdom founded by Clovis in Gaul overcame this difficulty at an early date. The conversion of Clovis to Catholic Christianity had thus a wide political significance. But there the barbarian infusion was far greater than in Italy. Nevertheless the constructive elements in the history of Gaul are the same. They are to be found first in the alliance of an otherwise disreputable monarchy with the Church, and in the vague attempt to create an absolutism after the Latin type. At the same time there are evidences of the civilizing influence of the native population on its conquerors especially through the medium of ecclesiastics. Even here it is again the Latin tradition which is moulding society after its pattern.

Such considerations could be re-emphasized by the history during these years of other parts of Europe. In the case of England a specially difficult problem is placed before the

historian. It is possible that the Romanization of Britain was less complete than elsewhere. It is probable that the Teutonic influx was greater. We may, therefore, probably conclude that in England the break was greater than elsewhere in Europe. Fortunately the controversy as to the relative influence of Latin and Germanic elements in the development of English medieval society does not concern us here. But it is interesting to point out how far during the two dark centuries of pagan and barbarian rule England disappears, so to speak, from the ken of Europe. It is only with the reconversion of the country at the end of the sixth century that England comes back into the general stream of European development. Certainly the ecclesiastical side of the Latin tradition is also to be felt in England.

It is the same in the case of Spain. The history of Visigothic Spain is something of a tragedy. There was later considerable promise of a great development. But in Spain the Latin influence came too late to achieve much before the storm of Islam. The general conditions of the problem are, however, the same there as in Gaul and Italy. The barbarian royalty, Arian in its faith, is wholly unable to consolidate the country or to maintain order. After the failure of the main line of the Visigothic royal house early in the sixth century, there is a complete bankruptcy of political power. But the transformation when it does come is as remarkable as it is ineffective. As the conversion of Clovis is the cardinal event in the history of Merovingian Gaul, so is the conversion of Reccared to Catholic Christianity the turning-point in the history of Visigothic Spain. This occurred in 587, and the conversion was ratified in a great ecclesiastical council held at Toledo. At once and for the first time in Spain we begin to find a coalescence of the two races, as Catholic ecclesiastics appear in the Visigothic government and Visigoths enter the hierarchy of the Church; and now at last there begins to appear something like a unity and an order in the general administration which in turn produces important codes of laws. The history of Visigothic Spain seems thus during these years to be guided by the same principles as the other barbarian kingdoms. The

achievements of that country were directly due to the unity of the country with Latin Christendom. The failures were due to the late date at which that unity took place. No amount of later culture, no amount of later co-operation between Church and monarchy, could compensate for this. And whilst the Visigothic kingdom contained elements of greatness, its rapid downfall before the Moslem invader is explicable in view of its internal weakness.

During this epoch the Latin tradition can thus be seen at work as the chief constructive force throughout Europe. It operates for the most part in three directions. There is first the tradition of imperial government. The Empire is, as we have seen, throughout this period still conceived as being a vital political unity. And at the same time the Latin theory of autocracy is applied, thoroughly in the Eastern Empire, tentatively and crudely in the barbarian kingdoms. Then there is the legal tradition. That was safeguarded for the future by the great work of Justinian. But here too we can already see attempts at a similar work in the barbarian kingdoms. Law-making is the chief indication that the barbarian is becoming settled in civilized conditions, and it is very remarkable to note how the early barbarian codes always contain traces of a remarkable Latin influence. This is to be observed even in the early law of the Salian Franks, which, while it describes a still tribal society, nevertheless contains Latin elements and recognizes and protects the Christian Church. But the most notable achievement of barbarian law-making ·came undoubtedly from the kingdom of the Visigoths. This is contained in three codes: the *Breviarium Alaricanum* drawn up in 506, and the codes of the kings Chindaswinth and Reccaswinth of the seventh century. Here, with an undercurrent of tribal law, the form and the matter of the law are alike Roman. The 'Breviary' of Alaric may be regarded as a reasoned attempt on the part of a barbarian king to codify the Roman jurisprudence, a remarkable achievement and one which shows the full force of the civilizing influence of the past in the barbarian kingdoms themselves. It had a considerable later

importance. There has been much controversy about the relative influence of Alaric's Code and the Corpus of Justinian in the subsequent centuries, and it is probably usually safe to stress the latter as opposed to the former, but until the great legal revival at Bologna in the twelfth century, the unconquered districts of Spain and southern France took their Roman Law from the Visigothic Code. Finally, there was the tradition of Christendom as coextensive with the Empire. This operated, as we have seen, in many ways. But its most important feature we have not yet touched upon. The conception of Christendom was made politically significant to western Europe by the rise to political importance of the see of Rome. That process had already begun in this epoch but its full development came later. The history of Europe during this period has, however, certainly shown the Latin tradition at work from the time when the western Caesars passed away to that fateful moment when the attack of Islam was launched against Europe.

THE SECOND ATTACK

W$_E$ have watched the method by which the tradition of civilization was kept alive in the centuries after the barbarian invasions. Scarcely, however, had it been made certain that civilized Europe had survived that attack when she was called upon to face another onslaught, equally deadly. This came from Asia and was connected with the new faith that had there been founded by Mahomet. The early history of that religion does not concern us, for we are merely interested in its relation to Europe. And Europe was vitally affected by the rise of Islam, for between the years 630 and 730 she may be said to have been fighting for her very existence.

Before the death of Mahomet the character of the menace had already begun to show itself. The new religion had already passed through three phases. It had begun by being a small and persecuted sect headed by a fanatical genius. From that, after the Hegira from Mecca to Medina in 622 it had developed into a small religious community, a tiny militant theocracy with the prophet at its head. During this period had started the first tribal conquests in Arabia itself. Little by little all the vast peninsula had fallen under the sway of the prophet, whilst the time-honoured shrines of Arabian paganism like the Ka'ba at Mecca had passed into the custody of the new sect and been transformed by them into the bond which held all the prophet's adherents together. That really marks the third stage in the growth of the menace. By the time of the death of the prophet, Arabian racial feeling had become united in a fanatical devotion to a religion peculiarly suited to the Arab. The bravery of a nomad people accustomed to centuries of war had, so to speak, become harnessed to a faith which was specially adapted to utilize that courage and turn it into a religious devotion which led to an absolute disregard of death.

Before Islam could seriously threaten Europe, it was necessary that the ferment generated by the new cult in Arabia

should find some leadership capable of organizing it. This was found in an institution which was probably unique in the history of the world—the Khalifate. The death of Mahomet entailed a crisis for the new religion. Men as usual raised the cry 'If he had been a prophet he would never have died'. But the new cult survived the crisis mainly by means of the efforts of four remarkable men who succeeded one another as the leaders of the new religion. Their names were Abou Bekr, Omar, Othman, and Ali, and by the time of the death of Ali the Khalifate may be said to have been established. It was a remarkable institution; it grew up on no general plan, but three characteristics rapidly appeared. These men were first and foremost the successors of the prophet. The actual prophetic power was indeed held to have ceased at the death of Mahomet, but all Mahomet's other functions were considered to have descended to his successors. Then, secondly, the Khalifs were the supreme leaders in war, the heads of the sacred activity of armed proselytism; there was thus no danger of a domination of the civil by the military power so common in a social order of this type. Finally the Khalif was a religious functionary also. He was one among the many leaders in religious worship. It is clear that within Islam the Khalif held a position of supreme power. It only needed a period of rapid military conquests to transform the Khalifate into one of the most powerful autocracies that the world has ever seen.

There was only one weakness in this institution. At first there was no definite principle of succession. Abou Bekr became Khalif largely according to tribal custom by the recognition of the chief men of his tribe. Omar claimed that Abou had nominated him for the succession and in turn appointed the group of electors who chose Othman, and later, as was inevitable, the hereditary principle made itself felt. The result of this confusion was the outbreak of civil war itself. One dynasty —the Omayyad—made itself supreme, though with difficulty, from 661 to 750, after which its chief rival, the Abbassid dynasty, overthrew it and retained power for some five centuries. It was fortunate for Christendom that there was always this

internal struggle going on in Islam itself; for the magnitude of the danger can hardly be exaggerated. Islam under the Khalifate welded together the two constituent elements in the attack upon Europe. Under the leadership of this autocracy Islam appeared not only as a proselytizing mission backed by the sword, but also as a vast expansion of Arab tribes organized under rigid discipline. The Arab troops under the control of the Khalif came to constitute a military caste under a religious and a temporal discipline, prohibited from personally taking lands from the conquered, unafraid of death in the fanaticism of their faith, unaddicted to mutiny in their obedience to secular control. That was the essence and the terror of the menace of Islam.

Europe was at the time wholly unprepared to meet the attack. The Eastern Empire in particular had reached the lowest point in its decline under the rule of Phocas. That it was able to make the gallant and courageous stand which really saved Europe was due very largely to one man. One of the generals in command of the Byzantine troops in Africa at the time of the tyranny of Phocas was a certain Heraclius. This man suddenly appeared in 610 at Constantinople as the avenger of Maurice and the deliverer of the Empire from Phocas. On his arrival a palace revolution put Phocas in the hands of the general, who had him killed and himself crowned as Emperor. Heraclius was a remarkable man whose character has always been a subject of interest to the student. He has been described as one in whom 'sensibility was more powerful than intellect and intellect more powerful than will'. During the early years of his reign he showed none of the qualities which afterwards were of such service to Europe. The disasters of these years illustrate very well the crisis which had come upon the Empire. The barbarian raids, particularly those of the Avars from the north, became more frequent and more menacing, and one of these swept right up to the walls of Constantinople itself. But it was from Persia that the danger was most felt, for the Persians under their king Chosroes II launched an attack on a large scale against the Empire with great success. They took possession of

Syria and captured Jerusalem, seizing the reputed fragments of
the True Cross. Later, Persian armies crossed over into Africa.
By 619 the Persian hosts were threatening Constantinople itself.
The years 620–8 were the years of deliverance and the years
which entitle Heraclius to lasting fame. The results of these
long campaigns of the Emperor were very far-reaching. More-
over, these wars had some special features in themselves. After
patching up a temporary truce with the Avars, Heraclius seems
to have proclaimed something like a Holy War. The loss of the
True Cross and the widespread consciousness of the critical situa-
tion of Christendom undoubtedly helped him in his effort. The
cost of the war was supplied by the sale of ecclesiastical treasure.
Its holy nature was proclaimed from all the pulpits of Eastern
Christendom. It was led by the Emperor himself, a new thing
since the days of Theodosius. The consequences of this activity
were momentous; the Emperor was uniformly successful, the
new conquests of the unstable Persian Empire were all won
back, and the True Cross, marking the religious character of
the war, was borne in triumph to Constantinople. The Persian
Empire itself gave way to internal anarchy.

The momentous reign of Heraclius conditioned the form of
the attack of Islam upon Europe. The Persian Empire, all but
destroyed, was an easy prey to the new invaders. On the other
hand the Empire itself was in a fair measure consolidated as
the result of its military successes, though it was still subject
to many political and ecclesiastical divisions. Indeed a new
heresy, Monothelitism, the doctrine of those who, otherwise
orthodox, believed that there was only one will in Christ,
apparently belongs to this period. But the extreme crisis of
the reign of Phocas had passed away.

Before the death of Heraclius the expansion of Islam was well
advanced. The first invasion of Syria took place in 634. It is
known that the Arabs penetrated East as far as Mesopotamia
and that their armies moved up north through Palestine to-
wards Asia Minor along by the sea. Such an invasion was
promptly resisted by Heraclius in the latter years of his life, and
the decisive battle was fought on the banks of the Yermouk,

where the Arabs showed for the first time to Europe that fearless fanaticism and absolute contempt for death which was a feature of their warfare. The imperial troops were completely defeated, and as a consequence of this battle, Damascus, the greatest stronghold in Syria, fell in 635. The other Arab advance was made farther to the south and pushed in an easterly direction. Jerusalem fell about this time, whilst away in Mesopotamia the remnants of the Persian host were completely routed at Kadesiah in 636. As the result of these campaigns all Syria and Mesopotamia passed under Arab domination. Further, the battle of Kadesiah really decided the fate of the whole demoralized Persian Empire. By 643 the Arabs were here completely masters of the situation. After campaigns of some fifteen years Europe was faced by the terrifying spectacle of a militantly proselytizing Empire which already included all Arabia, all Syria, all Mesopotamia, and all the old Empire of Persia, a dominion which stretched already as far north as the Caucasus and eastward almost as far as the boundaries of modern India.

It was with these victories behind them that the Arabs moved forward to their western attack. Led by their great general Amrou, the invaders advanced into Egypt, where the conquest was as rapid as that of Syria. Its completion was marked by the fall of Alexandria in 641. The conquest of Egypt in fact illustrates with exceptional clarity the character of the menace to Christendom. It also showed how the Eastern Empire had been weakened by heretical movements and how close was the interconnexion between these and political division. Two incidents in these wars are worth recording in this respect. The former of these is preserved in a letter written by an imperial governor to Heraclius when the Emperor reproached him for not putting up a better fight. 'It is true', the letter runs, 'that the enemy are not nearly so numerous as we. But one Saracen is equal to a hundred of our men. Of the enjoyments of the earth they desire only simple clothing and simple food, and yearn for the death of martyrs because it leads them to Paradise, whilst we cling to life and fear death.' The other incident is perhaps

still more significant. This same governor was also a Jacobite heretic. In another of his utterances he voices the political sedition of the heretic churches of the time. 'The Greeks wish to fight on', he declares, 'but I wish to have no dealings with the Greeks in this world or in the next. I renounce for ever the tyrant at Byzantium and the orthodox who are his slaves.' That speech goes probably to the root of the matter. In both Syria and Egypt the Arabs seem sometimes to have been favourably received by the heretic population. Conversions were not unknown and the disunion of the Empire both in the matters of Church and State facilitated the Saracen conquest.

These conquests were only checked in their first phase by the instability of the Khalifate itself and the consequent civil war within Islam. There is little doubt that if in the years following on these conquests the united strength of Islam itself had been launched against Constantinople, the capital of the Empire would have fallen. As it was, the long struggles of the Omayyads and the Abbassids absorbed much of the strength of Islam. Still, within these years the attack did continue. In 652 the Saracens, attacking Asia Minor, won a great naval victory over the ships of the Empire at Phoenix, off the Lycian coast. But the successors of Heraclius carried on the struggle. In particular Constantine IV and Constantine V were strong and capable rulers, who sustained the efforts of their great predecessor, and Europe owes them a great debt. The crisis came under the latter ruler in 673 when Constantinople was besieged by a vast force of Arabs. After six months' siege the Arab troops were defeated with great slaughter in a naval engagement, but the attack was renewed, and it was only after incessant fighting for four years on sea and land that the onslaught was finally repelled.

There is little danger of exaggerating the importance of that heroic and momentous defence. It was the turning-point in the struggle of Christendom with Islam. Though Constantinople was to undergo other sieges from Islam, particularly that of 716–17, no other was so critical. There has always been a tendency among English writers to minimize the part played by the Eastern Empire in withstanding the Saracen attack and to

attribute the survival of Christendom rather to the later efforts of the Franks. That view, supported by one of Gibbon's most famous passages, contains, however, an exaggeration. The natural route for the attack of Asia upon Europe is up the valley of the Danube. Had it not been for the long and gallant stand made by the Eastern Empire during these years, the great tide of Arab expansion would have swept thus into central Europe and would have met the other wave which came up through Africa and the West. As it was, the main force of that mighty sea broke upon the stalwart break-water of the Empire. It was a smaller stream, formidable no doubt, but of less volume, that found its devious way through northern Africa into Spain, to be stemmed by the efforts of Charles Martel. The siege of Constantinople was thus a cardinal event in the history of Europe. It was with a sane sense of historical perspective that 'ambassadors came from the Avars, the Lombards, and even the distant Franks' to congratulate the Emperor upon his devoted stand on behalf of Christendom.

The defence of Constantinople probably saved Europe. But the danger was by no means past. The stream of Arab expansion was now directed in a new course; it progressed through Egypt. The north African province was next attacked and offered little resistance. This advance was followed by an attack on Spain, where the peculiar weakness of the Visigothic kingdom made it an easy prey to a small force of well-equipped fighters. In 710 the first Arab raiding expedition from Africa took place. The next year saw a decisive battle between the Arab army and the full force of Visigothic warriors which resulted in a complete Arab victory and the death of the Visigothic king. The Arab chief, Tarik, promptly took possession of Cordova. After this, in spite of quarrels between the Arab leaders, the conquest went on apace; Andalusia was subjected in 712, and three years later the Arab rule stretched as far as the Pyrenees. The attack was immediately pushed over the Pyrenees themselves, so that between 720 and 730 the Arabs were ravaging Aquitaine and Provence and Carcassonne, Nîmes and the country as far as the Rhone fell into Saracen hands.

In 732—a critical year—the largest army that had as yet crossed the Pyrenees appeared in southern Gaul, and it was at this juncture that the great Carolingian mayors of the palace made their first appearance as the leaders of Western Europe, for the Saracen host was met by the levies which Charles Martel had collected against it, and signally defeated by them at Poitiers. The battle of Poitiers undoubtedly delivered Gaul. It has not, however, the same critical importance as the successful defence of Constantinople in 673. The Arab rule was already showing signs of disintegration in the West, and at the same time Gaul might well have been expected to put up a stiffer resistance than north Africa or Visigothic Spain. Yet the victory at Poitiers definitely rolled back the Saracen attack. It gave also to the Carolingian dynasty a tremendous prestige, and men began to look towards it as the preserver of Latin Christendom with whose fate it was soon so signally to be linked.

There were to be plenty of conflicts between Arab and Christian in the future, but with the successful defence of Constantinople in the East, and the victory of Poitiers in the West, we may consider Europe to have been delivered. We have now, therefore, to estimate the results of the great attack. European civilization, viewed in the broadest sense, had lost some of its most promising colonies. The Arab conquests finally removed Syria, Egypt, and north Africa from the history of Europe, a history to which they had been intimately linked under Roman rule. Spain passed for a time out of Europe to be later reconquered. This is not the place to discuss the character of the Saracen Empire. We are only concerned with its effects on European civilization. It would of course be wholly wrong to think of the Arab Empire as it finally developed as being in any way barbaric or uncultured. Europe borrowed much from Arabian culture in all its aspects at a later date, as we shall see, and Dante, for example, could place certain of the great Arabian scholars in his Limbo, in proud proximity to the great men of antiquity. But, for the moment, keeping this in mind we may consider from what it was that Europe had been saved. The great buildings of southern Spain (perhaps built by Christian hands)

EUROPE AFTER THE ATTACK OF ISLAM
(IXTH CENTURY)

ALEXANDRIA	E 3	KAIROUAN	C 2
ARABIA	F 3, G 3		
ARLES	B I	LOMBARDS	C I
ARMENIA	G 2		
ATHENS	D 2	MAGYARS	E I
		MECCA	G 4
BAGDAD	G 2	MEDINA	G 3
BARCELONA	B I	MESOPOTAMIA	G 2
BEDR	F 4	MILAN	C I
BRINDISI	D I	MOSUL	G 2
		MOUTA	F 3
CARTHAGE	C 2		
CONSTANTINOPLE	E I	NARBONNE	B I
CORDOVA	A 2		
CORDOVA, Caliphate of	A I, A 2	PARIS	B I
CORSICA	C I	POITIERS	B I
CRETE	D 2, D 3		
CYPRUS	F 2	RAVENNA	C I
		RIMINI	C I
DAMASCUS	F 2	ROME	C I
EASTERN EMPIRE	D 2–F 2	SARDINIA	C I
EGYPT	E 3	SEVILLE	A 2
		SICILY	C 2
FEZ	A 2		
		TLEMCEN	A 2
GRENADA	A 2	TOLEDO	A 2
		TRIPOLIS	C 2
JEDDA	F 4		

EUROPE

AFTER THE ATTACK OF

ISLAM

(IX CENTURY)
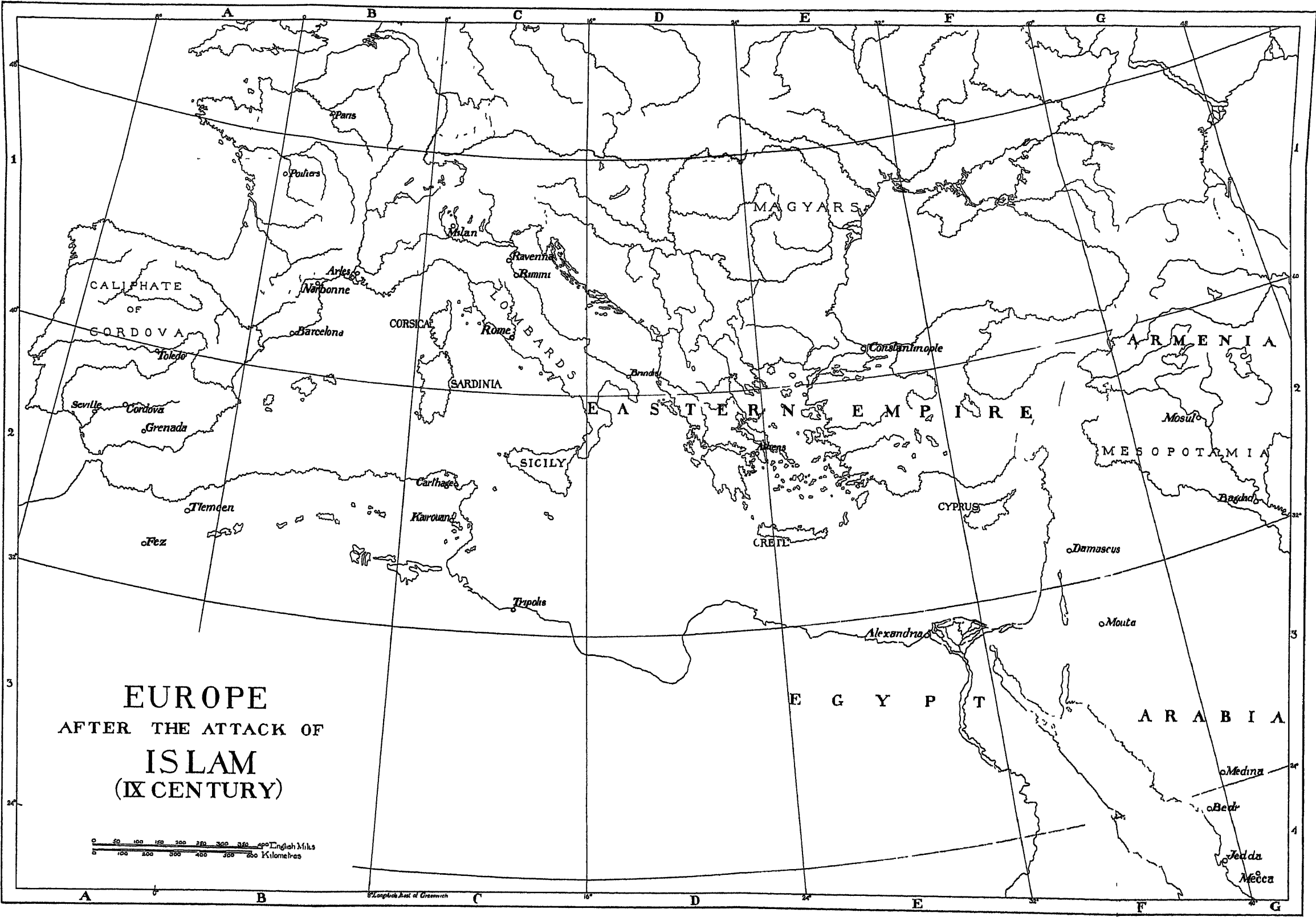
should not blind us to the issue. There was something in the system of the Crescent alien to the very essence of European civilization, alien to that 'constructive and orderly spirit' which Rome gave to us as our inheritance. The case of Africa is particularly eloquent in that respect. North Africa had been one of the most prosperous of the Roman provinces, rich in every form of culture. Then came the invasion of Islam. North Africa simply passed out of European civilization; the great towns immediately decayed, so that their ruins can to-day be seen sticking up out of the desert sand. The desert itself crept in towards the sea. From that time forth, in Mr. Belloc's phrase, 'there was no one who could build a Roman arch of stone or drive a straight road from city to city, or recite so much as the permanent axioms of Roman law'. All the forces which made for constructive development disappeared. It was this from which Europe was saved. Before the invasions, Europe, in the modern geographical sense, was in no way a cultural unity. The attack of Islam was the first step in making it so. Moreover, it had another result. The Empire of the East begins from this time to take a new character. Up to now it has been the very centre of European civilization; from now on it exists, so to speak, as its boundary. Its history becomes of less general importance to Europe and can be treated therefore more briefly. It is henceforward the bastion of Europe against Asia. The centre of European civilization thus begins to shift westward. The Papacy arises as the dominating political force in Europe, and in due course the Empire as a political entity is established in the West. It is that development which we shall now have to watch in all its aspects. It is a development whose general course was already prepared when Christendom rolled back at last the attack of Islam upon it.

THE CENTRE RETURNS TO ROME

I

THE repulse of the attack of Islam upon Europe opened a new historical era. Hitherto we have watched the preservation of the Latin tradition in the East and its operation in the West. The centre of European civilization has hitherto been that part of the Roman Empire in the East which had preserved its autonomy after the barbarian invasions. Now that centre moves westward, and we have a long process which at last leads up to the re-establishment of an Empire in the West. This process takes many forms, but its main feature is a re-emphasis on the ecclesiastical aspects in the tradition itself. Christianity becomes more secure in the barbarian kingdoms in the West. A new impetus is given to ecclesiastical growth by the foundation of a monastic system peculiarly suited to Western needs. At the same time the Papacy begins to achieve a political importance greater than ever before. This is largely due to a dual process which at the same time tends to separate the West from the East to group the Western peoples round the Papacy. The Empire and in the East becomes more and more occupied with oriental affairs; it also identifies itself with an heretical movement with which the West will have nothing to do. Finally we get the alliance of the Papacy with the strongest political power in the West, and this leads naturally up to the re-establishment of a Western Empire. That is the general background to the history of this period. It is a development which began long before the attack of Islam, but which only reached its climax after that attack had been repelled.

II

The survival of the tradition of the Latin past in the West was due to the Church. It is a fact which can hardly be over-emphasized. We have already noticed in several directions its

implications. We have watched the relations of the Arian Theodoric both with the Emperor and with the bishop of Rome particularly in the matter of the Laurentian Schism. We have seen the importance of the conversion of Clovis in the history of the Franks, and the results which followed from the tardy conversion of the Visigothic royal house in Spain. All these things serve primarily to illustrate one important generalization, the fact that the Latin tradition had become enshrined in the Church. The imperial idea persisted in men's thoughts and politics; its practical expression was the Church coextensive with the boundaries of the Empire with which it made up the imposing structure of Latin Christendom.

Still, the invasions did make some alterations in that structure, and the developments in the centuries that followed the invasions need to be noted. The problem of the intrusion of a new Arianism into the Empire was solved, though, as we have seen, with difficulty. Moreover, two new pagan wedges had been driven into the Empire by the Lombard settlements in Italy and by the Teutonic settlements in Britain. The Lombards were completely heathen on their advent into the Empire and their conversion proceeded slowly and sporadically. It was only during the course of the seventh century that orthodox Christianity really absorbed the Lombard settlers. Here, as in Gaul and Spain, the results were at once apparent. There is evidence of a steady civilization among the Lombards, and here, as in Spain, this is marked by progressive lawmaking, of which the code known as the Edict of Rothari is the chief example. The later history of the Lombards suggests, however, that the work of civilization was never completed in the same way as occurred in Gaul. The Lombard elements surviving in Italian society at a later date are negligible, and in this sense there was a complete absorption. But while these elements do survive they seem almost invariably hostile to every civilizing movement.

The effects of the other pagan intrusion, that of the Saxons in Britain, were more profound upon the main body of Latin Christendom. There is evidence, as we have seen, of the

existence of a Christian Church in Roman Britain. When the invasions came, therefore, the flight westward on the part of the native inhabitants must often have been the flight of Christians before their victorious pagan adversaries. Moreover, these men in their migration westward were making contact with a Church which had already been established in Ireland at an earlier date by St. Patrick and others. We have fortunately no need here to enter into the controversies concerning the origin and development of the Keltic Church. But two points need to be noticed as to the results of the invasions. There seems no reason to suppose that in the early stages of its growth the Keltic Church thought of itself as in any way separated from the main body of European Christendom. The work of St. Patrick was largely directed to maintaining that connexion in all its forms. In spite, therefore, of the invasions, a continuous Church survived in western Britain. This Church always remained a potential link between England and the civilization it had lost. But nevertheless the wedge driven in between it and Latin Christendom did have the effect of isolating the Keltic Church. It rendered it liable to peculiar and provincial tendencies which the tribal nature of Ireland emphasized.

The results of this were far-reaching as regards both England and Europe. It meant that when the direct link between England and Europe was forged once more, the Latin mission which under St. Augustine of Canterbury reached Britain in 597 had not to start at the beginning the vast work of conversion; it had rather to share in the conversion of some scattered tribes and to bring once again an already flourishing Church into direct contact with Latin Christendom and the West. The work of conversion proceeded from both sources, for whilst Augustine and his monks were working in the south, the Keltic missionaries from the monastery of Iona in the north established themselves in Northumbria. Nor was the missionary activity of the Keltic Church confined to Britain. We must never think of this Church as being in any sense decadent; it was a Church of immense activity. It produced a culture of its own which

made Ireland the centre of light for Europe for a whole
century and more. Great schools were established, as we
shall see, during this period in Ireland wherein every form
of scholarship was pursued. Even the humanities were not
neglected. It was, in short, in Ireland during this epoch
that 'thirst for knowledge was keenest, and the work of
teaching was most actively carried on'. This gave an ad-
ditional significance to the immense missionary activity of
the Keltic Church during this period. A constant stream
of Irish missionaries poured into Europe during the sixth
and seventh centuries. They founded numerous monasteries;
they exercised a tremendous influence on religious life and
thought. They penetrated through the length and breadth
of Gaul; they went into pagan Germany; they crossed south
of the Alps. The chief of these men were perhaps St.
Columbanus and St. Gall, but their numbers were great
and their influence far-reaching. We can find, for instance,
scattered through Europe, manuscripts which bear the marks
of having been written by Irish scholars who had taken up
their residence in Europe. In particular these Irish mission-
aries left behind them in the two monasteries of Bobbio and
St. Gall two centres of culture which were to illuminate the
whole Middle Ages.

The achievements of the Keltic Church were very great. The
particularism which had grown therein during the time of
isolation was the worst enemy of this Church. There was never
at any time from the days of St. Patrick to those of Columbanus
any inherent opposition between the Keltic Church and the
Church of Europe of which it formed part. But during the
period when the Keltic Church was cut off from the main body
of European Christendom, special usages had grown up in the
Keltic Church which led to numerous controversies in later
days. When these disputes occurred they were nearly always
about small points of ritual, the shape of the tonsure, the date
of Easter, or the like. But their historical significance was great,
for in them the Keltic Church always found itself in a position
of isolation. The Roman victory was thus normally to the

advantage of the countries in which it took place. In particular, the rejection of the Keltic ritual in England at the Synod of Whitby in 664 was the final step which brought England back into the system of European Christendom. From that time forward England develops, though on lines of its own, as an integral part of European Christendom. The particularism of the Keltic Church in fact itself gradually died out with its constant contact with the main body of Christendom. It thus shared in the revival which was associated with the names of St. Benedict and St. Gregory.

The Church in the West could probably never have played the part it did in the politics of western Europe during this critical period if it had not been for the widespread establishment of monasticism. We shall have something to say hereafter of the general history of monasticism and its influence on medieval social development.[1] Here we may merely note its rapid growth in the West from the seventh century onwards owing to the genius of one man. Monasticism had already existed in various forms both in the East and in the West. The work of St. Benedict can perhaps best be appreciated by saying that he took what was already good in flourishing Eastern systems and adapted it to make it suitable to the West.

St. Benedict is one of the outstanding figures in the history of Europe; he was born about 480 and he died about 550. He spent his life in Italy and lived through one of its most stormy periods. He grew to manhood under Theodoric, watched the anarchic decline of the Ostrogothic kingdom, and before his death was visited by Totila in the midst of his wars with Belisarius and Narses. After a troubled youth he became filled with religious fervour and went to live as a hermit at Subiaco on the Sabine hills. Finally, when his piety had attracted to him numerous adherents, he left this form of life and established a monastic community at Monte Cassino on a site which may still be seen between Rome and Naples. It is from Monte Cassino that the Benedictine

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movement grew, and there the Rule of St. Benedict was first applied.[1]

It would be very hard to exaggerate the importance of the Rule. With it, all the more prominent features of later Western monasticism appear and from it they are derived. Here we can see, for example, the two cardinal features of later monasticism in the West, the insistence on communal as opposed to the eremetical ideal and the foundation of monastic conduct in a threefold vow which later became crystallized into one of poverty, chastity, and obedience. There is indeed only one feature of later monasticism which does not appear in the Benedictine rule, the element of intellectual work. The work of the early Benedictine monks was agricultural, not scholastic or literary. That side of monasticism which was later to be of such value to Europe was, however, just at this time due to another Italian whose importance has been rather overshadowed by his greater contemporary. This was Cassiodorus, the pedantic old statesman of the court of Theodoric. After the death of his master, this remarkable man founded a quasi-monastic establishment at Squillace in Calabria. There he and his followers gave themselves up to an unassuming religious life. Moreover, it was the aim of Cassiodorus to establish within his monastery 'an asylum for the humanities—a school of learning, in which the sacred, patristic, and the classical writings might be preserved'. He collected manuscripts and arranged for their transcription, to the great benefit of posterity. It was with Cassiodorus that the cultural function first appeared which monasticism in the West was later so signally to fulfil.

The Benedictine rule comprised the form of monasticism most suited to Western needs. It spread with the greatest rapidity. By the seventh century there were Benedictine monasteries all over Gaul and they had been established in England. The rule had in fact, outside the Keltic Church, already become the chief type of European monasticism in the West. With the growth of the movement it thus influenced all the Dark and Middle Ages. The Benedictine monasteries at once began to play an

[1] See below, p. 225 ff.

important part in the society of the time. The existence in that troublous age of what would now be known as corporations, deathless communities carrying on an unbroken tradition, was of immense importance in the age which elapsed between the accession of Gregory the Great and that of Charlemagne. It gave a possibility for the operation of constructive ideas which would otherwise have been lacking. Already in this early period the monasteries at once tended to become the centres of the culture of the time. The increasing influence of the Church on the politics of western Europe during this period was to no small extent due to the foundation and spread of a monastic system suited to Western conditions.

III

Thus did the Church strengthen its position in Europe during the period following the invasions. The other side of the same development is the rise to political importance of the Papacy, which was ultimately responsible for bringing the political centre of European civilization back again to the West and for the long development which led up to Charlemagne.

The politics of the Papacy during this period derive much of their significance from the fact that to the men of the time the Papacy appears so prominently as an institution which sprang from the Roman past. No other institution, not even the Empire at Constantinople, could claim a closer relationship with the tradition of Latin civilization. All the elements of the tradition seemed to meet in the Papacy; the Papacy was Roman, it was Christian, it was, later, to be imperial. It thus bridged over the transition through which Europe passed. In a sense it was the real heir to the Caesars. To the Rome of Augustus succeeded the Rome of St. Peter, and the Latin Christendom over which later the Papacy presided was founded politically upon the Roman Empire. This connexion with the tradition from the past explains the beginning of the political importance of the Papacy. The Pope was the successor of St. Peter; his home was the old capital of the world. These notions had a

profound political influence. Dante, looking back upon European development, can exclaim:

> dell' alma Roma e di suo impero
> Nell'empireo ciel per padre eletto:
> La quale e il quale, a voler dir lo vero,
> Fur stabiliti per lo loco santo
> U' siede il successor del maggior Piero.

The growth of the political power of the Papacy in the centuries following the invasions is to a great extent to be explained in the light of its connexion with the imperial past which had made such an impression upon the minds of men. This might, however, never have been politically effective if it had not been for the position which, during this period, the Papacy maintained in the Church itself. The controversies concerning Papal origins do not concern this essay, since they depend for their solution upon the history of a previous age. All that we have to do here is to notice the claims themselves and the extent to which during these later centuries they were acknowledged. The Popes constantly claimed a primacy in the Church. In the West they claimed a direct leadership, and an edict of Valentinian III had ordered that the bishops of the Western Empire should accept as law everything sanctioned by the see of Rome. From this position the Papacy, in the period we are discussing, never departed. Over the Eastern bishoprics the Papacy did not in practice exercise such full authority. The Eastern Churches, had their own liturgy and their own customs, but the Papacy constantly asserted that it was the Roman see which in disputes concerning appointments or doctrine had the deciding voice.

It was indeed in respect of heresy that the primacy of the Roman see was most noticeably asserted during these centuries. The definition of the faith was no easy matter, and it was often extremely hard in respect of a new theological opinion to decide whether it was orthodox or heretic. The founders of many heresies originally propounded their doctrine in the sincere hope that it would swell the common stock of Christian belief. Before our period opens the see of Rome had claimed a determining

voice in this matter, and that claim, whatever its merits or demerits, had by the sixth century become fairly generally recognized. It was asserted, and during these centuries it was generally accepted by all parties in theological disputes, that there was a *regula fidei* to which all bishops should conform. This *regula fidei*, they said, was traditional (i.e. expressed by the councils and the Fathers), and, if a new theological opinion did not conform to it, that opinion was heretical. Moreover, the bishop of Rome affirmed (and most of the contending parties accepted his claim) the doctrine that he was authorized to apply the test of the *regula fidei*, and generally speaking as a fact during this period such new opinions were sent to Rome for judgement.[1] A fundamental cause of the political development of the Papal power between the sixth and the eighth centuries, an explanation of the primacy which the see of Rome maintained in practice over such sees as Antioch and Alexandria, was therefore the general acceptance by the men of this period of a Papal claim (asserted before and dependent for its validity on events outside this period) that the 'ultimate decision on questions of faith and order depended upon the judgement of the Roman see'.[2]

The strong political position which was achieved by Gregory the Great owed much to the devotion of his immediate predecessors to the ideal of the fixity of the faith and to the doctrine that the see of Rome was supreme as the interpreter of orthodoxy.

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[1] The case of the Monothelite controversy would give some good illustrations of the operation of this doctrine.

[2] J. Hamilton Thompson (*Cambridge Mediaeval History*, vol. vi, p. 635), who adds: 'It is true that the continuous chain of historical testimony which was needed to connect this theory with the Age of the Apostles was wanting; the foundation of the Roman episcopate by Peter was a received tradition which had probability but rested upon no certain historical proof. But it is equally true that the tendency of the Church to look to the See of Peter for guidance in matters of difficulty was of early growth and that it is impossible to determine whether this arose from an implicit belief in its claims to supreme authority or whether those claims took their origin in the growth of the custom which at any rate did much to strengthen them and encourage their dogmatic expression.' It is necessary to repeat that the controversies that concern the origin of the Papal doctrine in this respect lie wholly outside the scope of this essay. We are concerned here simply with the acceptance of these doctrines and their political significance in influencing the development of Europe between the age of Justinian and the age of Charlemagne.

One other aspect of the Papal policy during this period needs some special emphasis. The consequences of the invasions had created an opportunity for the see of Constantinople to oppose the see of Rome. The circumstances of the time had all contributed to the growth of the prestige of the Byzantine bishopric. Rome itself was in an advanced state of decline, whilst Constantinople was indisputably the centre of European civilization. And the rivalry between the two sees was beginning to take on a very significant character. During this period the Petrine foundation of the see of Rome with the prerogatives it was held to imply and the special position of the Papacy in respect of the *regula fidei* were, generally speaking, recognized at Constantinople. The claims of the bishops of Byzantium were at this time not based primarily upon theological or even ecclesiastical grounds. They were based upon the fact that their see was situated at the residence of the Emperor, and that Constantinople could claim with some justice to be the capital of the world. An important development of Papal policy was thus evolved in this matter. The Papacy had long claimed to be independent in the last resort of the temporal power. Through the mouth of Gelasius I it had formulated a definite theory of the mutual independence of the temporal and spiritual authorities. Later, Pope John I took a firm stand against Theodoric and suffered death in consequence. Agapetus a few years later dared to tell Justinian that bishops and not the Emperor were the arbiters in matters of faith. The prestige of the Papacy was undoubtedly much increased by such events and they also gave a great historical significance to the relationship between the sees of Byzantium and Rome after the reign of Justinian. The conflicts between the sees of Rome and Constantinople from the sixth century to the eighth really involved a struggle between a system of a State Church and a hierarchic system theoretically independent of temporal control.

The political development of the Papacy with which we are concerned really begins with the accession to the Papal throne of Gregory the Great in 590. By the time of the advent of Gregory the position of the Papacy in Italy had been much modified by the circumstances of the Lombard invasions.

These, as we have seen, created an almost complete balance of power between the Lombards and the imperial authorities. The Pope used this balance of power for his own ends. He was individually the wealthiest man in sixth-century Italy. His patrimony was large, not only in the Roman campagna but also in Tuscany and Sicily. He was a man whom both parties in the struggle needed to court, and it was early seen that not only was Gregory in possession of vast estates but that he was capable of governing them well. The reign is marked by a general revival in the faded prosperity of the city of Rome, and the extensive correspondence of Gregory which has survived shows him to have been the most careful of landlords. Such a man, the inheritor of a great tradition, the undisputed master of the old capital of the world, strong in his large estates, was clearly a man to be reckoned with by all parties in the Italian struggle.

And so it was. Gregory used the circumstances of the time to make the Papacy indisputably the champion of civilization in Italy. He also altered fundamentally the political relations between the Papacy and the Eastern Emperors. This transformation was slow in coming. Gregory's relationship with the Empire is marred by a correspondence, which has survived, between the Pope and the tyrant Phocas, in which Gregory praises and extols the ruffian on the imperial throne. We have, however, to remember the circumstances in which this correspondence was conducted. Gregory thought of the Emperor Maurice as a bad ruler; he therefore wrote formal congratulations to his successor. He was probably ignorant of the crimes by which Phocas had achieved his power. He had no representative at Constantinople to tell him what had actually happened. 'He wrote as an official of the Church to an official of the state and he mingled with his formal words of congratulations no words of personal adulation.' Whatever view we may take of this strange correspondence, towards the end of the reign we must note that in general the relationship between the Pope and the Emperors was very different. Throughout his reign the defence of central Italy was left almost entirely in

Gregory's hands. In shouldering this responsibility the Papacy is for the first time appearing as an independent political power. Throughout we see him sending instructions to the various military commanders. In 592 he made peace on his own account with the Lombard duke of Spoleto. In 593 it was again Gregory who brought about the peace between the Empire and the Lombards.

The importance of these transactions is that they show the Papacy indulging in political action on its own initiative. Such action did not pass without protest. After the peace of 592, for example, Maurice protested at the action of the Pope, and we have Gregory's reply in which, though with considerable expression of humility, he really takes up the position that as there was no defence for Italy provided by the Emperor, the duty must devolve upon the Papacy as the one civilized power left in the peninsula. A similar correspondence took place after the peace of 599. The significance of this is clear. With Gregory, for the first time the Papacy as an independent political power is making its appearance.

The other side to the process we are discussing can also be seen under Gregory. Not only does the Papacy free itself from the imperial control, but it begins to become the centre of Western politics also. Within his patrimony Gregory put into force several reforms relative mainly to the relation of the clergy to marriage and to the relation of the clergy to the lay courts. But for our purpose his dealings with the other Churches of the West are more important. Gregory took a significant part in the events in Spain which led up to the conversion of Reccared and to the ensuing Council of Toledo. In 603 he intervened again in Spanish ecclesiastical politics and much of his correspondence with Leander, bishop of Seville, has survived. It was the same in Africa, where Gregory always claimed an authority over the resident episcopate and exercised that authority to enforce a rigid and an unflinching orthodoxy. We have already seen him as the mainspring of the Roman mission to England, and his interest and control of the Church in England did not cease with the sending of the mission. We possess a series of

questions sent by St. Augustine to Gregory on Church government and Gregory's answers thereto. But it was with the Church in Gaul that Gregory was perhaps the most concerned. He has been reproached for looking too leniently on the crimes of the Frankish kings. But it must be remembered that in Gaul the Pope had a hard task. This was a period of extreme degradation in the Gaulish clergy, and Gregory may well have thought it wise to attempt to retain the support of a monarchy which had at least outwardly always professed friendship with the Church. In particular, Gregory sought to gain the support of the Frankish Queen Brunhild. He also appointed vicars in Gaul to look after the Papal interest and to support his policy. These vicars were, firstly, Vigilius, bishop of Arles, and later Syagrius, bishop of Autun. It was this triple agency of the Papacy, the Vicar, and the Queen which strove, though only with moderate success, to reform the abuses which had crept into the Gaulish Church. The policy is interesting in two respects. In the first place, it may be noticed that the Pope never sought to form a Papal party in opposition to the monarchy; rather he strove to work with its support. The later alliance between the Papacy and the Frankish kings seems to be in some measure already foreshadowed. The second issue is also clear. Whatever the success of his reforms, Gregory did make the Papal power during his pontificate recognized and respected throughout Gaul.

It was thus that throughout his reign Gregory exercised his claim to jurisdiction over the Churches of the West. The successors of Gregory in the seventh century did little to further the policy which he had developed, but it nevertheless persisted and had its effects. Throughout his reign Gregory assumed that all the Churches in the West were subordinate to the apostolic see, and he never abated this claim in any particular. At the same time he went far to vindicating the independence of the see of Rome from the political control of the Eastern Emperor. In these two issues lies the importance of Gregory the Great, for these were exactly the two issues which prepared the way for the future development of the West.

IV

Whilst under Gregory the Great we can thus see a movement tending to the separation of East and West and a new political grouping in the West round the Papacy, the seventh century itself added little to this process. Europe was fighting for its very existence against Islam, and though the Saracen conquests were to have the effect of removing Byzantium farther from the centre of European affairs, the importance of this lay in the future. In one matter only was the new tendency visible. This was in the controversy which centred round a new attempt at a compromise between the Monophysite and the Orthodox. The new dispute was involved in the Monothelite heresy, and to end the struggle the Emperor Constans issued a compromising edict known as the *Type*. To this the Pope of the time, Martin V, offered a strenuous resistance which ended in his arrest and, finally, in his death in captivity. Here again we see the same principles at work as appeared under Gregory the Great. There is the same opposition between East and West; there is also the same resistance on the part of the Church in the West to the claim of the Emperor to regulate the affairs of the Church.

But the dispute over the *Type* is mainly of interest in bridging over the period between the time of Gregory the Great and the great controversy concerning the place of images in religious worship, which is the most important event in the eighth century, and which had the most profound effects upon the West. In 717 a new dynasty established itself at Constantinople; its founder Leo III (the Isaurian) and his son Constantine V were extremely able and strong rulers. Their rule was marked by a re-consolidation of the government in the Eastern Empire. Leo III successfully defended Constantinople, for example, against the Moslem attacks which continued throughout his reign. His son held the Bulgar barbarians of the north in check. The spirit of the rule of these men can best be seen in an important compendium of laws issued in 740, known as the *Ecloga*. This prescribed the duties of all State officials,

reformed the marriage law of the time, gave official sanction to the Rhodian Sea Law regulating maritime trade, and outlined an agricultural code governing land tenure. In short, the reigns of these two men constitute a prosperous period in the Eastern Empire. A new efficiency appears in the imperial administration, and a strong, equable and reforming government is established.

In the general history of Western civilization these men are, however, mainly remarkable for the ecclesiastical policy which they pursued. It was natural that a strong and a reforming government of the type set up by Leo should attempt to exercise its influence on the Church. In 726 Leo III issued a decree which ordained that all images which in the past had given rise to religious worship should be suppressed, and he repeated that command in more emphatic terms in the next year. Some of the Eastern bishops and the aristocracy in the East were in his favour. The bulk of the people and the whole of the Western Church were against him. From this started the Iconoclast Controversy, which lasted for over a century. There was a rebellion in Greece in 727, and throughout, as we shall see, Leo met with unflinching opposition from the Papacy. With Constantine Iconoclasm entered upon its persecuting stage. A council, from which the bishops of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria were absent, supported the Emperor, and he attempted to enforce the decrees by violence, a violence chiefly directed against the monks of the East, the main supporters of the images. The third phase of the struggle came with the accession of Irene, when the Iconoclasts lost control of power and the Council of Nicea in 790 restored the images. Finally, there was a last brief struggle under the Emperor Leo V, and the final victory of the image-supporting party in 842.

The details of the Iconoclast Controversy are far less important than its results. We are, fortunately, not obliged to decide upon the merits of the two parties, for the issue would be extremely difficult. Iconoclasm in its earlier stages was clearly part of the general reforming policy of Leo and Constantine, a reforming policy which was signally successful in other directions. Nor is there any reason to suppose that

a reform in this respect was not urgently needed in the East. The seventh century was a period of decadence in the Eastern Empire, and that decadence had spread to the Church itself. Leo was sincere in his attempt to extend his reform of the State to the Church, and the controversies concerning Iconoclasm in the East certainly engendered a revival of culture and rationalism in high places. The Iconoclast Emperors presided over and were perhaps responsible for an intellectual revival. On the other hand, it would be unfair to leave the matter at that point. The contestants in the controversy might more fitly be divided into three parties rather than two. There were those who believed that devotion should be paid to images and that these images shared in the sanctity of their proto-types. Then there were the Iconoclasts who condemned the worship of images and their very existence as being superstitious. But there was a third party who denied that images shared in the sanctity of their prototypes, but defended the existence of Christian iconography, asserting that it stimulated the devotion of the simple and added to the beauty of religion; and maintained that the worship given to images was paid to the person whom they represented. This was the position taken up by the Papacy and by the Western Church. Thus the controversy was really, in the West, as to the place of art in religious worship, and he would be a bold man who would attempt a ready solution thereto.

For the historian of Western civilization it is the results of the Iconoclast Controversy that are, above all, important. In Italy the immediate results of the struggle were little less than revolutionary. The successive Popes Gregory II and Gregory III gave an unqualified opposition to the Iconoclasts, and in a series of councils, starting in 725, excommunicated them, the excommunication finally extending to the Emperor himself. Already there was a party of rebellion in the exarchate of Ravenna, and after the Iconoclast edict there was a general revolt in central Italy backed by the Papacy and supported by the Lombard king Liutprand. In the course of this, Ravenna itself fell into the hands of the Lombards. Much desultory fighting ensued,

and at last a settlement was reached by a decree of Leo in 730. The Emperor declared that he would no longer oppose the authority of the Pope in central Italy, but that all the 'Greek' south, Sicily and Calabria, should henceforth appertain to the jurisdiction of Byzantium. At the same time a flood of image-worshipping refugees was pouring into southern Italy. It was thus that the political division of Italy tended to become a racial one also. The Latin centre in which the Pope was supreme was opposed to the Greek south which looked towards the East. This political division of Italy persisted for many centuries. It also worked strongly towards strengthening the power of the Papacy in the peninsula.

But the effects of the Iconoclast Controversy stretched yet farther. It immensely furthered both the general developments which we are here most concerned to watch. It removed the Eastern Empire more completely than ever from Western affairs. The Emperor, the heir to the Caesars, the reputed defender of imperial orthodoxy, had upheld a heresy which had aroused the united opposition of the West. The damage to the prestige of the Empire was immense. The times were for ever gone when the rulers of barbarian kingdoms in western Europe would humbly crave Roman titles and be proud to call themselves, by the Emperor's permission, patrician, like Theodoric, or consul, like Clovis. The Papacy had led an opposition to the Emperors which had separated yet more completely the East from the West; and in so doing the Papacy had gone far to group the Western peoples round itself. Here, for instance, is the language which Pope Gregory II uses towards the Emperor Leo. Speaking of the statue of St. Peter at Rome, he says: 'All the nations of the West look with reverence upon the image which in your vain-glory you threaten to destroy. . . . The entire West honours the holy prince of the apostles. Do you send messengers to destroy his image? Upon your head be the blood that is spilt.' It is quite clear that the Papacy was counting, in the event of a supreme struggle, on the active support of the Western peoples. Among these peoples the chief powers were the Lombards and the Franks. The Lombards, moreover, were the traditional

enemies of the Papacy in Italy and ever seeking to control it. The Franks, on the other hand, had a traditional friendship for the Church, and, moreover, during these years were achieving a complete political predominance north of the Alps. The alliance between the Papacy and the Franks was the natural outcome of the Iconoclast Controversy. The way was prepared for Charlemagne.

<p style="text-align:center">V</p>

The political events of the latter half of the eighth century in the West thus form a fitting complement to the Iconoclast Controversy. The reunion of the West against the East really involved the mutual relationship between the Papacy, the Lombards, and the Franks. The Papacy having vindicated its independence of the Eastern Empire found that the former balance of power would no longer hold in Italy. The Lombard was now the supreme temporal power in the peninsula. He threatened to take control of the Papacy itself. On the other hand the Frank was speedily achieving a predominance in western Europe. These two processes meet and merge in the latter half of the eighth century in Europe. They lead up to a consummation which seems to become more and more inevitable. It is that the Papacy, which had led a united Western resistance to the Eastern Empire, should ally itself with the strongest temporal power in the West and thus free itself from the local control of the Lombard kings.

The rapid process of Frankish expansion goes on throughout this period. Pippin the Younger united all Gaul under his domination. The career of Charles Martel was really that of his father on a larger scale. He consolidated his power by victories over the Neustrians at Amblève and Vincy. He made himself completely master of Gaul. The Merovingian kings became during his life more and more shadowy. After the death of Theuderich IV in 737 Charles even refrained from allowing a successor to be appointed. Outside the realm, too, Charles made his power felt. The victory over the Saracens at Poitiers prepared the way for the final absorption of Provence in

France. There were also wars against the Frisians and the Saxons which anticipated the later conquests of the Franks. The same process went on under Pippin the Short. The expeditions into Germany became more and more frequent. The Alemanni lost their last vestiges of independence. A portion of Bavaria was won to the Frankish realm, and Saxony was visited by a series of Frankish invasions. Most important of all, Pippin was able to throw off the mask and have himself crowned king of the Franks in 751. This process of continual expansion went on even faster under the son of Pippin, Charles, later to be called Charlemagne. In place of raids and isolated expeditions into Germany, we now have to deal with wholesale conquests. The details of these wars need not here concern us. Their results were, however, startling. There were five great wars against the Saxon tribes of the basin of the Elbe and the Weser. By the end of them the whole of that vast district was subject to the Frankish rule. At the same time the Frankish rule over Bavaria was consolidated and maintained.

These wars of the Carolingians are significant for many reasons. In the first place they united Gaul, enabling it to have a settled government and to exercise its influence throughout western Europe. Then, these wars themselves take on something of a crusading character. Quite apart from the Papal policy which we shall have to consider, the former friendship between the Carolingians and the Church persisted. Charles Martel defends Christendom against the Saracens. In the German wars, too, this same crusading idea is maintained. These wars in every case meant the extension of Christendom. Missions, such as that of St. Boniface, went forward with the victorious armies. Baptism almost always accompanied the submission of a German tribe. The baptism of the Saxon chief Witikind, for example, was virtually the end of the Saxon resistance. Already, quite apart from events in Italy, the Carolingian dynasty has appeared not only as by far the most powerful force in Western politics but also as the champions of Christendom.

It was thus that the all-important alliance of the Papacy with the Franks was prepared, and this in turn directly led up to the

final revolution. In that momentous and controversial drama there are four chief actors whose interests we have seen so strangely drawn together. Firstly, there is the Papacy. The bishops of Rome during this time are capable if not great men; Gregory II (715–31) played a favourable part in the Iconoclast Controversy. Stephen II (752–7) was responsible for the cementing of the Frankish alliance. But it was to Hadrian I (772–95) more than to any one else except Charles himself that the final result was due. Hadrian I is the genius of the Papacy of this time, a much greater man than Leo III (795–816), under whom the revolution actually took place. Then, there is the Eastern Empire, more isolated than ever before, and at religious war with the West. Thirdly, there is the Lombard power, which reaches its apogee under Liutprand (712–43), the greatest of its kings, and then enters upon its strife with the Papacy and its decline, during which its most notable rulers are Aistulf (749–56) and Desiderius (756–74). Lastly, there are the Carolingians themselves, Charles Martel, the last great Mayor of the Palace, Pippin the Short, first of the Carolingian kings, and Charlemagne, the later Emperor. The historical development which leads to the re-establishment of the Empire in the West involves these four parties inextricably together. It moves forward from stage to stage in a logical process that seems at each point to be inevitable.

The situation at the beginning of that development was in some respects very perplexing to the men of the time. On the one hand we have seen that the Papacy had the support of the West in all opposition to the heretic Emperors of the East, and was openly counting on the support of the Western peoples in its struggle. The famous letter of Gregory II which we have cited is but one instance of this attitude, which in truth was of ancient date. About half a century earlier Pope Agatho had spoken of the barbarian peoples of the West as being his peculiar supporters. When Vigilius himself in the sixth century was led captive to Constantinople, appeals were already made to the Merovingian kings to support the see of Rome. There was at first, then, nothing new in the appeal from the Papacy to the

Carolingians. The request of Gregory II to Charles Martel for help against Liutprand was only the last of a long series of similar occurrences. Circumstances changed the relationship between the two powers, but at first they were quite in keeping with tradition. Nor was the rupture with the Eastern Empire at all sudden or definite. The Eastern Empire had exercised such an influence on the West, as the political embodiment of the Latin tradition, that men found it hard to regard that Empire with anything but respect. There was, until almost the last years of the eighth century, no definite scheme for a break with the Eastern Empire; men were, so to speak, only very reluctant to admit its necessity. Even at the height of the Iconoclast Controversy, for example, we hear of a very significant project. This was a plan by which all Italy was to choose an Emperor and lead him to Constantinople. This, of course, was sheer revolt, but it was *not* a scheme to overthrow the Empire of the East; rather it was a plan to strengthen that Empire. That is the general attitude of men in the West up to the final scene in the drama. We must watch therefore the stages by which that attitude was transformed.

The first factor in the process was the altered and intensified character of the Lombard menace itself. From the time of Liutprand the Lombard kings were striving, and with success, to make themselves masters of all Italy. The Papacy had always feared Lombard domination, and the circumstances of the corrupt and confused history of the Papacy from the time of Paul I to that of Hadrian I showed that their fears were justified. For during that period the Papacy became the centre of intrigues denoting nothing so much as Lombard political factions. It was the increased power of the Lombards in Italy consequent to Leo's edict that probably made the Papacy turn for support towards the Carolingians. It was under the successors of Liutprand that the inevitable antagonism between the Papacy reached its most acute phase. It was just during this period that the alliance between the Papacy and the Carolingians took its new form.

The new character of this alliance may probably be dated

from the circumstance of the coronation of Pippin himself. Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the revolution which turned the *de facto* power of the Carolingian mayors into a *de jure* royal authority was that the question of the change was referred for settlement not to the Franks at all but to Rome. It was the Pope who decided that it was better that he who had the supreme power should also have the name of king. If the change of dynasty was not achieved under the order of the Pope, it is certain that Frankish opinion of the time thought of it as being so ordered. A peculiar sanction, therefore, a special *legalitas*, thus accrued from the first to the Carolingian dynasty. Oil was used at the coronation, although it was the investiture of a layman. Something of divine right of monarchy has begun to appear. Pippin claims to rule 'by the grace of God'. The peculiar character of the coronation marks in a special way the new relationship between Pope and King. Nor is this all; it is in the light of the events of this coronation of Pippin that can best be appraised the journey taken into Gaul some years later by Pope Stephen III. He visited the Frankish king and sought his aid against the Lombards. Pippin received the Pope with special honours, and he and his sons were crowned again by the Pope, who pronounced a curse on all those who should oppose the dynasty. With Stephen, in fact, the alliance is beginning to take its new form. 'We have committed into your hands', wrote that Pope, 'the interests of the Church, and you have promised to undertake its defence. We have also committed you and your successors to the special protection of the Church and of our people of Rome.' 'It is our duty', later wrote Charles, to the Pope 'to defend the Church of Christ against its enemies without, to fortify it within in the true faith. It is your part to raise your hands like Moses to God in order that your prayers may assure us of victory. 'It is all one. With Pippin the alliance in its new form has been achieved.

This alliance resulted at once in two things. The first was the active intervention of the Franks in Italian politics. The second was the establishment of the Papal State. The rising power of the Franks naturally came into conflict with the

Lombard power in Italy. The renewed connexion of the dynasty with the Papacy rendered such a conflict inevitable. By 754 Pippin with his host was in Lombardy, and there is reason to suppose that the Frankish invasion of Italy was prefaced by an agreement (now lost) by which Pippin promised the Pope certain territory in the event of his victory.

It was, moreover, about this time that Stephen II conferred on Pippin the new title of patrician, significant in that it was the title which had been held by the exarch governors of Rome. Pippin's campaign of 754 was successful. Pavia fell into his hands and the Lombard king Aistulf concluded a truce. But by 755 Aistulf was again in arms and laid siege to Rome itself. Pippin promptly came to the rescue. Once more the Franks invaded Lombardy and stormed Pavia. Aistulf submitted. These campaigns—it is their chief importance—resulted in the formation of the Papal State, for Pippin after his victory handed over to the Pope practically the whole of the old exarchate of Ravenna. This is known as the *Donation of Pippin*. The consequences of this transaction affected the whole history of the Papacy, which thus became an important temporal power. Immediately the gift created problems which were left unsolved by contemporaries. What was the nature of the Pope's tenure of the exarchate? Did he hold it from the Frankish monarch, as it were, on a lease—a *dominium utile*—as they said? Was it his private property over which he was absolute lord? Or was it still held under the Emperor, who could claim with some justice that the exarchate was never Pippin's to give? All these questions remained unanswered by contemporaries and fraught with future significance. The immediate result of the gift was to cement the alliance of the Papacy with the Carolingians, and to supply a more cogent reason for the Pope to turn away from the Eastern Emperor who might lay claim to his new possession.

Such was the achievement of Pippin. In Charlemagne are merely summed up all the tendencies of which we have hitherto been speaking. There is the growing severance of the East from the West; there are the quarrels of the Papacy with the Lombards; there is the consequent alliance of the Papacy with the

Franks, now indisputably the leaders among the Western peoples who have already supported the Papacy in the Iconoclast Controversy. Never was a revolution more strictly logical. Charles, with his vast dominions, was able to give to the policy of his predecessors a heightened significance. That is all. At the same time, in Hadrian I the Papacy produced a man capable of utilizing all that had gone before. The drama thus moved inevitably forward with an increasing rapidity. In 764 Hadrian gave the significant title of patrician to Charles. In 774 Charles, at the Pope's request, invaded Lombardy, defeated Desiderius the last Lombard king, and finally overthrew the Lombard dynasty. The king of the Franks had thus, with the Pope's support, become 'King of the Franks and Lombards and Roman Patrician'. It was thus that he entered Rome in triumph, and the pageantry of that visit prepared men more than anything else for the coming revolution. He confirmed the *Donation of Pippin*. The next years showed how dependent the temporal power of the Papacy was on the Frankish monarchy, and it was through Charles's action in this respect that was brought about the final consummation. Leo III, the successor of Hadrian, was attacked in Rome, accused of numberless crimes, and had to fly the city. Charles came to Rome in 800 as the defender of the city, and the Pope replied before the King to the accusations made against him. It was during this visit that on Christmas Day he was crowned as Emperor by the Pope amid the shouts of the Roman people.

VI

It is the unity of the long and complicated process which we have been considering in this chapter that is its most remarkable feature. On the one hand, there is the gradual separation of the East and West, a separation which is characterized by the concentration of the Eastern Empire on Eastern affairs, and finally its conflict in the West in the matter of a religious controversy. On the other hand, there is the growing unity among the peoples in the West. In this the operative force is certainly the imperial tradition which has never been

allowed to die. Its embodiment in the West is clearly in the Church, the one society that carries an unbroken continuity from the past and is organized upon the old imperial scheme. That tradition grows and takes various forms, most of which are connected with the rising political power of the Papacy. With the development of Western Christendom, with the conversion of the barbarian kingdoms, there proceeds also a slow development in the political position occupied by the Papacy. The foundations of that position are laid by Gregory the Great, and in the strife that follows the Papacy emerges as the centre of the Western resistance to the Iconoclasts. The final stage in the development is the rise of the Frankish power to a position in which it can assume to represent the imperial tradition which has been enshrined in the Church.

THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE

THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE

English Miles / Kilometres

☐ Kingdom of Charlemagne in 771
☐ Conquests made by Charlemagne

Longitude East 4° of Greenwich

THE THIRD ATTACK

I

THE coronation of Charles as Emperor on Christmas Day 800 marks the end of a long process of European development. It marks also the restatement in the West of a tradition that had never been allowed to die. The foundation of the Empire of Charles retained the notion of a Latin imperialism fortified by its amalgamation with Christendom. At the same time, the break between the West and the East, so long in preparation, was finally, and in the most solemn manner, ratified by that ritual act of Christmas Day 800. This is reflected in the preoccupation of the chroniclers of the time with the condition of the Eastern Empire and their continual insistence that it was, at the moment, ruled in a most unworthy fashion. The crimes of Irene and her sex were put forward frequently in justification of the revolution. 'Since the name of Emperor', writes one chronicler, 'had now ceased among the Greeks and their Empire was possessed by a woman, it seemed good to Pope Leo to nominate Charles. . . .' At the same time as Charles assumed the titles and the prerogatives of the Caesars, he was dealing a hard blow at the claims so long upheld by the Emperor of the Bosphorus. These claims were in fact largely justified by the past history of the Empire in the East and they constituted a real weakness in the position of 'Charles most pious Augustus crowned of God, the great and peace-loving Emperor'. That probably explains the long and fruitless negotiations for a marriage between the Frankish Emperor and Irene.

The circumstances of the coronation themselves also added to the vagueness which attended much of the significance of the revolution. Politically, the facts which appeared as predominant were the power and prestige of Charles himself. He dominated the situation. Yet the prominence of his position and the sanctity of his office, he could never have attained by himself alone.

They came to him not from the extent of his dominions but from the sanction which the anointing Pope and the acclaiming Romans gave him, and which they alone could give to him. Over the relative importance of these parties, in the constitution of the Empire in the West, much of the political controversy of the Middle Ages was to turn. The claim of the Roman populace to be the ultimate donors of the Empire, ridiculous as it was, in practice survived in the curious assertions of men like Arnold of Brescia and Cola di Rienzi. The parts played by the Emperor and Pope were matters of more serious and far-reaching controversy. That controversy started before the Empire of Charles had passed away. It formed, so to speak, the text of the great struggle which is one of the chief themes of later medieval history. It was thus that the coronation was, in a sense, more important in legend than in actual fact. The re-establishment of the Empire was due in reality not to the conquest of Charles nor to the gift of the Pope. It was brought about by a number of converging historical developments which led naturally up to the final act.

During the reign of Charles himself it may be doubted whether the coronation made much difference to the lands over which he ruled. It was as a Frankish king that he had obtained his dominions and it was as a Frankish king that in the main he governed them. The Merovingian principles of government continued. The government was still personal. There was still no check on the power of the sovereign: 'Never', says Fustel de Coulanges, 'was there an autocracy more absolute.' The palace (without the mayor) still continued to be the centre of the administration, and the King's personal servants were the men who, under the King and later under the Emperor, governed the land. In 782, for example, Charles sent three armies into Saxony, one of which was commanded by a palace chamberlain and another by a chief of the palace stable. In 807 another official of the palace stable appears as the admiral of a fleet. The great assemblies of the March Field and the May Field played, it is true, a more important part than heretofore. They grew in size, and the great ecclesiastical and lay magnates each year came with their followers to meet the King. They merely

acclaimed, however, the King's decisions which he debated before such of his great men as he chose. The nature of the government of Gaul remained unchanged.

But it had now to cope—this personal government—with the administration of a vast Empire. The counts had become great territorial magnates; they administered vast territories, though they were still in theory directly responsible to the central government. In practice, the problem of holding together that immense dominion was almost insoluble. Charles took special measures, however, to cope with it. The most important of these was an institution known as the *missi dominici*. This was in a sense the summit of the Carolingian constitution. Even here, Charles took a Merovingian institution and transformed it into something essentially new. The Merovingian kings had occasionally sent into the provinces special royal envoys to perform special duties. It was only after his imperial coronation that this usage was changed into an important piece of imperial organization. The whole Empire was divided into districts, to which every year two or three of these envoys—*missi dominici*—were sent. But they no longer went with a fixed and a particular purpose; rather they revised the whole scope of local government. They heard complaints of the people against their governors; they held special courts of justice; they inspected monasteries; they inquired into the relations in each district between the bishop and the count. In general, they acted as the Emperor's agents and carried his authority into every corner of his dominions. But even thus, the problem of unity remained, as before, of a most serious character. Even the application of a single law throughout his dominions was almost impossible. The right of the monarch to codify tribal custom became a great task when so many peoples each with a different customary law were congregated into one Empire. Charles attempted the labour, and frequent assemblies, of which that of Aachen in 802 was the most notable, were called, when all those familiar with the laws of the different peoples were summoned in order to obtain materials for a complete codification. Besides these there were a large number of special edicts made by the Emperor and

applicable to the whole Empire. These were called the capitularies; but they remained for the most part inoperative and never formed the basis of a permanent code.

The legal unity of the Roman Empire could in fact not be reproduced in the Empire of Charles. The strength of the Frankish Empire lay in its ecclesiastical unity. That had remained the very essence of its theory. The Empire of Charles summed up Western Christendom. It was a religious organization or it was nothing. The alliance of Papacy and Frankish monarchy had produced the transformation. It remained the one means by which the unity of this heterogeneous Empire could be maintained. In the Western Church the Latin tradition was enshrined. The Empire of Charles at its strongest strove to be the Western Church regarded as a temporal society. We have watched the growth of this idea. Its partial realization was the most remarkable feature of the Empire of Charlemagne. It is elaborated at length by writers of the court of Charlemagne and of his son. Charles is the successor of Constantine; his duty is to protect the faith. It is thus that he wars against the Saxons; it is thus that he legislates (often cruelly) against heresy. Some of his edicts read like sermons. At the same time, the Church, the Papacy, and the bishops seek to preserve this essential alliance. Special functionaries were established to place the Emperor and the Pope in accord with each other's actions. That unity was, in fact, the source of the origin of the Western Empire and the basis of its strength. It explains why it fired the imaginations of men. The picture of the Emperor battling for Christendom at Roncesvalles passed naturally into immortal epic, and this attempt at the revival of a united Christendom played a noteworthy part in the general development of medieval civilization.

II

It was thus natural that the decline of the Empire of Charles should first be signalized by a lapse from the essential alliance which was the mainspring of its strength. The extent of the Empire was so vast that without some principle of unity,

such as the interconnexion of the ecclesiastical and temporal organization, it was impossible to hold it together. We shall have, therefore, to watch how that interconnexion failed. At the same time a social movement towards disunion reached its climax; and the whole of western Europe had simultaneously to bear the brunt of a new attack from outside. That is the explanation of the swift fading of the dream which reached a transient reality in the Empire of Charles.

The lack of definition of the parts played by Pope and Emperor in the re-establishment of the Empire itself prepared the way for future disputes. The theory of the Empire of Charles was virtually that of the mutual independence of the temporal and spiritual powers as expressed some centuries earlier by Pope Gelasius. But this is a theory which is extremely difficult in practice to apply, in that there is always a large debatable ground in which both powers may, with equal justice, claim jurisdiction. Under Charles himself it was the temporal power which clearly dominated the situation and to some extent abused its rights. Charles was never tired of emphasizing the religious duties which attached to his rule; his object was to govern the 'churches of God and to defend them against evil doers'. He had once assumed to be the judge of the Pope's integrity. He attempted, and with some success, to rule the internal affairs of the Church; he legislated against heresy. He interested himself directly in the appointment of prelates. Several ecclesiastical councils met in his presence and by his order. The Papacy under Charles played in practice a subordinate role in the government of Western Christendom.

Such conditions were, under the circumstances, bound to provoke opposition. That opposition, however, came to a head not under Charles but after his death. Charles was succeeded in the Empire by his son Louis, nicknamed the Pious, who lacked his father's greatness but strove, according to his lights, to govern the Empire as a sacred duty. His reign is marked by what may be called an ecclesiastical reaction against the extension of the temporal power at the expense of the spiritual. A theory was formulated under Louis that the Emperor was not

the master of the Church but that he was in a special sense its servant. This theory, propounded by the powerful palace officials of the court of the emperor, Wala, Agobard, and the great lay and ecclesiastical magnates who supported them, had far-reaching consequences. It implied, if pushed to its extreme form, nothing less than that it was for the prelates in the last resort to judge the acts of the Emperor who was the temporal servant of the Church on earth. Whilst these men exalted the office of Emperor, they sought in fact the control of his person. At the same time the great men of this vast Empire, who were often anxious to escape from control, frequently found it to their advantage to join forces with the ecclesiastical reaction. That explains the peculiar troubles of the reign of Louis the Pious. The theory dominated the Emperor himself. It accounts for the public penances of Louis at Attigny in 828 and at St. Médard in 833. They are the outward signs of the operation of a new theory of government. The two concomitant parts of the Empire have drifted into opposition.

At the same time the ancient curse of Frankish monarchy made its appearance. The political history of the ninth-century Gaul is very largely made up of partitions and repartitions of the Empire. These are for the most part not important in themselves save in illustrating the slow disruption of the Empire of Charles. They begin already under Louis himself. In 817 there took place the division of the Empire known as the Partition of Aachen. By it, Louis divided the Empire among his three elder sons and himself. Lothair became associated with his father in the imperial dignity; Louis, later to be known as Louis the German, received Bavaria, whilst Pippin received Aquitaine. Dangerous as this policy was it must be remembered that no disruption of the Empire was at first intended. The high theory of the Empire was never voiced so strongly as during these years, but in fact the principle of division was disastrous. Civil wars between members of his family filled up the reign of Louis the Pious. From 829 onwards there were a new series of partitions drawn up chiefly in favour of Charles, the youngest and favourite son of Louis. These ended in 839 when, at the

death of Pippin, Lothair received, in addition to Italy, the lands between the Rhine and the Meuse, Louis the German all the lands to the East of this, and Charles, Aquitaine, Neustria, and Provence.

After the death of Louis the Pious in 840 the same evil decline is to be observed. The three inheritors at once fell afighting. In 841 both Charles and Louis the German attacked their elder brother Lothair, who still possessed the imperial title. The decisive battle was fought at Fontenoy, where Lothair was heavily defeated. The imperial power as such was clearly unable to assert itself any longer. The battle of Fontenoy, however, resulted in the Treaty of Verdun, which was the most important of the partitions of these years. By it Charles acquired Neustria and Aquitaine. Lothair, who still kept the title and the precedence of Emperor, a long strip of territory—that 'middle kingdom' which was later to be such a source of strife to Europe —including Italy as far south as Rome, Lombardy and Provence, all of Burgundy, and then a narrow strip of territory right up to the sea. All the land to the east of this was given to Louis the German. The Treaty of Verdun is, indeed, in many ways interesting. It is emphatically too early to speak in any sense of nationality, but we may say that with this treaty the realm of Charles is beginning to look something like modern France, whilst German unity may date its first faint beginnings from the reign of Louis. At the same time the theoretical unity of the empire remains stressed. Lothair alone had the imperial dignity and a group of ecclesiastical theorists at his court claimed for him on that account very wide rights.

Lothair died in 855, and for the next thirty years the history of the Carolingian Empire becomes more and more that of anarchic confusion. Numerous partitions occurred on the death of each sovereign, and there were constant civil wars and struggles for territory. For three brief years the territories of the Empire were united under another Charles—the Fat—who had hitherto ruled over the west Franks. But he could in no way control his great vassals or maintain the unity of the Empire. At his death the Empire of Charlemagne may for all practical

purposes be said to have passed away. A fresh development begins whereby a new concentration of authority takes place east of the Rhine. Only the tradition remains. The theory of the Empire is continually being propounded, and in spite of the general anarchy and devolution the great ecclesiastics are continually stressing the essential unity of Western Christendom.

III

The terrible decline of the great Empire of Charles cannot be understood merely from the record of its political history. It is to be explained partly in the light of a disintegrating social movement and partly by reason of an external attack. The social movement was itself very complex, for we are here concerned with the development in Europe of that form of social structure which is vaguely designated by the term *feudalism*. Later we shall have to consider the characteristics of feudal society when fully developed. But feudalism reached a critical stage in its growth in western Europe in the ninth century and feudal origins were very largely responsible for the downfall of the Empire of Charles. We must, therefore, notice some features in this growth.

The social structure of western Europe in the Dark Ages was conditioned by the entry of a tribal people into a polity which was based on other than tribal arrangements. The exact proportion of blending of these social ideas has been a matter of fierce dispute, but of the blend itself there can be no doubt. In the political sphere we have watched the modification of barbarian usages by settled conditions. In the matter of social organization the process is more confused but strictly similar.

There can be no doubt that the barbarian brought into the Empire a tribal organization and that that persisted in a multitude of ways after the settlement. Tribal law continues to appear in the barbarian codes. The whole judicial system of the barbarian kingdoms is tribal. Wrongs are expiated by compensatory payments, and such payments are discharged by the kin of the wrongdoer to the kin of the injured man. Such arrangements are common to all the barbarian kingdoms. In the

earliest days of the settlement it is the kindred which is clearly the cohesive factor in barbarian society. And this had important consequences. For tribal society is by no means democratic. Not only is the authority of the patriarchial head of the family recognized and respected, but also the man with a powerful kindred to support him will take precedence over the kinless man who has few or weak relatives to call to his assistance. Slaves were also common in barbarian Germany. If we are concerned with the growth of feudal aristocracy we must not fail to notice these barbarian elements in its growth.

In tribal society kingship is always weak. The real power is exercised by an aristocractic group of patriarchal heads of families. The growth of barbarian kingship, say, under the Merovingians is one of the cardinal marks of the modification of tribal usage by settled conditions. Partly this was due as we have seen to the direct effect of Latin theories of autocracy, partly to the mere facts of settled conditions and the extended territories which the tribal warriors now occupied. And the increase in the power of the barbarian king had important results. It gave a new significance to old Teutonic institutions and fused with social organizations existing in the Empire itself. In the pages of Tacitus there may be read how the German kings were wont to surround themselves with a chosen body of warriors who shared in their glory and were specially devoted to their service. This body Tacitus calls the *comitatus*. And when they came into the Empire the barbarians came into contact with a similar institution in the Empire which had arisen from the custom of employing barbarians as the guardsmen of the Emperors or important generals. These men were called *buccellarii*; they were sworn to a special obedience to their master and they received privileged treatment from him. With the growth of the barbarian kingdoms this type of service became more and more important. These men appear everywhere as surrounding the kings. In Gaul they are called *antrustiones*: in England, *gesiths* or *thegns*. Of humble origin these groups began to be extremely powerful; they were the king's most favoured servants; they received the best that he had to

give. They began to constitute an aristocracy of service which gradually came to supplement and to supplant the tribal nobility which had preceded it.

The settlement of the tribal barbarians modified their social organization in another way also. The extended territory over which the kings ruled, the general chaos of a troubled age weakened the control of the central government. It led inevitably to a devolution of political authority. Just at the same time as the king was obtaining more power he was more and more forced to delegate it. He was at the same time also finding that he can make the matter of delegation a profitable thing for himself. The development takes place somewhat in this fashion. In order to gain a special allegiance or a special favour the king grants rights over some portion of his territory to some important man, usually an ecclesiastic. These rights are viewed by all parties concerned primarily from a fiscal point of view, but they affect all parts of the political system. The king, for example, will give away his rights to tribute over a certain district. When one reads in a charter the familiar formula that no tribute is to be paid from the lands of such and such a lord, it does not mean that the happy peasants on that land have been relieved of a fiscal burden; it means that from henceforth it is the lord who is receiving the tribute money. What has once been a tax is being transformed into something very like a rent. Private rights and public authority are becoming closely intertwined.

It is the same in the sphere of jurisdiction. The king grants away his jurisdictional rights over a certain piece of land. In future, that is to say, the recipient of the grant will receive the profits of justice in this district. Further, on the principle that he who takes the money must also do the work, such a man will also hold a court. These jurisdictional grants are a most prominent feature of the early charters of both Gaul and England. And such arrangements had their military side also. The king's grants are always accompanied by the demand that he should have the special support of the grantee in cases of emergency. This in such an age meant normally military support. All is as yet very vague; there is nothing as yet like an organized system

of knight-service, which we shall have to observe later. But just as the king is expecting support of this nature, so are the holders of these royal rights taking special steps to be able to supply that support from their own chosen followers when required. Here again the same blend of private right and public authority is being achieved.

It is important to note also the special part that the Church is playing in this process. The great ecclesiastical landowners occupied a unique position in society. They represented the wisdom of an older order. Their possessions were hedged round with a special sanctity. It is to the great sees, to the great religious houses when they later come into existence, that the majority of the earliest grants are made. The Church could promise not only the most valuable support in this world but also future benefits. The friendship of the great ecclesiastics was all important to an enlightened barbarian king.

All this development it will be observed operated, as it were, downward from the king, from whom came these grants of *immunity* as they are technically called. Quite apart from this, however, there were already in operation in society certain arrangements which combined with the grants of immunity in producing a special type of social organization. In the first place there was the *benefice*—the *beneficium*. The benefice was the most important of the tenures by various kinds of service which date from Roman times and were modified during the Dark Ages. These service tenures find their place in Roman law. The '*precaria*' of Roman law is an estate which has been let to a tenant subject to the performance of definite duties and re-vocable at will. Later, men would give land to the Church and receive it back themselves as temporary tenants. The greater landowners, lay and ecclesiastical, frequently found it to their advantage to let on similar conditions portions of their estates to trustworthy followers. To all these transactions the word *beneficium* was applied, though later it became limited to the more strictly military tenures. Just as by the immunity there was established a connexion between land-tenure and political right, so also by the benefice which was originally purely a usage

of private law there was slowly developed that tenurial pyramid which was only properly completed in the twelfth century.

We may notice also another contributing factor in the creation of this pyramid. This was the practice of *commendation*. Commendation is not easy to define except in the vaguest way. It implies a voluntary act of dependence from one man to another which is wholly alien to our ideas. Its chief cause was, of course, the need for protection in a troubled age—the need of possessing powerful friends. Consequently many bargains (there is no need to use a more elaborate word) were made between humble men and their more powerful neighbours. The lord (let us call him so) promised to protect the man in matters of warfare or trial, whilst the man in return agreed to perform services of some sort or another for the lord. In other words one man commended himself to another. Now this commendation was originally purely a personal arrangement. But very soon land came into the transaction and the lord usually acquired rights over the land of his commended men. Again, originally commendation was as it were an informal affair, but very soon the central government saw its value. The slow break up of the kindred organization rendered it imperative that other bonds should be forged between man and man. Here was one. Very soon the 'lordless man'—the man without a lord—is an object of mistrust. There is no one who can be made responsible for his good behaviour.

These, then, are the three institutions whose development goes far to explain the social conditions in the Western Empire in the ninth century. Firstly there is the *immunity*—the delegation of political power by a central government too weak to perform all its administrative duties. Secondly, the *benefice*, a method of land tenure which is directed towards the propagation of tenure by service and towards the creation of a regular hierarchy of such tenures. Thirdly, *commendation*, by which men are subjecting themselves to their more powerful neighbours throughout all grades of society. These three processes meet and merge in a general development whose results are easy to discern. By the ninth century it has advanced very far.

Everywhere there are powerful lords holding vast estates over which they exercise wide 'public' rights. At the same time the authority of central government for reasons we have examined grew weaker in the unwieldy Empire of Charles. There is thus left no unity outside the Church in that Empire. In its place there are numerous small lordships built up from public and private rights and selfcontained. They are hostile to each other. They seek successfully to escape from any external control. They conduct private war—*guerra* as opposed to *bellum*—the one with the other. Such anarchic conditions must in no way be confused with fully developed feudalism, which was a strictly ordered form of government. But they are characteristic of the ninth century. The Empire of Charles declined very largely owing to an internal social disease.

<p style="text-align:center">IV</p>

Just at the time when the central government of the greater part of western Europe declined; just at the time when society was threatening to disintegrate, western Europe was called upon to face another great attack. This came from the Scandinavian north, and though numerically less formidable than the barbarian intrusions into civilization in the fifth century it was more violent in its character and probably came nearer to wrecking the whole fabric of Western civilization.

These invaders appeared as the enemies of Europe in the form of seafaring pirates who were termed Vikings. We know very little of their previous history. The general conditions of Scandinavia during the centuries that followed the invasions cannot have differed very much from what they were before. We are left with the impression of the continuation of nomad and pastoral conditions, of frequent internecine wars, and of the constant formation of small and unstable political groups. In one particular only can we discern a development. The Viking peoples had carried their nomad habits seaward. They had perfected, for the age in which they lived, the art of shipbuilding. Their only rivals were the Frisians, who till the end of the eighth century formed a check on Viking maritime expansion. The

Vikings had already appeared as seafaring traders before their armed expansion began.

It would be very difficult to assign particular causes to the Scandinavian expansion. Over-population (for which there is very little evidence) has been suggested. The destruction of the Frisian power by the Carolingians removed the chief check to the Vikings on the sea. The way westward was thus laid open to them. It is the constant ambition of the nomad to loot civilization, and Western civilization under the successors of Charlemagne was in no fit condition to defend itself. That is the general background of the attack which nearly destroyed Europe.

The Scandinavian attack may fitly be described under four headings. In the first place there were the raids, then came the settlements, and in the third phase western Europe can be seen fighting for its very existence and just succeeding in preserving it. Finally we have to deal with the far-reaching results of the struggle.

The recorded series of Scandinavian raids began late in the eighth century, when the Vikings appeared in southern England. But raiders from Norway had probably already visited northern Scotland and Ireland. It is always difficult, in spite of the advance of modern philological learning, to locate the quarter from which any particular raid came, but a glance at the map will show the general tendency. The natural route for Norwegian raiders is round the north of Scotland, down the west coast of Britain, and thence to Ireland. The natural route for the Dane and the Swede is to the east coast of England, down the channel, and round Finisterre southward. Such routes were, in fact, followed, and from 789 onwards the raids make up a continuous series. In 792 the great monastery of Lindisfarne was sacked, and from that time forward almost every year saw the appearance of the Viking in some part of England. In 799 the raids on Ireland began and the country was ravaged, the monuments of the great Irish renaissance of the sixth and seventh centuries perishing in the onslaught. The strong rule of Charlemagne at first kept the Empire comparatively immune, but after his death and still more after the

death of Louis the Pious the raids became of extreme violence. North Saxony was periodically attacked. Hamburg was burnt in 845 and the Saxons levies themselves defeated in a pitched battle in 851. Further to the south the Scandinavians were equally successful. Raiding expeditions sailed up the Seine, the Somme, and the Loire, burning and looting wherever they went. Away to the south into Gascony the raiders went, and even into Spain.

A Viking raid was a very terrible affair with disastrous consequences. The raiders came in swift-sailing ships full of well-armed men. Their boats were strongly constructed, so that they could sail in the open sea, but they were also built of light draft so that they could push up rivers and even into creeks. They were manned by professional warriors who were fully capable of holding their own against the ill-organized levies which could be brought against them. But generally the Viking avoided a pitched battle. The raids were swiftly executed and very often carried out on stolen horses. During the raiding period the main object was plunder, and the religious houses were an especial prey. The course of a Viking raid was always marked by burnt abbeys, by wholesale loot, and by general massacre. Lindisfarne, the abbeys of northern Ireland, Hamburg, Bremen, and in particular the abbeys and churches of the Seine Valley all suffered. With this wanton destruction the very centres of European culture were being annihilated. The government, the settled life of the raided provinces, was being totally disorganized. European civilization was threatened at its centre by a new series of barbarian foes. Christendom was menaced again by a terrible pagan adversary.

By the middle of the ninth century the Scandinavian attack was everywhere taking a new form. Instead of isolated raids the Vikings were beginning to come in larger numbers, to bring their women with them, and to settle in the countries which they raided. In 843 there was set up a short-lived Norse kingdom in Ireland. In 850 for the first time the Scandinavian host wintered in England. There were already small settlements in what was to be Normandy.

The colonization of the Vikings presented the same general features everywhere. In some ways its most perfect expression was in a land which has little significance in the general growth of Europe. In 861 the Vikings discovered Iceland, and for sixty years colonization went on until the island was completely Norse. As this settlement was of necessity completely isolated from other influences, it is from Iceland that we obtain much of our knowledge about Viking society, which in Europe so speedily became affected by the customs of the lands into which the raiders had entered. More interesting, however, than this colonization in the North were the settlements in the British Isles. The northern and western islands of Scotland fell into Viking hands about the same time as Ireland was overrun. In Ireland there was considerable settlement, but after the most bitter warfare in which Dublin and Waterford were continually being taken and retaken, the invaders gradually became merged in the native population and in time accepted baptism.

But in England the Scandinavian invaders played a much more important part and one whose full significance we are only just beginning to realize. The Viking settlements in England are intimately connected with the rise to power of a new monarchy. From the time of the conversion in the sixth and seventh centuries, the internal condition of England had been in the main formed by the balance of power established between the three principal Teutonic kingdoms. To the supremacy of Northumbria had succeeded a brief domination of Mercia, and at the time of the advent of the Vikings this was being challenged by the kings of the house of Wessex in the south. The Northumbrian kingdom, once so prosperous and so cultured, had suffered a complete disintegration. Then came the Scandinavian settlements. They started in the east and radiated from Lincolnshire. The Scandinavians established themselves in south Yorkshire and effected a concentrated settlement in the heart of England. The 'five boroughs'—Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, and Stamford—formed the basis of their political power. One result of this settlement was immediately clear. It removed Mercia as a possible rival to Wessex for the hegemony

of England. The Wessex monarchy was left as the one force strong enough to contend against the invaders in England. If it succeeded in the struggle it would have no other rivals.

One other area of the Viking settlement needs to be specially noted; this was the Seine valley. Norse settlements had been established there as early as the ninth century, and in 901 there appeared among these Vikings a remarkable man whose name has gone down to history as Rollo, who not only defended the new settlements but consolidated them into a strong state.

The last quarter of the ninth century contained the crisis of the Scandinavian threat to Europe. The whole of the West was threatened. The Wessex monarchy in England seemed unable to cope with the situation. North Saxony had been removed from Carolingian control and western Europe had become unsafe. The heroic defence which led to the repulse of the invaders at first centred in England. The Wessex kings of the house of Egbert fought at first a losing struggle against the invaders. In 871 there came to the Wessex throne the greatest of her kings, Alfred. The reign of Alfred has a European as well as an English importance, for in the long conflict which he waged with the Vikings on English soil western Europe was vitally interested. In 878 Alfred won the battle of Edington over the Danish host of Guthrum, forced baptism on the Viking leaders, and by the Treaty of Wedmore confined the Scandinavian dominion definitely to the north-east of Watling Street. His successors carried on his work. His son, Edward the Elder, and his grandson, Athelstan, slowly reconquered the Danish districts and thus brought all England under the rule of the Wessex house.

The end of the ninth century also saw a marked improvement in the situation even in the distracted Carolingian Empire. The whirling chaos of the time had brought into prominence one Arnulf, a surviving member of the Carolingian house who, in the last quarter of the ninth century, was to be found campaigning in the 'middle kingdom'. In 891 he came upon the Scandinavian host in Brabant and completely defeated it at the Battle of the Dyle. It was a most important victory, in that it

carried on a defence which had already begun to be successful. For between 885 and 887 the Viking raiders of the Seine valley besieged Paris itself, though without success. These events really mark the turning-point in the history of the Vikings in Europe. After the battle of Edington, the defence of Paris, and the victory of the Dyle, the Viking ceased to menace the very existence of Europe. The danger had not wholly passed. The tenth-century wars of Otto the Great were directed against the barbarians of the north-east. Later, too, Cnut the Great was to found a great transitory empire in the North. But Cnut was a Christian, and his power never threatened civilization as it had been threatened in the ninth century.

But if Europe was saved, the effects of the Scandinavian settlements continued to be far-reaching long after the actual attack had ended. These effects are very difficult, accurately, to gauge. There is, in a real sense, a comparison to be made between the Vikings of the ninth and the barbarian invaders of the fifth century. The Viking invaders were more violent, more ruthless, and less numerous than their predecessors, but like them they were ultimately absorbed into the society into which they had entered. The Vikings were barbarian and heathen. That statement represents the general truth, though it needs in particular cases some modification. There were isolated Christian bands of raiders, and some tincture of civilization pertained to the Vikings themselves. They had, for example, an alphabet of their own—the runes—and a fine ballad literature of sagas. But in the main their impact on civilization was the same as had been that of their fore-runners. They came to destroy and plunder; they stayed to be absorbed in the society into which they had entered.

That is the general truth, but it must also be remembered that in the centuries immediately following the invasions the absorption was not complete, and in some places we have reason to know it was very gradual. A disregard of this fact in the past has, for example, led to a falsification of much of early English history. The Viking invasions, as we have seen, go far to explain the rise of the Wessex monarchy; they also explain the fatal

weakness in the position of that monarchy. The conquests of Edward and Athelstan were political. They did not lead to a social union. The fact that has always to be borne in mind in considering English history from the ninth century to the twelfth is that there are two races in England. The Scandinavian provinces have to be contrasted with the Saxon south and west. This accounts for the stormy history of the Wessex monarchy in the tenth century. It explains the fact of the ascendancy of Cnut the Great, when one element in English society, hitherto suppressed, found political expression. And the cleavage survived. It is illustrated in the varieties of place and field nomenclature throughout England. At the end of the eleventh century, that great record, the Domesday Survey, reveals in the sharpest possible manner the same contrast. In the twelfth century, throughout large tracts of England, there are still to be found large numbers of peasants bearing names which denote a Scandinavian ancestry. By means of such evidence we can, moreover, discover fairly accurately what were the areas of Scandinavian settlement in England. Their centre was undoubtedly Lincolnshire, which was a predominantly Scandinavian country. South Yorkshire was also settled by the Vikings. The northern Midlands were largely peopled by them, whilst it seems equally certain that a delimitation of Scandinavian influence in England must, though to a lesser degree, include East Anglia in its scope. In due course in England, as elsewhere, the Viking elements were absorbed in the society into which they had entered, but for three centuries Scandinavian influence on English development was profound.

In Gaul the absorption was more rapid and more striking. The settlements by the Seine of Rollo and his followers were events of cardinal importance in the history of France. In 911 Rollo achieved recognition from the Carolingian monarchy, and it was agreed that the Vikings should hold the lower part of the Seine valley on condition that their leader (who took the title of duke) should pay a nominal homage and be baptized. From that time forward the Viking power in this district begins to grow in importance, and it becomes transformed. It keeps many

of its old characteristics—the love of wandering, for instance—but the purely barbarian elements in it gradually disappear. Under two great dukes, Richard the Fearless and Richard the Good, the Normans (as they are now called) identify themselves in a remarkable manner with the civilization which surrounds them. Then and not till then they begin that fantastic and glorious career which was to include the conquest of England, the conquest of southern Italy, and the establishment of a kingdom on the Bosphorus.

The history of the Normans, indeed, illustrates once again a cardinal fact of European history during these centuries. It was not as a barbarian power that the Normans set out on their career of conquest. They were absorbed into the civilization into which they had entered; they became, in fact, its champions. They supported the Church; they were among the leaders of the great ecclesiastical revival which prepared the way for the medieval renaissance. A long line of abbeys and churches which to-day adorns the Seine valley sprang up to replace those which the Viking ancestors of the Normans had destroyed. They brought to civilization a special genius for maritime enterprise, a special genius for administration, but by the eleventh century they had become Latin in their speech, in their habits, and in their political ideas. The Norman power is the gauge at once of the strength and the weakness of the Viking attack upon Europe.

That attack completed the destruction of the Empire of Charles. Europe was saved by its repulse, but the dream of a universal empire in the West had passed away. The ancient tradition alone remained. It had failed to cope with the political circumstances of the time. We shall have, however, to watch once again its permanence and its power, as out of the wrecks of the Carolingian Empire there is formed the new empire of a different sort east of the Rhine.

V

The beginnings of this new and more limited experiment are obscure. Its gradual development is marked by none of the

wide movements which heralded the birth of the Empire of Charles. Rather we may see the restatement of the imperial theory coming as it were only after other means had been attempted by a strong statesman at restoring order out of chaos. Such an attempt in the tenth century was, indeed, very much needed. The Viking attack had, it is true, been broken, but Europe had suffered in the process from a general political disintegration. After the death of Charles the Fat the whole of the Carolingian Empire had once again split up into small and quasi-autonomous political groups. The connexion between Italy and Gaul and Germany had been severed for all practical purposes, and in each of these sections there was chaos. In Italy complete disunion had prevailed and, whilst the north of Europe had been raided by the Vikings, Italy had been the victim of a new Saracen attack. Sicily had fallen into Moslem hands, and it is probable that all Calabria would have suffered the same fate had it not been for the vigorous rule of Louis II, the son of Lothair I, who reigned in Lombardy and was titular Emperor from 855 to 875. After his death the balance of power shifts towards the eastern Empire whose troops had just succeeded in repelling the Saracen menace in the south and in attaching southern Italy more firmly to the rule of Byzantium. No strong rule could be established anywhere under these conditions. The Papacy, as we shall see, was in a state of decline, and the rival forces of the two Empires were quite ineffective. The real power was in the hands of petty princelings who did nothing but abuse it.

In Gaul conditions were little better. The unrestrained development of feudal ideas had led to the establishment of a number of small self-sufficient lordships which were constantly warring against each other and quite independent of any control. The central power was miserably weak, and the remaining members of the Carolingian house were threatened by the rise of a new dynasty of northern magnates whose future policy was as yet uncertain, but who already, under the title of Counts of Paris, were concentrating into their hands a practical power which they were as yet not strong enough effectively to use.

In Germany the disintegration had proceeded slightly less rapidly. The rule of two strong kings, Louis 'the German' and his grandson Arnulf, had not been wholly without effect, but after the latter's death in 896 it seemed as though Germany was to share to the full the fate of the other parts of the Empire of Charles. The most powerful man in Germany was Conrad, a Rhineland noble who made himself first Duke of Franconia and then titular king of Germany. He died in 918. The most apparent result of the decline in the Empire was a general disintegration, but in Germany this had as yet not proceeded quite so far as elsewhere. There had, by the tenth century, emerged those four great duchies whose mutual rivalries were to explain so much of the future history of Germany. These were: Saxony, Franconia, Bavaria, and Swabia. Henceforth any attempt at a unification in Germany had always to reckon with these great entities.

The beginnings of consolidation came immediately after the death of Conrad. It was marked by a union between Franconia and Saxony which really revealed the beginnings of a long period of Saxon supremacy in Germany. This union was called the Union of Fritzlar, and from that time forward the Duke of Saxony, Henry 'the Fowler', ruled over both duchies. With the power of the Saxon levies at his back and by means of his rule of Franconia, Henry succeeded in establishing a real supremacy over all Germany. The Swabian and Bavarian dukes paid homage, and Henry's power was even felt within the middle kingdom of Lorraine itself. It was a great achievement, but in reality it might easily have been transitory. It so happened, however, that Henry was in 936 succeeded by a political genius of the name of Otto, who later won for himself the title of 'the Great'.

It is in the gradual development of the policy of Otto that must be sought the origin of a new Empire in Europe. At first it seemed as if Otto would do nothing more than carry on the policy of Saxon supremacy in Germany. But it was soon apparent that no real unity could be achieved by such means. The first civil war under Otto (938–41) showed clearly that the

other duchies would not submit without resistance to the Saxon rule. Otto emerged barely victorious, but from that time his policy changed. He now sought to hold the duchies together by means of a dynastic policy, and members of the family of Otto intermarried with the ruling houses of the duchies. But, in truth, even this transformed policy had little chance of success. The tie of blood proved insufficient to hold the duchies together, and there was no common law or strong central administration which could support it. The result was the second of Otto's civil wars (953). The dynastic policy had signally failed. It was, however, just here that Otto showed his political insight. He realized that he could not achieve unity in Germany by means either of Saxon armed supremacy or by means of dynastic alliances. He must, therefore, make use of the only institution which was common to all the duchies, that is to say, the Church. It is thus that after the second civil war Otto's policy begins to include Rome in its scope.

But it would be impossible to understand the European significance of Henry or Otto or the prestige which they acquired merely by looking at the internal politics of Germany under their rule. It was as the defenders of Christendom that these men won the admiration of Europe, and in this as much as in anything else they laid the foundations of their later Empire. Henry the Fowler had proved a mighty warrior against the invaders of the North. He was one of those most responsible for repelling the Viking attack. In 924 he had shown his worth by repulsing a Hungarian invasion in the South. In 934 he won lands from the Danes and annexed to his Saxon dominions territories between the Spree and the Elbe. But it was his system of defence which was probably of most permanent importance to Europe in this respect. He planted colonies in the countries which he had won from the barbarians. He built a new series of strongholds, and he ordered that one out of every nine of the colonists should live at a time within these strongholds so as to secure a permanent system of defence. This was the beginning of what was afterwards known as the mark system. In this matter Otto did but develop the ideas of his

father. All round the frontiers of Germany these military
'buffer states' were founded so that any invasion of Europe
had henceforth to meet the strong resistance of settlements of
professional warriors, well equipped and in the possession of
fortified strongholds from which their operations could be effec-
tively conducted. The result was admirable. Everywhere the
defence proved more and more successful. Even when, at the
crisis of the second civil war, a great Hungarian invasion took
place, it was triumphantly repelled at a great battle on the
Lechfeld near Augsburg (955). Nor was this all; Otto's suc-
cessful defence of Christendom was rapidly winning for him a
special position in Europe. His wars against the barbarians
always (like those of Charles the Great) took on a quasi-religious
character and the crisis of each campaign was the baptism of
the infidel. In the reconquered territories new proselytizing
monasteries sprang up, like those of Quedlinberg and St. Maurice,
and a great chain of frontier bishoprics was founded. In all this
work, therefore, Otto was performing the traditional imperial
office. His warfare was undertaken with the aid of the Church;
his defence of Germany equally with his domestic policy was
bringing him into relation with the Papacy.

In 951 Otto's first intervention in Italian politics took place
when he championed the rights of Adelaide who sought the
Lombard throne despite two other claimants. Otto saw his
chance, married the lady, came to Italy with an army, and was
crowned king of Italy. To complete the policy of Otto, how-
ever, something more was necessary if the full support of the
Church was to be enlisted to aid Otto's German scheme. To be
king of Italy was one thing; to be Emperor was something
very different. It was a consummation that could only be
effected with the co-operation of the Papacy. The Papacy was
at the moment under an eclipse. More perhaps than any other
institution in Italy it had suffered from the disasters of the time.
It was in the hands of the powerful Roman family of the
Crescenti, the chief members of whom were two ladies, Theodora
and her daughter Marozia. In 955 this house forced the election
as Pope of one of their junior members, who took the title of

John XII—and in the years that followed this man and his family connexion, feeling that they could not hold their own in the welter of Italian civil wars, appealed to Otto for assistance. In this way was the path laid open for the culmination of Otto's German policy. He entered Rome early in 962 and was crowned Emperor on February 22nd.

That date marks the refoundation of the Empire in the West, but the Empire of Otto was a very different creation from that of Charlemagne. It owed its origin to none of the wide yet converging developments which had preceded the act of 800. Rather it came into being because an astute German king had seen fit to make use of the imperial tradition to complete his foreign and domestic policy. From the time of his coronation Otto developed with an ever-increasing success his scheme of holding together his kingdom by means of ecclesiastical unity. The reorganization of the German Church followed directly on the coronation, and a policy of centralization and strict dependence on the imperial power was rigorously adopted. The Empire under Otto was primarily a German concern, and the Italian interests of Otto the Great were always subservient to his policy at home. The Church, the Papacy, the imperial title itself were all used to further the German schemes of the Emperor, who knew that it was north of the Alps where his real strength lay. It was thus that the Empire of the Ottos never possessed the same oecumenical character as had that of Charles. The 'Holy Roman Empire' which Otto had founded could never claim to represent fully the tradition from the past. It had come into being largely from motives of expediency. It was founded not so much upon co-operation between the spiritual and temporal powers as upon the domination of the one by the other. Geographically it could never claim to possess the same oecumenical characteristics as the earlier Empire: France was excluded from it; the rising kingdom of England was never part of it. Very soon the great, if transitory, Empire of Cnut the Great would rise, quite independent of its control.

A failure to recognize the special limitations of this new Empire explains much of its disastrous history under the son and the

grandson of Otto the Great. The territories now reunited under a single government were wide and scattered. Without being able to be considered 'imperial' in the old sense, the lands of the new Emperors were yet as difficult to maintain as had been those of Charles the Great. The separatist tendencies of the duchies remained, and the fatal union of Germany and Italy was a constant source of weakness. The great natural barrier of the Alps sundered in two a complex of territory which as yet had few reasons for holding together. The strength of the Empire, in short, lay in the armed force of the Saxon duchy, and not yet in an imperial tradition which was here so inadequately expressed. As the policy of Otto II and Otto III became more Italian, more imperial, so did the strength of the dynasty decline. The climax was reached in the reign of Otto III. This fascinating man, a scholar, a dreamer, and a pure theorist, was wholly unfitted to rule the disorderly realm which he had inherited. He was completely involved in the dream of the past and lost to the circumstances of the present. Forgetful where his real power lay, he spent his time in Italy. Clad in the robes of the Caesars, he imitated imperial dignities and ceremonies. He gazed, it is said, on the embalmed corpse of Charlemagne. He dreamed of ruling over an Empire which had in fact passed away. Everywhere he encountered an opposition which he was powerless to resist and by the time of his death in 1002 the power and prestige of his house was immeasurably weakened.

The main conclusion that we may draw from a brief survey of this new Empire is, in fact, simple. It is that in spite of the revival of the Empire there was now no temporal power capable of representing the imperial tradition which had for so long guided the politics of Europe. A dynasty had arisen which had assumed the prerogatives of Empire and had achieved a great work for Germany. But for Europe its achievement was in this respect inadequate. It became increasingly clear that the only institution which could then realize that imperial unity of Europe which was still an aspiration was the Church. But the Church, in spite of its universality, was in the tenth century very weak. The Papacy was completely under the control of Otto the

THE EMPIRE OF OTTO THE GREAT

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Great. The local feudal magnates had also come more and more to control the local churches. In the light of these considerations it is clear that some special explanation of the subsequent development of Europe must be forthcoming. Medieval civilization was predominantly ecclesiastical. This meant nothing less than that the Church did succeed at length in fulfilling that imperial function. To do this it had to emancipate itself from temporal control and to bring about a reform. That was why the prelude to the completion of the medieval system was an ecclesiastical renaissance and a reform effected in the teeth of the bitterest opposition. That reform has, therefore, by no means merely an ecclesiastical importance. Upon it largely depended the establishment of order out of anarchy throughout a large section of western Europe. Its success finally determined the character which medieval civilization was to assume.

THE GREAT REVIVAL

I

WE have watched the crisis which came upon Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries, and seen how at the end of that period the Church was left once again as the only effective repository of the imperial tradition in Europe. But the Church had also suffered in the disasters of the age. Yet it was from the Church that ultimately came the revival which created and conditioned the civilization of medieval Europe. The decline of the Church in Europe during the period of disaster is thus a matter of general historical importance. The revival, achieved in the face of the greatest difficulties and in spite of the fiercest opposition, constituted nothing less than a turning-point in the general history of the development of Europe.

The establishment of the Empire of Charles had been an ecclesiastical as well as a political achievement. The theory of that Empire, as we have seen, though it left much that was vague, always visualized the Empire as being a religious entity, and Charlemagne himself had always stressed that fact. In truth, whilst the Church stood to gain by the creation of a mighty Christian dominion in the West, the lack of definition which existed as to the mutual relations of the two powers therein operated in the life of Charlemagne to the detriment of the ecclesiastical organization. Charles sought to bring the Church more than ever before in the West under temporal control, and in part he succeeded. He was the acknowledged defender of Christendom, and in that role he intervened in questions of ecclesiastical organization and dogma. His masterful action in the latter stages of the Iconoclast Controversy and in the matter of the Adoptionist heresy involved a temporal interference in purely ecclesiastical affairs which did not pass wholly without opposition from the Papacy. But on the whole the Church and the Empire under Charles the Great were, in the West, from their origin and composition so closely knit together that

both powers benefited from a mutual support that was seldom interrupted.

It was after the death of Charles that the vagueness of the imperial theory operated in the other direction. We have seen the meaning and the character of the ecclesiastical reaction under Louis the Pious. Whilst at first this reaction was directed to controlling the temporal authority of the Emperor, it never ceased to exalt his position, and in the dark days which followed it was the brilliant group of ecclesiastics, of whom Hincmar is the chief, who strove desperately to check the growing political and social disintegration by stressing the traditional unity of Christendom. As it became more and more clear that the whole temporal fabric of Charles's great Empire was breaking up, so much the more did the most enlightened of the ecclesiastics of the time work for the preservation of law and order, which they claimed could be found only in the Church. There is something at once heroic and pathetic in the efforts of these men to voice a high political ideal just at the time when the darkness of night was descending upon Europe.

This movement, moreover, produced at length its leader in one of the greatest of the Popes, Nicholas I. He is typical of the age in which he lived and of the ecclesiastical movement out of which he came. At another age he might have been a Gregory I or a Hildebrand. As it was, he lived in a dark and troubled period; he stood out in a kind of desolate splendour against a background of increasing despair. He left darkness behind him. Yet in him there were expressed many of the ideals which in the hands of his successors were developed to the formation of European society. He became Pope in 858 and reigned only nine years. Yet all his acts had a permanent importance and were fraught with future significance. With Nicholas I we are faced with the spectacle of a Pope of Rome putting into practice the ideas which had been voiced by the episcopal party of the court of Louis the Pious. The efforts of Nicholas I were directed to maintaining the unity of the Church in a time of disaster, to sustaining the authority of its government alike against its own rebellious members and against the

temporal power, and to preserving the dominion of the see of Rome against rival claimants in the East and West. In all these departments of policy the achievements of Nicholas were far-reaching.

Almost the whole of the reign of Nicholas was darkened by a long quarrel with Photius, the patriarch of Constantinople, which in time produced momentous consequences. But the position of Nicholas was also illustrated in the general policy which he adopted in the West. Nicholas repeatedly urged that the Papacy is independent of the control of the Western Emperors, and that in certain matters it is even the judge of the Emperor and of kings. In the matter of the divorce of Lothair I, the king of Lorraine, he took, for example, the firmest possible stand against that monarch, who was supported by a complaisant clergy. At the same time he made the authority of the see of Rome respected throughout the Church. He exercised that authority in spite of the protests of metropolitan bishops and archbishops who were not slow to resist such a control of their own power. And on the whole the Pope made good his point, and even Hincmar himself was forced to yield. With Nicholas the Papacy assumes something of the characteristics of that centralized absolutism which it was to exercise in the heyday of the Middle Ages.

The aims of Nicholas are perhaps best expressed in a forged document whose origin and whose effects have been the subject of the most protracted discussion and controversy. Up to this time the collection of the edicts of the bishop of Rome extended no further back than the time of Siricius at the end of the fourth century. About the year 850 there was forged a collection of decretals which purported to come from the Popes of the second and third centuries, and included the famous 'Donation of Constantine' by which that Emperor was made to give to the bishop of Rome jurisdiction over the whole of the Western Empire. It is now generally conceded that this compilation had its origin in the Frankish realm. The object of its compilers was to limit the absolutism of local metropolitans, and they did this by exalting the prerogatives of the Papal see. The doctrine of the decretals

was exactly that which was being preached by Nicholas himself, and the most that the decretals can be said to have done was to embody in a legal form the cardinal points of the policy of that Pope. The science of diplomatics was as yet unborn, and it is understandable on all grounds that the decretals should have been accepted at Rome. But to say this is not to assert that the Papal doctrine as enunciated by Nicholas was influenced by the decretals. The decretals, urging the supremacy of the Papacy as supreme in the West and recognizing 'the Roman See as the final court of appeal for Christians', may have helped the later development of the Papacy of the Hildebrandine period by furnishing the Papacy with a new weapon in its armoury. But they voiced a theory which contained nothing new, a theory which had never been put fully into practice, but which had been consistently preached by the Papacy from the time of Innocent I and Leo the Great. The Forged Decretals summed up the policy of Nicholas, though he was innocent of their fabrication, but they did not in any sense create the ideas or the claims which he attempted to realize.[1]

The reign of Nicholas I marks the climax of the ecclesiastical revival in the Carolingian Empire. He stressed the unity of Christendom and its subjection to the Papacy at a time when the temporal power was crumbling into ruins and Europe was faced with a general disintegration. That disintegration he sought to check by means of the vigorous exercise of a central autocracy. He failed. Europe after his death entered upon its darkest hour, but throughout that night there continued a thin series of ecclesiastical writings which preserved the memories of his aims and ideals, and linked up the bulls of that great but isolated Pope with those of Hildebrand himself.

II

The century which elapsed between the death of Nicholas I in 867 and the coronation of Otto in 962 is the darkest hour

[1] In this controversial matter of the Forged Decretals I follow the conclusions of J. Hamilton Thomson (*Cambridge Mediaeval History*, vol. vi, pp. 638 seq.), whose work in this respect is largely based on the classic article of Fournier (*Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, vol. viii, pp. 18 seq.).

in the history of western Europe in the Middle Ages. It is also the darkest hour in the history of the Church. These two facts are not unconnected. It was natural when European civilization was the most threatened and nearly collapsed that the institution which at the time had the chief custody of the tradition upon which civilization was founded should also suffer. A general decadence marks ecclesiastical history at this epoch.

The decline of the Empire of Charles had its immediate effect upon the Papacy itself. That Empire was derived from a combination between the Papacy and the Frankish house. Its fall menaced both parties to the alliance. The natural temporal protectors of the see of Rome had come to be the Carolingian dynasty. The collapse of the dynasty left the Papacy defenceless. This, moreover, occurred at a time when it was menaced from many quarters. The chaotic conditions of Italy at the time rendered any property unsafe, and the Saracen menace from the south added a new danger to the position. The preservation of the Patrimony of St. Peter came to be more and more the predominant desire of the Popes, and protection could only be sought by the Popes invoking the aid of temporal powers. The high theory voiced by Nicholas found some echo in Rome during these years, and in particular John VIII (872–82) could still claim the right to appoint the Emperors. But in truth the conditions of temporal politics had wholly changed since the days of Louis the Pious, and the practical result of the Italian development had been to place the Papacy at the mercy of the warring factions in Italy. First the titular Emperor of the north exercised supreme control, and later, as we know, the Popes fell under the domination of the local Roman aristocracy represented chiefly by the house of the Crescentii. Such conditions were disastrous. The history of the Papacy at this time was disgraced by scandals and its prestige north of the Alps suffered immeasurably. The personal characters of the pontiffs during these years were often deplorable. Some of the scandals of this time have probably been exaggerated,[1]

[1] See Fedele, *Archivio della Società romana di storia Patria*, vol. xliv, pp. 75 seq.– 393 seq.

but it was a time of general degradation. The reigns of Sergius III and John XII were a disgrace to the Papal Office.

Whilst the Papacy entered a period of decline during these years, the same was true of the Church in general. The social disintegration involved in nascent feudalism affected the ecclesiastical equally with the temporal organization. As the local magnates grew to be more and more powerful, so also did they inevitably grow to have more and more control over the local churches. They forced their relatives and supporters into the higher offices of the Church, and bishoprics became hardly distinguishable from lay fees. The result was that a widespread disunion entered into the Church, a disunion which a declining Papacy could do nothing to check. And not only did the conditions of early feudalism lead to this ecclesiastical disintegration, they also intruded into the offices of the Church men quite unworthy of fulfilling the duties attached to them. It is thus that this century is throughout marked by the prevalence of grave ecclesiastical scandals. Such scandals were certainly widespread. To appraise their extent would be difficult. The contrast during this period between the claims of the Church and the lives of many of its officers inevitably invited exaggeration, and it must be remembered that self-criticism is a permanent feature of any vigorous society. But it would be unwise in any sense to minimize the corruption of the time. The terrible picture drawn by the combined effort of men like Liutprand of Cremona, Atto of Vercelli, Adam of Bremen, and, above all, Peter Damien undoubtedly represents the truth. This period is one of the greatest ecclesiastical corruption. In particular these writers call attention to two grave abuses which were closely connected together. The one was widespread simony, that is, the traffic for money of ecclesiastical offices, and the other was carnal vice among the hierarchy. These were the two chief evils that spread throughout a Church everywhere dominated by an unworthy lay aristocracy and robbed of central control. This was the ecclesiastical crisis in the tenth century.

But that crisis, it must again be emphasized, was by no means merely one of ecclesiastical significance. As much as

ever before did the Church at this period embody the
tradition of civilization. As much as ever before did it seem
to be the one safeguard of order. It was not for nothing
that towards the end of the tenth century it began to form and
attempt to enforce beneficial regulations to limit the anarchic
private war of the great magnates. The local regulations for
the maintenance of the Peace of God, and later of the Truce
of God, have perhaps been given an historical significance
greater than they deserve. But they do represent the general
attitude of the Church towards politics at this period. They
show an attempt on the part of enlightened ecclesiastics to
advance towards what has aptly been called a 'reign of Law',
and this at a period when the validity of all legal sanctions
seemed to have passed away. And in another way also did the
Church at this critical moment represent the tradition from the
past. The Empire of Otto had never possessed the oecumenical
characteristics of its predecessors. In the middle of the tenth
century there was a real danger that these would be lost in
a general collapse of the whole ecclesiastical organization. This
would, under the circumstances, have meant nothing less than
the annihilation of the civilization which western Europe was
with difficulty preserving. The urgency for an ecclesiastical
reform therefore reacted upon every part of European politics.
Moreover, the question was a unity in all its parts. The
control of the local churches by the lay magnates was re-
sponsible not only for the disunion in the Church, but also
for the decline of clerical morals, since the most unworthy
men were appointed in consequence to high ecclesiastical offices.
At the same time the disintegration of the Church was allowed
to proceed apace in the lack of any central control from Rome.
An effective reform, it was clear, must deal with all aspects of
the problem if it was to be successful, and on its success depended
the character of European civilization in the Middle Ages.

III

The reform in the Church, which culminated in the work of
Hildebrand, was preceded by a monastic revival. This radiated

from the monastery at Cluny in Burgundy, which was founded in the tenth century. Its rule was based on the old Benedictinism, of which it was an outcome and a reform. The members of the monastery were enlightened men who were imbued with an ardent desire to purge the Church of the abuses which had grown up. By the mouth their great abbot Odo (926–60) they denounced these abuses and sought in their own lives and organization to free the monastic life from secular control. Under the Cluniac system the old scheme of each monastic house being autonomous and independent was abolished. In the new conditions it was felt that that would inevitably lead to feudalization of the whole movement. Under the Cluniac plan, therefore, all the daughter monasteries became closely associated with Cluny itself. The head of the Order was the abbot of Cluny, and all the other houses were ruled by priors appointed by him. In this way the new Order was able to resist the control of local magnates. The influence of Cluny upon the later movement of reform has probably been exaggerated. These men set an example by their lives and teaching. They established a strong monastic corporation, but they did not at first have any great effect upon secular society. They did not sufficiently realize a cardinal feature of the situation, that reforms could only proceed by means of a strong attack on local control, and that this in turn could only be achieved by the re-establishment of a strong central executive in the Church itself. The influence of Cluny was confined to a denunciation of clerical vice by able and saintly men, and to the setting up of a strong monastic organization which was later to serve as an example for the centralizating policy of Popes at a later date.

Elsewhere, and especially in that middle kingdom which had once been ruled by Lothair, we can also see the growth of the constructive ideas of the future. Its earliest exponents are to be found in the tenth century, and their declarations serve, so to speak, as the link between the bulls of Nicholas I and those of Hildebrand. Of such men there may perhaps be cited the name of Atto of Vercelli and, more important, that

of Rathier of Lièges, whose great work the *Praeloquia* was in many ways the text-book of the coming reform. In the contention of Rathier that the freedom of the hierarchy from lay control is an essential prelude to moral reform, and that the see of Rome should decide disputes between bishops and lay magnates, we can see the beginnings of the later Papal position. It was these ideas, expanded and developed in the next century by men like Waso, bishop of Lièges, and Humbert the Cardinal, that led the way directly to the active reforms of the Papacy.

But from another quarter there was also started a reforming movement. The policy of Otto the Great produced its results, as we have seen, in the German Church. If the Church was to be used by the Emperor to maintain unity among the duchies, the Church must be strengthened. A reform in the German Church followed therefore the imperial coronation. It was marked by frequent Church Councils and by the promotion of notable ecclesiastics such as Bruno of Cologne. It was carried on by Otto II and Otto III. But this imperial reform was always secondary to considerations of political expediency; it never dealt with the subordination of the hierarchy, which was the real root of the trouble. The Emperors were quick to resist any movement which would minimize the control that they themselves exercised over Papal elections. Under the successors of Otto III a policy of active Caesaro-Papism was developed in Germany. This was a fatal defect at the time in the imperial reforms; nevertheless they proceeded and found an echo in Italy itself. When the period of active reformation arrived the Hildebrandine party had to contend not only with vested interests but also with this secondary reforming party which sought ultimately to weaken their whole position.

The ideas of Cluny, the imperial reforms, the deeply-laid plans and thoughts of great bishops, at last produced a change at the very centre of the Church. The beginnings of that change may be dated by the accession to power as Pope of Leo IX in 1048. With Leo IX the whole situation changed. The reforms ceased to be a matter of theory, they became a definite programme of

policy; they ceased to be local, they became Roman and European, the affair of the whole Church and directed by the leader of the Church. They involved also the politics of nearly the whole of Europe.

IV

The period which began with the accession of Leo IX was marked for Europe by the fulfilment of the ideas which had so long been forming. The effect of this was so widespread that it is necessary to take a survey of the political situation in Europe at the beginning of this era of constructive reform. In one or two important respects the general structure of Europe had altered since the formation of the Empire of Otto and its decline under his successors. In France the new house of the Capets had secured the title of king, an event which was to have a widespread future significance but which hitherto had had little effect upon the consolidation of Gaul. The real power was still in the hands of the great feudatories, and great principalities were forming, Anjou and Burgundy, Aquitaine and Poitou, which were all semi-independent and often more extensive than the dominions of the house of Capet itself.

In another direction, however, the political situation in France had reacted in a more fundamental way upon Europe. The foundation of the duchy of Normandy on Gaulish territory we have already watched. The gradual absorption of the Viking settlers into civilization we noted as being the most prominent feature of its growth. We have now to see another yet more startling development by which descendants of the pagan enemies of Christendom are transformed into the champions of the reforming Papacy. The sea-faring and venturing character of the Norman people was not lost with their settlement in Gaul. As early as 1017 we find Norman knights under Ralf de Toeny (the names are beginning to be strangely familiar to English ears) fighting against the Greeks in the south of Italy, and his successors brought a band of Norman knights to join in the adventure. By 1030 the Norman settlement of Aversa was founded. In 1042 Apulia was conquered by the sons of

Tancred of Hautville, and in the next decade Pope Leo IX himself led an army to expel the invaders. The result was the battle of Civitate in 1053, where the Normans were completely victorious. The consequences of this were important. On the one hand, the Normans had shown that it was impossible to expel them from Italy; on the other hand, the peculiar piety of these newly-won adherents to Christendom prevented them from taking any advantage of their victory. The sequel was in fact almost inevitable. The Norman power in Italy was recognized and the Normans became the special allies of the Papacy. The treaty was ratified at a synod held at Melfi in 1059, when the Norman dukes in Italy became the vassals of the Pope. In Italy, as elsewhere, the Normans had already shown that administrative genius which everywhere marked their rule. The events of Melfi meant nothing less than that at the outset of the Papal reforms the strongest power in the peninsula had become the ally of the Popes.

Whilst the western portion of the Empire of Charlemagne was still in a state of disorder and the Normans were winning for themselves a new realm in the south, the State founded by Otto the Great was passing through a new phase in its existence and one which largely determined the political consequences of the ecclesiastical reforming movement. The attractive though doctrinaire policy of Otto III had dissipated many of the resources of the new Empire. He left his realm in a general anarchy to a new Emperor of the Bavarian ducal house, Henry II (1002–24). This reign marks the final decline and the beginning of the reaction to the ideas of Otto the Great. The central power was immeasurably weakened, and Henry is to be found ruling mainly by means of councils. But at the same time the defence of the Empire on the East continued to be safely carried out, and the centre of interest of the imperial power was once more shifting north of the Alps. It was, however, only with Henry's successor, Conrad II (1024–39), that the full effect of this return to a practical policy was felt. Conrad's aims were strictly like those of the founder of the new Empire; they were to maintain order in his German dominions and to hold them

together in a central unity. Neither under him nor under Henry III (1046–56), who succeeded him, did the Empire of Otto the Great seek to occupy that oecumenical position which it could not in theory or in practice support. It was a strong and a practical policy. It was marked by a ruthless suppression of feudal rebellions such as that which occurred in Swabia in 1030, and at the same time there was a general reorganization of the feudal arrangements in Germany itself. The whole of the country was in danger of splitting up once more into numerous small groups. The duchies themselves were disintegrating, for the duchy of Franconia had lost its identity by reason of its long amalgamation with Saxony, and as early as 976 Otto had divided the Bavarian duchy. The result was the formation of numerous autonomous feudal lordships which were always themselves splitting up and were therefore very difficult to control. Conrad, in an ordinance which was to have far-reaching results, declared the lesser fees to be hereditary as well as the greater. This, though in many cases it merely gave official sanction to practices which were already in operation, tended to create a counterpoise to the greater feudal lords and to bring the smaller vassals into direct relation with the Crown. Both these reigns were indeed a time of solid prosperity for the new Empire. It is a period that is marked by an increase of territory. In 1034 the kingdom of Arles, which in the downfall of the Carolingian Empire had assumed a separate identity, became once more attached to the Empire, whilst an extension of the mark system in the East brought the Slav kingdoms of Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary into the orbit of imperial jurisdiction.

The reigns of Conrad II and Henry III had shown the true character of the Empire founded by Otto the Great. There is a great gulf fixed between it and the Empire of Charlemagne. The one is local in its theory, the other is oecumenical, and though the 'Holy Roman Empire' of later days makes claims which had been partially fulfilled by its predecessors, it could never be said to sustain the imperial tradition of a politically united Christendom which continued to be the ideal of Europe. It was this fact which gave to the ecclesiastical policy of these

Emperors an enhanced significance. Whilst the ecclesiastics of the court of Louis the Pious had been quick to resent the interference with ecclesiastical affairs on the part of an Emperor who could really lay claim to be the head of the Christian world, it was felt by the reforming party that it was a far greater scandal when the ruler of this new Empire so much more circumscribed, claimed, and enforced far greater rights of ecclesiastical control. Under Conrad II, the Church in Germany was used as an instrument of State policy and the imperial power regarded the sale of bishoprics as a regular source of revnue. Under Henry III the problem became more complex but equally dangerous for the Church, for Henry was the reforming Emperor. He legislated against simony and against ecclesiastical corruption. But it was still as an 'Erastian' that he governed, and he sought to dominate the whole policy of the Papacy. This, then, is the political situation on the eve of the great revival. There is as yet small hope of a reconsolidation in France. In Italy the Papacy has found a new and strong ally; in Germany there is established a strong central government which for the moment is anxious for ecclesiastical reforms but wishes to subject the Church to temporal control in such a way that would in practice have made those reforms impossible. The Empire, ever becoming more localized in its scope, wishes to dominate the Church, the repository of the Latin tradition. Europe, in the throes of political disintegration, needs some other principle of unity. That is to be found in the Church, but only if the Church is able to reform itself and to free itself from the control of local temporal princes.

<div style="text-align:center">V</div>

With Leo IX the Papacy takes control of the movement of reform whose origins we have found in so many quarters. The constructive period of that reform, which was to have such far-reaching consequences, lasts but for some forty years. It involves, however, the reigns of six Popes: Leo himself (1048–54), Victor II (1055–7), Stephen IX (1057–8), Nicholas II (1059–61), and finally Gregory VII (1073–85)—Hildebrand.

During this period we can watch a steady and almost uninterrupted development. This has been attributed to the fact that Hildebrand was himself closely associated with the Papacy during those years. There may be truth in the idea. There can be no doubt that Hildebrand is the genius under whom the whole movement of reform culminates, but its germs nevertheless can be seen long before his advent. The great Popes who immediately preceded him also had their definite share in the growth of the revival, and Gregory VII is himself at length found to be applying, though on a gigantic scale, the ideas which had been voiced before by pioneers like Rathier, and by saints like Peter Damien.

We can see one matter alone in which under these Popes there is some vacillation, and that is the part that should be played by the temporal power therein. The issue, as we have seen, had in reality become fairly clear, and it was becoming evident that the whole reforming programme in respect of corruption of government and temporal interference hung together. But the reign of Henry III had in fact somewhat confused matters. An imperial house, zealous for reform, but anxious to control the Church, was difficult to deal with, though it probably in reality constituted the most formidable menace which the reformers had to face. Only slowly does the issue become clear. Leo IX never really resists the imperial claims; neither does Victor. In the short reign of Stephen IX we begin to see a change, but it is with the really great Pope, Nicholas II, that the full Hildebrandine programme is at last exposed. It is then that the attack on the temporal control of the Church is made the inevitable prelude to the work of the reform. With Alexander II there comes a reaction, and the Papacy once again begins to lean heavily on imperial support, until Gregory himself develops the policy of Nicholas.

The achievements of these men were in reality nothing more than the practical realization of the aims which had been expressed by the more enlightened of the ecclesiastics during 'the dark century'. Clearly, if the Church was to be freed from temporal control it was necessary to start with the Papacy itself.

The opposition between Nicholas and the Emperor served as an opportunity for the whole business of Papal elections to be reorganized. Nicholas in 1059 decreed that the choice of the Popes should henceforth be vested in the cardinal bishops, that is to say, in the bishops of the suburbican dioceses of Rome, and that they should choose if possible a Roman, but if no suitable Roman was to be found, any other ecclesiastic. This went a long way towards freeing the Papacy from the abuses which had attacked it. It sought to liberate the Papacy from the control of the Emperor, of the lay parties of Italy, and of the Roman mob. It placed the choice in the hands of a body which tended to represent the most enlightened spirit of the time, 'an electoral body religious and aristocratic which became the senate of new Rome and furnished it with regular principles and precedents of government'. Moreover, it was permanent. Whatever violations of the procedure of Papal elections there might be in the future—there was much that was doubtful in Hildebrand's own case—the election of the Pope would always hereafter pertain *de jure* to the college of cardinals.

The establishment of this 'Roman constitution' was the first step to setting up a central government in the Church capable of carrying out the reforms. With Gregory VII the Papal organization began to stretch to the remotest corners of Christendom. An official began to appear also who was largely responsible for this achievement. This was the Papal legate. The Papal legate was by no means a new institution, but with Gregory he appeared with new significance. It is with this Pope that legates made their appearance who did not merely execute temporary commissions but who acted as permanent governors in the name of the Pope over extended jurisdictions. The Papal legate acted as the Pope's representative wherever he went. He carried with him the supreme authority of the apostolic see. 'The legate of the Pope,' wrote Gregory, 'even if he is personally of inferior rank, takes precedence over all bishops in councils, and he can pronounce against them the sentence of deposition.' This acted in two ways. It dealt a crushing blow at the independent claims of some of the local bishops. It served also

as a means by which the whole of Christendom could be brought more directly under the control of the Papacy.

The attempt at the purification of the Church followed the development of the central government. A long series of councils from the time of Leo IX had condemned simony and immorality. There was now some chance that the condemnations would take effect. In 1074 Gregory summed up the whole of the previous development in this respect in a celebrated ordinance. This decreed:

1. that clerics who had obtained any grade or office by payment should cease to minister in the Church;
2. that no one who had purchased any church should retain it and that no one in future should be permitted to buy or sell ecclesiastical rights;
3. that all priests who had been guilty of incontinence should be prohibited from retaining their office;
4. that the public should in no wise receive the ministrations of those whom they saw setting at naught the apostolic ordinances.

The Papacy was strong enough now to make a bid at putting these ideals into practice, and it called in the whole Christian democracy to its aid. That is the real meaning of the fourth of these ordinances. The third has also a new significance. The principle of the celibacy of the clergy had hitherto only been locally enforced (notably by Gregory the Great in the Roman patrimony). From this time forth it became a general rule, and it determined the character of the hierarchy which to a large extent was to dominate the Middle Ages. Yet even now it remained doubtful if the general programme involved in these ordinances was possible. They were swiftly followed by another which formed, as it were, the coping-stone of the edifice of reform. It was an ordinance, too, which was to plunge Europe into war:

If any one receives from the hands of a layman a bishopric or an abbey he should not be recognized as being vested with the dignity of the rank of bishop or abbot and the faithful ought to refuse to obey

him. Similarly if the Emperor or any other secular prince or power dares to perform this investiture ceremony let him be condemned to excommunication.

It was the key to the whole matter. To achieve this had the new centralization been effected. On this did the reform in the Church ultimately depend.

In Hildebrand is summed up the tendency of a whole age of reform. With him the issue so long desired by earnest men came to be clearly realized. There could be no link missing in the chain which was to bind Europe together once more. 'Looking at a world distraught by feudal anarchy,' Professor Tout finely said, 'his ambition was to restore the peace of God, civilization and order, by submitting the Church to the Papacy and the world to the Church.'

VI

The work of Hildebrand and his great predecessors presents thus a unity in all its aspects. It had yet to be seen whether such an extensive programme could overcome the opposition which it courted. That opposition came from many different quarters. First of all there were the vested interests among the feudal magnates. These had used the Church for their own ends in the past and were extremely loath to give up the local rights that they had acquired. Then, there were the metropolitan sees of the West, such as Milan and Cologne and Arles. These hated very often the increase in the prestige of the Roman see, and on occasion were not reluctant to back up the discontented feudality against the reforming party. Finally there were the temporal princes, chief of whom at the time of Hildebrand was the Emperor. They, like the other feudal lords, had vested interests in the old régime. But they could claim that in the growth of the central government lay a sure means of controlling the feudal nobility. That was the real strength of their case, and under a reforming monarch like Henry III it could be made a very strong case. Such men would urge the reforms but resist the attack on the temporal privileges over the Church.

On the other hand, the reformers argued with justice that the reform of the Church was directly dependent on the removal of the temporal control, and that it was of vital importance to the very existence of Europe that the reforms should proceed.

In this way there was staged the long controversy which in its various ramifications filled up so much of the history of the Middle Ages. It opened inevitably after Hildebrand's attack on lay investitures. There has always been a tendency to regard the 'Investitures Contest' (as it is termed) as a dispute about a small matter of ecclesiastical ritual as to who should present the prelate with the symbols of his office. In reality, as we have seen, it was far otherwise. The question of lay investiture involved the whole reforming movement on which in turn depended the character of the civilization which was being evolved in Europe.

The actual course of that Contest was dreary in its details. It falls naturally into three phases. The first starts with Hildebrand's decree against investitures and lasts to the submission of the Emperor in 1077; the second from 1077 to the coronation of the Emperor Henry V in 1111; the third from 1111 to the temporary settlement effected at Worms in 1122.

In 1056 there succeeded to the imperial throne a boy of the Swabian house who took the title of Henry IV. At once all the difficulties connected with a minority in a troubled age made themselves felt, and the young king fell alternately under the control of rival factions, led by Anno, bishop of Cologne, and Adalbert, bishop of Bremen. And when he grew up the old problem of unity in Germany asserted itself. Just as Henry the Fowler had found it difficult to maintain a Saxon supremacy, so now Henry IV found it wellnigh impossible to support a Swabian rule over Saxony. The first great Saxon revolt broke out in 1073 after Henry's victory at Hohenburg, and saxon opposition was to play a great part throughout the struggle between Henry and the Church. The Emperor could thus only count on limited support even in Germany. In Italy his case was much worse, for the Papacy had not only all the prestige of the revival but also the support of Matilda, countess of Tuscany,

in the centre and the strong power of the Normans in the south. The first resistance of the Emperor was thus weak. The Papal demands were denounced in 1076, and Hildebrand replied with the extreme measure of excommunicating the Emperor. This was the signal for a general revolt of all the discontented elements in Germany and Italy. Henry was forced to yield; in 1077 he made a dramatic submission to Gregory, standing barefooted in the snow outside the Papal residence at Canossa, and finally accepting all the demands of the reforming party.

The second phase of the Investiture Contest was longer and more complicated. It may broadly be described as a partial recovery of the imperial position. Henry's submission gave him no peace in Germany, where the revolutionaries elected an anti-Caesar and defeated Henry at Forcheim in 1080. Henry, as soon as he was able, revoked the promises which he had made at Canossa and was again declared deposed and excommunicated by Gregory. But this time Henry was more successful; he gained a transitory victory over his German enemies at a battle on the Elster in 1080, and three years later he was in Italy before the walls of Rome. It was at this stage that Gregory called in his Norman vassals to his assistance, and in 1084 Robert of Apulia entered Rome and delivered the city over to fire and sword. Gregory retired to Salerno, where he died. Under his successors, Victor III, Urban II, and Pascal II, the struggle went on in Italy and Germany with no decisive result. Henry IV himself died in 1106 and was succeeded by his son Henry V, who at his accession received the backing of a united Germany. He invaded Italy and forced the weak Pascal to an almost unconditional surrender. Henry was crowned Emperor in 1111.

The third phase in the struggle showed the imperialists to be quite unable to sustain this advantage. Just as Henry IV had renounced his guarantees after Canossa, so also did Pascal when Henry V had recrossed the Alps. Pascal repudiated all his concessions, and his attitude was followed after his death by Gelasius II and Calixtus. It was becoming increasingly clear

to both sides that a compromise was inevitable. In 1122 a settlement was reached at a council held at Worms. The terms of the settlement, made after fifty years of fighting, were vague, but they implied that the Emperor was from henceforth to have no part in the investiture of prelates so far as concerned their spiritual dignities, but that such prelates as possessed temporal rights as feudal lords should receive these from the Emperor and pay such feudal services as they owed him. It will however, readily, be seen that this distinction between the spiritual and temporal functions of prelates was very hard to apply in practice. Nor did the vagueness of the settlement lead any one to hope that it would be of long duration.

It must not be supposed that the Investiture Contest was confined to the Empire, though there it took in some ways its most spectacular form and created most trouble for the future. As we shall see hereafter, it profoundly affected also the development of the new kingdoms which were growing up in the West. The Capetian dynasty had hitherto professed the traditional ecclesiastical policy of French dynasties, but in France, as elsewhere, the temporal rights of laymen over the Church were only very reluctantly given up. In the course of the struggle, one of the new kings, Philip I, was excommunicated by Pope Urban II in 1094. The case of England was yet more interesting. At the time when the Hildebrandine reform was developing, England, after the collapse first of Wessex and then of the Empire of Cnut the Great, of which it formed part, had fallen into an anarchy which only ended with the establishment in power of the strong house of Norman kings. The causes and results of that movement we shall have to consider later. But it must at once be noted that the cause of the Normans in England, as in Italy, became linked up with that of the reforming Papacy. The champions of the old order, led by Godwine and Harold, earls of Wessex, became identified with the cause of a simoniacal prelate Stigand. When William the Conqueror arrived in England he came as a protagonist of the reformed ecclesiasticism and fought under a banner blessed by the Pope. The Norman Conquest of England was

in a sense a victory for the Hildebrandine movement. But once established in England the Norman dynasty sought to make the distinction which the reformers always resisted. The Norman kings remained for the most part the friends of reform, but they resisted the abatement of any of their temporal power, and as their power was of the greatest importance in every department of English life, the issue was more difficult in England than in almost any other part of Europe. The details of the English struggle really form part of another movement that needs separate treatment. The result was a compromise very similar to that which had been effected in Germany.

Looking at the matter from the most general point of view, there can be no doubt that, in spite of much that had been left vague, the real victory was with the reforming Papacy. It is true that at the concordat of Worms the full Hildebrandine position had not been maintained. But looking back on the struggle, men saw, not the tumultuous coronation of Henry V, but rather the tragic pageant of Canossa and the spectacle of an Emperor as a suppliant in the snow. And they were right. The Papacy had been able to engage in a struggle with the strongest temporal powers of Europe and had emerged from the struggle with its strength vastly increased.

But for those whose interests are in the general development of Europe it is not the struggle which is important; it is the constructive achievement. We have been at some pains to point out that the great problem which was set in the tenth century was by no means one solely connected with the internal affairs of the Church. It was a vital one in the development of Europe. The best test of the achievement of the reformers lies in fact in a comparison between the Europe of the tenth century and that of the twelfth. When the reforming movement started, Western Christendom had reached the lowest point in its history. It was threatened from outside; it was menaced with a terrible disintegration within. After the reforming movement was ended Western Europe had achieved a new unity and it was beginning to produce the firstfruits of a new culture. The re-establishment of the unity of the Church, its increased

influence on every department of political life, the resurgence of the Papacy as a political force, operating in all the kingdoms of the West, meant nothing less than that the distinctive features of medieval Europe had at last become fixed and a civilization at once Christian, European, and Latin had been securely founded.

THE RENAISSANCE OF MONARCHY

I

THE Latin tradition was maintained by the Church and developed in its full oecumenical force by the Hildebrandine reformers. In doing this they undoubtedly saved Europe from a prolonged period of anarchy and eclipse, and perhaps from utter destruction. But that tradition contained, as we know, other elements also. In an age of anarchy and civil strife there remained the notion of Latin monarchy—of an authority exercised for the public good and concerned with the preservation of peace and good government. The Church had kept alive this notion, and it appears fitfully and faintly in the ages which succeeded the collapse of the Roman Empire in the West. We can catch a glimpse of it occasionally in the troubled Merovingian epoch. With the Carolingians we have seen the notion transformed. The ancient world had given a kind of divinity to its rulers in that they embodied in themselves the welfare of the State. The Church also insisted that the monarch had a religious duty to perform—that of the preservation of order and justice. If he fulfilled these duties he was entitled to the obedience of men. He could be regarded as having been appointed by God for that purpose. The secular ruler is regarded as God's instrument for the maintenance of order.

Medieval monarchy became in practice of great importance in the development of Europe. We must therefore watch its growth and its characteristics as it grew to perfection in France, Germany, and England. The twelfth century was the Golden Age of European monarchy, and Europe owes much to its kings.

II

Out of the chaos which grew in the Western section of Charles's Empire, there slowly developed in power a new dynasty. Its real founder was one Robert, nicknamed the Strong, who had lived in the ninth century. He was duke of Touraine and Anjou,

count of Auxerre and Autun, and possessed of important lands in the Seine valley. After his death his son Odo took over his possessions and added to them the county of Paris, which soon came to be the most important title of the family. When Charles the Fat died in 888, Odo was chosen by the notables as their king. For ten years he ruled, but his house had not as yet the prestige of the Carolingians, and after the death of Odo there is a return of Carolingian rule, Robert, the heir of Odo, becoming again merely a leader of the feudal aristocracy. Robert did become king for one year before his death, but it was also a transitory glory. In 922 he died, and the family leadership passed to his son Hugh the Great.

As yet it will be seen that this family has shown none of the marks of its future greatness and none of the true characteristics of royalty. These men have proved themselves great warriors and pre-eminent among the feudal magnates who hold and abuse the political power. Their succession to the kingship is merely the result of warlike achievement; it is premature and impotent. With Hugh the Great and his son Hugh Capet a new type of man makes his appearance. These are men of statesmanlike ability, and the position of the dynasty in France begins to undergo a change.

The details of the long struggle of these men to a supreme position need not concern us, though we shall have to note some of the features of their great achievement. By the middle of the tenth century Hugh the Great was unquestionably the strongest power in northern France, and in 936 the magnates wished to choose him as their king. But Hugh saw that a royalty which was always disputed and which carried with it no real power over the feudal magnates was a worthless gain. Much better to direct the power of the Crown without assuming the title. It was thus that he secured the coronation of Louis 'd'Outremer', a member of the Carolingian dynasty, and contented himself as far as possible with controlling the royal Government Hugh Capet, his son, pursued the same policy, and between 956 and 987 he was the real holder of power, whilst the Carolingian house exercised in name the royal authority.

Throughout, it was a practical consolidation of power that Hugh sought. The great feudal magnates were everywhere commending themselves to him, and, what was far more significant, the great ecclesiastics could gradually be seen coming to his support, recognizing that in this practical authority was the only hope of withstanding the feudal anarchy of the times. When the Carolingian house therefore came to an end in France in 987 Hugh was left undisputed in the field. With the almost unanimous support of clergy and nobles he was chosen king. These events open a new epoch in the growth of medieval monarchy and they may be taken also as marking the beginnings of the history of France as opposed to that of the west Frankish Empire.

The events of 987 secured a permanent change of dynasty in France. The Carolingian house, it was clear, could never re-establish itself. It had lost many of its demesne lands, it had lost its allies. It lacked also able men to sustain its cause. It was rapidly losing even that traditional respect which pertained to its name. On the other hand, the practical power was in the hands of the Capets. Hugh was a lord strong in his territorial possessions, a capable statesman supported by most of the great lay and ecclesiastical magnates of the land. It has been said that the accession of Hugh Capet represents the triumph of the French nationality. That is not so. There was as yet no French nation in existence, nor was there as yet any real unity in the country. Hugh Capet was fortunate in the support which he received, but the real power was still in the hands of the feudal nobles, who might be expected at any moment to attempt its abuse. Indeed the accession of Hugh has also been considered to be the virtual triumph of feudality. This again is an exaggeration. The Capets sprang from the feudal aristocracy it is true, but this does not explain their rise to power, and the absence of any central government rather than a revival was what the feudal nobles of the time most desired. The most interesting feature of the Capetian restoration is rather its ecclesiastical character. In this we may in truth see a resurgence of those Latin theories of monarchy which were to mould the future. Something of divine right appears in the

Capetian authority. Hugh Capet receives from the first the zealous support of the Church, which hails him as the potential restorer of order in a distracted land. Adalberon, archbishop of Rheims, Gerbert his secretary, and Arnulf, bishop of Orleans, these are the men who really preside over the transformation and ensure its permanence. It is the return to conditions which these far-sighted statesmen already fondly hope will prove something like the Latin monarchy of the past. It was an effort, as Gerbert said, 'to revive the royal dignity, almost dead in the land of the Franks'. The close alliance of the Church and King, the sanctity given to royalty by the theory of Roman autocracy, itself transformed by the Church, was the basis of the power of Hugh Capet, and the reason for its subsequent growth. The advent of Hugh as king was an ecclesiastical revolution.

But it must emphatically be remembered that Hugh never reigned over a united French nation or even over a consolidated kingdom. Hugh was a powerful feudal magnate who had achieved the dignity of kingship. In his own domains his authority was often questioned; outside these he had only the vaguest suzerainty and the most limited power. The best way to understand the nature of early Capetian royalty is to examine the map of France at that date. The domains of the house of Capet are very small. Outside of these there are the great fiefs (larger in size often than the domains of the monarchy) which are beginning to take shape. In the north there is the duchy of Normandy and the counties of Brittany and Flanders. South of Normandy were forming the counties of Maine, Anjou, Blois, and Poitou. To the east, the duchy of Burgundy was becoming important, and in the south the great duchies of Aquitaine, Toulouse, and Gascony were beginning to take form amid a welter of feudal anarchy. The great kingdom of Arles oscillating between the Empire and France still dominated the whole of the Rhone valley. The dominant theme of French history for the next two centuries is the effort of the monarchy to dominate the great fiefs, and to prevent them uniting together for its own destruction. In the course of this struggle the monarchy emerges as the one temporal safeguard of order, and

the friend of humble people against an irresponsible aristocracy. In this way is the Latin monarchical ideal, slowly and imperfectly, realized in practice.

This process is gradual. It is marked by few events of importance, but it comprises the history of the country about to be France from 987 to 1138. The reigns of the first four kings of the house of Capet—Hugh, Robert II, Henry I, and Philip—involve the petty struggles of this infant monarchy with the hostile forces surrounding it. Hugh Capet was mainly occupied in maintaining his position against the Carolingian dynasty and in an attempt to extend his authority eastward into Lorraine. Robert II (996–1031), his son, who succeeded him, was a warrior and the strong friend of the Church. He added considerably to the royal patrimony. His son Henry I (1031–60) kept up the same policy of petty aggrandizement. The main feature of this reign was a struggle with the houses of Blois and Normandy, the latter of which had started on its career of greatness. Henry succeeded in detaching some fiefs from the county of Blois, and by transferring the duchy of Touraine to the rising house of Anjou he set up a rival to counterbalance the power of the house of Blois in the West. In dealing with Normandy, however, he found great difficulty. Twice he tried to reduce to submission Duke William, the future conqueror of England, and twice he was defeated, at Mortemer in 1054 and at Varaville in 1058. On the whole, however, despite the continued weakness of the monarchy, much ground had been gained during this reign. The reign of Henry's successor Philip was less successful. He was involved during most of his reign in a disastrous quarrel with the Church, partly over the question of investiture and partly on account of his own matrimonial difficulties. In spite of this he added the county of Vermandois and the Vexin to the royal patrimony, and purchased the city of Bourges which henceforth served as an outpost of the royal power on the banks of the Loire.

These early Capetian sovereigns did their work well. Their positive achievements were small, but they did succeed in passing on the royal power undiminished in spite of tremendous

difficulties. It was largely owing to that patient and inglorious work that a new departure in Capetian development could be begun under the next king, Louis VI, known as the Fat. With Louis the Fat the royal power in France seemed for the first time to be conscious of its destiny and to fashion the weapons by which that destiny was to be achieved. The monarchy began under Louis to raise up a new aristocracy of servants which was to be a counterpoise to feudal nobility. These able administrators were for the most part men of humble origin who depended for everything on the royal favour. Among them an early and illustrious example was the monk Suger, who possessed a genius for administration and was responsible for much of the success of the monarchy under Louis VI and Louis VII. He was typical of the new royal 'civil service' which was coming into being. The effect of the royal policy began at last to be widely felt. The turbulent feudal families of the royal patrimony such as that of the Montlhéry were ruthlessly suppressed. The whole royal patrimony came to enjoy a settled order that it had never known before. Towards the great fiefs outside, Louis pursued the steadfast policy of his predecessors. There was, however, already springing up that great confederation of fiefs under the leadership of the new monarchy of England which was to menace the very existence of the Capetian monarchy. It was largely owing to Louis's sound policy that the French monarchy (as we shall see) was able to withstand the attack when it came. As it was, the reign of Louis the Fat marks an epoch in the history of France. With him the fruits of the long labour of the early sovereigns begin at last to be reaped. A comparison of the condition of the house of Capet in 1138 with what it had been in 987 shows the real results of this long and unostentatious endeavour.

In the first place the royal demesne, as we have seen, had been largely increased. It still is miserably small as compared with the whole country of modern France. It is not as yet as large as even some of the greater fiefs, but it is steadily increasing in size and it is moreover already the best governed and the most prosperous part of France. Again, in spite of

considerable difficulties the monarchy seems to have secured its own permanence. In face of great opposition the principle of the hereditary succession of the eldest son has been in practice established. A recollection of the past history of Gaul will suffice to show that this was an achievement of the very first importance. The period preceding the rise of Hugh Capet was in Gaul the period of feudal election. Throughout the next century this strove for recognition. The monarchy, with great foresight, overcame this by means of each king associating his son with him in the government during his lifetime. Hugh Capet crowned his son Robert in 988. Robert in 1016 crowned his eldest son Hugh, and when Hugh died in 1025 he transferred the crown to his second son Henry. Henry in turn crowned Philip, in 1059, when the latter was only seven years old, and though Philip never had his son Louis crowned, the boy from 1090 onwards was using the title, 'rex designatus'. This methodical and practical establishment of a stable principle of succession was no small achievement. The ideas of feudal election persisted. The old principle of Teutonic division between the sons was put forward in favour of Robert, the third son of Robert II. If either of these claims had succeeded, the whole work of the Capetian dynasty would have been jeopardized. As it was, the settled practice of a century and a half gave a sanction in France to the rights of primogeniture in the case of royalty which henceforth had the binding force of law.

Concurrently with this, the semi-sacred function of Capetian royalty, later to be of such importance, was maintained and developed. There were many quarrels between these kings and the Church. Both Philip I and Louis VI came violently into conflict with the reforming party, and the struggle over investitures was as bitter in France as elsewhere. But in spite of this, the religious character of the royalty, so essential to the medieval theory of monarchy, was on the whole maintained by the Capets. Robert II even more than his father depended upon ecclesiastical support. By the beginning of the twelfth century it seemed clear that the special feature of Capetian royalty was going to produce once again an alliance between the Papacy

and the royal house in France. The long quarrel of Papacy and Empire was beginning, and the Papacy was eager to secure a temporal ally in the West. On the other hand, the shrewd Capetian princes were quick to see the advantages

THE EARLY CAPETS

ROBERT THE STRONG

ODO, d. 899

ROBERT, d. 923

HUGH THE GREAT, d. 956

HUGH CAPET, 987–96

ROBERT II, 996–1031

HUGH, Crowned king in father's lifetime, d. 1025

HENRY I, 1031–60

ROBERT, Duke of Burgundy

PHILIP I, 1060–1108

LOUIS VI (the Fat), 1108–37

LOUIS VII, 1137–80

PHILIP II (Augustus), 1180–1223

LOUIS VIII, 1223–6

LOUIS IX (the Saint), 1226–70.

CHARLES OF ANJOU, K. of Sicily.
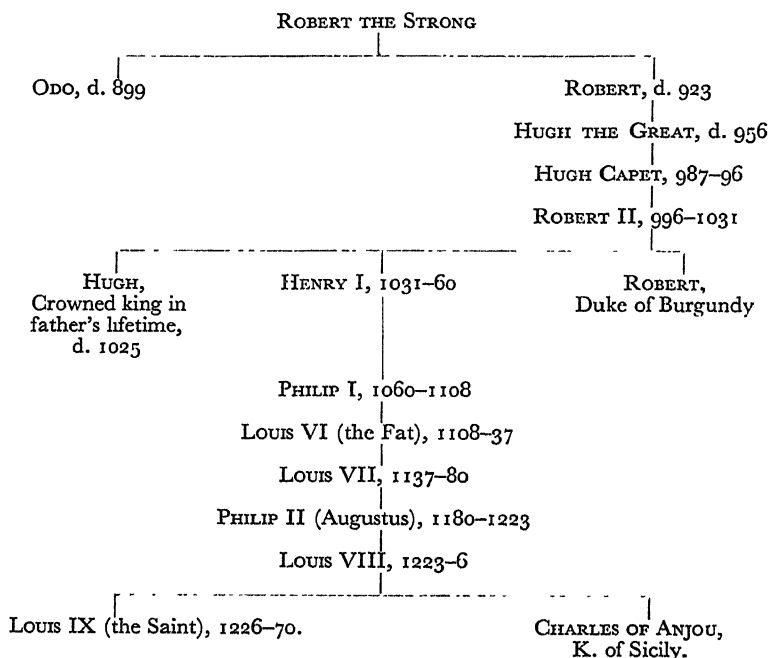
which they could get from such an alliance. It would invest the monarchy with a sanctity that a mere feudal suzerainty could never give. Thus it was that the alliance, tacit as it was, was nevertheless real. When the Popes in their long warfare with the Empire had to fly from Italy, it was to France that they went. In the long struggle between Capet and Plantagenet the Papal support given to the former proved to be of immense importance.

The development of the religious basis of the monarchy gave it a solid foundation upon which to rest its authority. The steady succession of first-born heirs prevented an interruption

of its power. The monarchy thus became invested with a popularity and a reverence which it could never otherwise have possessed. Already by the time of Louis the Fat it was held to be throughout France the protector of the weak against the strong. The monarchy was, in short, becoming popular, and that characteristic was to be the basis of its future strength. That fact was of vast importance, occurring as it did just at the beginning of the crisis of the French monarchy, when the Capets had to face that contingency which they had hitherto always avoided—a struggle with a strong coalition of fiefs united against them. But this new crisis is only to be explained with reference to the growth of the monarchy of England, which took place at the same time as the house of Capet was laying the foundation of its future greatness.

III

The eleventh century was a turning-point in the history of England. The Wessex monarchy, as we have seen, under Alfred and his successors had risen to prominence in the successful warfare of these kings against the Viking invaders. The basis of their power, however, was never secure. They achieved a political supremacy in England, but they never ruled over a country which was socially united. The former tribal divisions still persisted and, more important than that, the large Scandinavian settlements in the eastern midlands created a block of territory which remained socially distinct from the rest of England. That was the real explanation of the decline of the Wessex monarchy before a new series of Scandinavian invasions in the eleventh century. It explains also how England came to form part of the great Empire of Canute the Great. After the collapse of that Empire, after the death of its founder, England was faced with a complete bankruptcy of political authority. There were the remains of two dynasties still clamouring to rule, whilst the real power in England, as in contemporary Gaul, lay with the great magnates, and in particular with the rulers of those great earldoms which Canute had created and which now presented the appearance of

independent princedoms. When Edward the Confessor came to the English throne, he did so practically as the nominee of one of these earls, Godwine of Wessex, and the family of Godwine for some time plays the predominant part in English politics.

This family, until its fall in 1066, represents those elements in English life which are opposed to the establishment of anything like a strong monarchy of the Latin type. Its members wish to keep the power in the hands of the great families. They are invariably opposed to all the aims of the Hildebrandine movement. But against them the new king Edward, personally weak, but in touch with European affairs, gradually builds up a connexion with the families of north-western Europe and in particular with William, duke of Normandy. The entry of Normandy into civilization, the appearance of the Normans as the champions of the reform we have already noticed. Under Edward the Confessor the issue thus gradually becomes clear for England. It is the issue betwen feudal oligarchy and a strong monarchy; it is the issue between provincial isolation (or at best an identification of England with Scandinavian politics) and a renewed political and ecclesiastical contact with Europe. The conflict slowly works itself out. In 1051 Godwine is banished, and it seems as though the Norman victory is to be a peaceable one. But Godwine returns, and it becomes evident that an armed conflict must take place. The final issue came on the death of Edward, when the struggle with its vast implications was narrowed down to the personal rivalries of two men, William the Norman duke and Harold the son of Godwine. It is symptomatic that Harold fights and dies at the decisive battle of Hastings under a Wessex flag, whereas William fights under a banner blessed by the Pope, and that Europe looks on his undertaking as a Holy Crusade.

The battle of Hastings made it certain that England would share in the general medieval heritage of Europe. It also established in England a strong monarchy which was to give the country the incalculable blessing of a stable rule. The reigns of William the Conqueror (1066–87) and of his great son Henry I (1100–35) were of critical importance to England.

Under them the Norman genius for organization and administration had full play. The sporadic and irregular social developments of the Anglo-Saxon period were co-ordinated upon a regular plan. A comprehensive and rigid scheme of feudal organization kept well under control by the monarchy was applied to England. The result was that the local differences between the various parts of England gradually began to disappear under the rule of this powerful and co-ordinating monarchy. Contact with Europe became more and more vital, and whilst the Norman monarchy had to contend as did the Capets with feudal revolt, on the whole it was successful. Like the Capets, too, these kings came into conflict with the Church in the matter of the investitures, but after the quarrel of Henry I with Anselm a compromise was effected strictly similar to that which had been achieved abroad. This compromise, as in France and as in the Empire, was pregnant with future strife. The monarchy in England was to undergo the struggle with Thomas Becket and to suffer in consequence. But for all that, the work of the Norman kings in England marks an epoch in the growth of the monarchies in the West. Like the Capets in France we can see these kings creating a new aristocracy—a 'civil service'—composed of men whom the king 'raised from the dust to do his service'. The result, therefore, is the same in England as in France. The monarchy is becoming popular; it is receiving the backing of the people against the turbulent feudal aristocracy. The process is the same in England as in France, but in the island kingdom it is more rapid. The monarchy in England had less feudal opposition to contend with, and its rise to a position of supreme power was therefore more speedy. Under William the Conqueror and Henry I, England was probably the best governed realm in western Europe. The reigns of these men showed Europe what a temporal monarchy of the new type could achieve.

The rise of the Norman monarchy in England impinged upon the development in France. The Capetian monarchy had always resisted, and successfully resisted, the threat of a combination of fiefs against itself. Such a combination now at

last began to take shape. By the Norman Conquest a duke of Normandy became king of England, and the French kings watched the union with growing alarm. After the death of William the Conqueror, Normandy went to Robert, William's eldest son, whilst England passed successively to his other sons, William Rufus and then Henry I. The brothers, however, quarrelled, and in 1106 a decisive battle was fought at Tinchebrai. There Robert was defeated, and England and Normandy were once more united. Henceforth it is the constant effort of the French monarchy to prevent this union from being effective. Soon a new development begins to appear. Anjou had been gradually rising to a position of importance in the West. The policy of consolidation carried on by its counts made it a force to be considered in politics, and at length Geoffrey of Anjou married Matilda the daughter and heiress of Henry I. That was the situation when Henry died. At once there was a disputed succession in England, and that disputed succession was really the pivot upon which the whole of French politics turned. Matilda in the name of herself and of her son Henry claimed her rights in England. The other claimant was Stephen, Count of Blois, the traditional enemy of Anjou in the West. The struggle spelt anarchy for England for nearly twenty years. Stephen achieved a transitory and disastrous kingship, but in the end he lost. Henry II became king of England and duke of Normandy, he was already count of Anjou. As such he had rights over the dependent fiefs of Brittany, Maine, and Touraine. In 1151 he married Eleanor, the heiress of Aquitaine. The result was clear. That dreaded combination of fiefs had taken shape in France. The English king was lord of an Empire which stretched from the Tweed to the Pyrenees.

The struggle between this coalition of fiefs and the Capets was the crisis in the history of the French monarchy. It seemed at first as if it must be overwhelmed. The royal demesne even with the addition of doubtfully loyal fiefs was so small in comparison with the great Angevin Empire. On the other hand, the Angevin Empire itself was no homogeneous unit. Henry ruled

by many different titles over a large number of peoples who had nothing in common with each other. Worst of all, this empire was cut in two by an arm of the sea, and it was always difficult to induce feudal troops to cross the sea on a protracted campaign. The actual struggle was dreary in the extreme. Henry II strove to rule by means of a family policy, granting his sons portions of his empire to govern. The French monarchy, now represented by the able Philip Augustus, strove with considerable success to introduce disunion into the Empire. The sons of Henry were always quarrelling among themselves and with their father. After Henry's death the reign of Richard I provided an interval in the struggle, since both kings were away campaigning in the Holy Land. The crisis came with the advent of John to the English throne. By this time the Angevin Empire was in a state of disintegration. This was made worse when John involved himself in a quarrel with the Papacy over an election to the see of Canterbury and in a struggle with his own feudatories which led eventually to Magna Carta. In 1213 he made, however, a politic surrender which very nearly saved the situation in France. He suddenly submitted to the Pope and thus detached the ecclesiastical support alike from Philip Augustus and from his rebel barons. At the same time he concluded an alliance with the Emperor, Otto IV, who was to attack the French king on the East. It was the real crisis. With the defeat of Otto at Bouvines in 1214 the last hope of the Angevin Empire passed away. Within a few years of the battle of Bouvines all the Angevin possessions in France except a small strip in Gascony had passed under Capetian rule.

IV

The rise and the fall of the Angevin Empire marks an epoch in the development of both the French and the English monarchies. The activities of the English kings were henceforth directed primarily towards the governance of their island kingdom. This certainly added to the permanence of their contribution to English development. The strong centralized

THE ANGEVIN EMPIRE AT ITS FULLEST EXTENT

THE
ANGEVIN EMPIRE
AT ITS FULLEST EXTENT

English Dominions
English Dependencies
French Dominions
French Dependencies

English Miles
0   50   100   150   200

Longitude West 4° of Greenwich

rule which had been established under the Normans and developed under Henry II provided the starting-point for the growth of the English constitution. The monarchy had quelled the feudal magnates and given to England a stable government and a uniform judicial system which came more and more to override local and feudal differences. Under King John there was, it is true, an unsuccessful feudal rebellion which ended in the diminution of royal power after the granting of Magna Carta. But whilst the constitutional importance of Magna Carta has certainly been exaggerated it is clear also that the feudal opposition, owing very largely to ecclesiastical influence, was changing its character. And the monarchy continued to exercise its beneficial influence. The rise of Parliament, which is the next phase in English history, owes almost as much to the development of the royal judicial organization as to the demands of the baronage for a greater share in the government. It would be hard to exaggerate the debt that England owes to her kings of the twelfth century.

But the effects of the Angevin struggle were far more pronounced in France. There the Capetian monarchy had met the crisis in its history and had emerged brilliantly victorious. The rapid growth of the French monarchy under Philip Augustus is symptomatic of the transformation. We have the vast gains to the royal possessions. Normandy, Maine, Touraine were taken from John. Artois, Amiens, and Vermandois, were also added about this time. By the acquisitions of Dieppe and Rouen the monarchy becomes possessed of important centres of sea-trade. In no way better than by comparing the political map of France at the time of Louis VI with that at the time of Philip Augustus can the magnitude of the change be realized. The struggling little Capetian province has been transformed into a mighty state.

Outside the demesne itself the power of the monarchy also grew. The royal protection from this time forward was being constantly extended to rising towns or to villages or abbeys. By the system of *pariages* the agents of the king are helping the smaller lords to govern their fiefs and consequently introducing

the royal authority into districts where the king had no direct authority. With Philip, more than ever before, the royal power is becoming popular. The king appears as the guardian of lesser

THE DYNASTIC GROWTH OF THE ANGEVIN EMPIRE

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                        William I,
                        duke of Normandy, 1035-87
                        k. of England, 1066-87

Robert I,              William II,              Henry I,
d. of Normandy,        k. of England, 1087-1100  k. of England, 1100-35
1087-1106                                        d. of Normandy, 1106-35

William Clito,
d. 1127
(1)  Henry V      =  Matilda = Geoffry of Anjou (2),
(Emperor)            d. 1167    d. 1151

         Eleanor of Aquitaine = Henry II, 1154-89
                                k. of England,
                                d. of Normandy,
                                count of Anjou, and by his wife
                                d. of Aquitaine.
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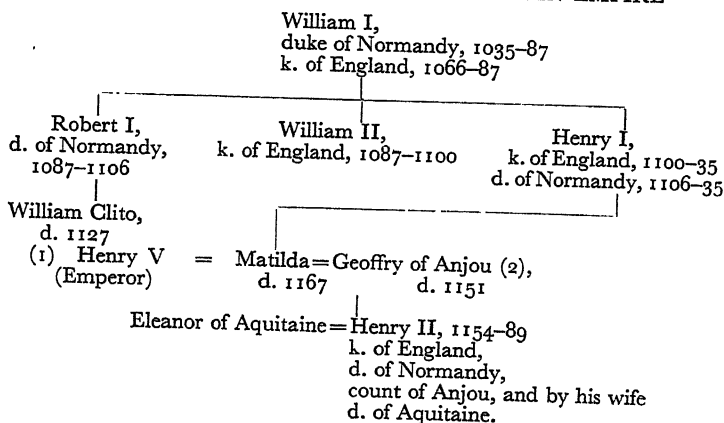
The Disputed Succession in England 1135-51

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Malcolm, k. of Scotland          William I, k. of England
                                 d. of Normandy

Mary = count of    Matilda = Henry I        Adela = Stephen of
       Boulogne                                      Blois

              Matilda = Geoffry of Anjou

              Henry II

Matilda = Stephen of Blois,    Theobald, c. of Blois    Henry, bp. of
of        k. of England, brother                        Winchester
Boulogne  of c. of Blois, and by
          his wife c. of Boulogne

Eustace, d. 1153
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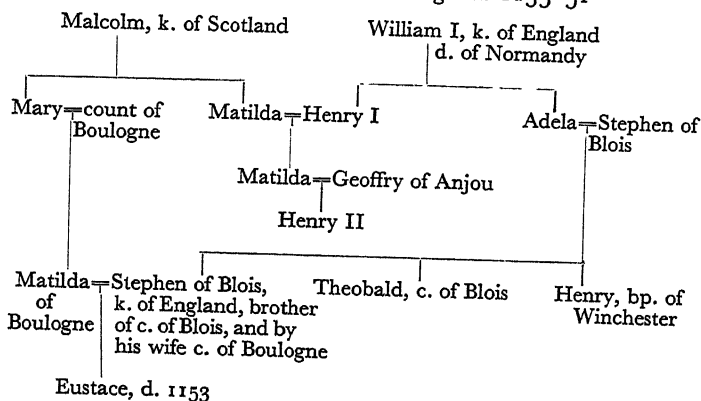
feudatories throughout France. In this character he is enabled also to interfere in the affairs of the great fiefs. By such interference both Blois and Burgundy are brought during this period into very close relations with the royal house. And in the south also a special development contributed to the increase of the royal power. The end of the twelfth century was marked by

a curious renaissance in Provence, which produced in its turn the heretical movement of the Albigenses. Against this Innocent III inspired a crusade with which in time the French king identified himself. The consequences were terrible, for the invasion of the northern knights into Provence was marked by every form of brutality. But the result was that the whole of the province was subjected to the authority of the French king.

The great state which Philip Augustus had built up already before his death bade fair to become the dominant temporal power in Europe. In both France and England the monarchy had risen to a new and special position. The Latin theory of autocracy has been to a large extent in practice applied. The king is a feudal suzerain, but he is also something more than that. He is king as well. As an English charter puts it, he acts *ut dominus et rex*. This distinction is reflected in all the administration which is, during this period, being slowly created. Alongside of the king's feudal tenants there are the royal servants who constitute a distinct class. The king's council—*curia regis*—will contain both elements. And at the same time throughout the land there are arising many specifically royal institutions in direct contact with the centralized monarchy. The English judicial developments of these years might be taken as one example of this. The creation of the great royal *baillées* in France—administrative districts governed by royal officials—would be another. Everywhere we see the monarchy advancing to its position of greatest glory. It is an autocracy, but still not irresponsible. It claims that it has a religious duty to perform and this sets limits to its power. Abuse of power will lead to *diffidatio* as in the case of John. The king, remarks an English lawyer, 'ought to be under no man BUT under God and the law'. It was a natural development that the most revered medieval king should have been a canonized saint. That development had already been prepared by the time when Philip Augustus died. The power which he had created was developed and perfected in the next century by Louis the Saint.

V

While the great monarchies of England and France were developing, a similar movement was taking place in the Empire to the east of the Rhine. But here the growth of monarchy had to contend with peculiar difficulties.

The special circumstances which had called into being the Empire of the Ottos continued to affect its growth. The monarchy never succeeded in overcoming the limitations which were inherent in German royalty. It never evolved, for example, a stable principle of succession. It could never cope with the special difficulties involved in the disastrous union of Germany and Italy. Worse still, the problem of the duchies remained, and though it became transformed we shall see it again and again frustrating the policy of the ruling house. Finally, the special relations between Church and State in the Ottonian Empire caused constant strife and produced the most famous contest of the Middle Ages, a contest which collected round about it the bulk of the political speculation of the age and which in the end destroyed the strongest dynasty which the Empire produced. We have here to deal with three well-marked periods. There are firstly the political rearrangements which take place in the years 1125-52. Then there is the establishment of the dynasty of the Hohenstauffen notable for the brilliant reign of Frederick Barbarossa, 1152-90. Finally there is the Papal triumph and the rise to political predominance of Innocent III, whose reign marks in many ways the culmination of the Middle Ages. And throughout we may watch the old problem of the duchies and the difficulties of the ecclesiastical situation as these reacted on the imperial monarchy.

After the death of Henry V the magnates of Germany chose as their Emperor, Lothair, who was already duke of Saxony. This election really displays again the old feud between the duchies as the imperial power shifts back to the Saxon duchy from the south. But that feud is now being transformed into a dynastic rivalry. For the daughter of Lothair had married Henry the Proud, the head of the great Welf house

of Bavaria, which is soon going to unite the Saxon and Bavarian interests together. In opposition to this coalition there is already forming the rival dynasty of the Hohenstaufen, whose head, at the accession of Lothair, was Frederick Duke of Swabia, lord also of Weiblingen. The strife of the Welfs and the Hohenstaufen fills up many dreary pages of German history. It is important, however, for the student to note how it links up with the old rivalries of the duchies. It also becomes itself transformed in the later ecclesiastical struggle, for when the Hohenstaufen become the enemies of the Papacy, the Welfs will naturally, with their territories, rally to the Pope's support. In Italy the very names of the two parties lose their original significance, and the Guelph factions in the Italian cities support the Papacy in opposition to the Ghibellines who support the Emperor.

The reign of Lothair saw but the beginnings of these developments. Throughout his reign he had to contend with the Hohenstaufen. Frederick the Swabian duke was in almost constant rebellion. His younger brother Conrad raised a revolt in Italy, and in spite of Papal excommunication had himself crowned king of Lombardy. But, on the whole, Lothair maintained his position. In his days, we are told, 'the Church rejoiced in peace, the service of God increased, and there was plenty in all things'. It is a kindly judgement on a sordid reign. On the death of Lothair in 1138 the family rivalry broke out again, and this time the imperial power moved back to the south, and Conrad, the ex-king of Lombardy, became Emperor. The Swabian duchy was for the moment triumphant. But the definite union of Saxony and Bavaria under Welf rule was at the time accomplished for, as the price of his election, Conrad had to recognize Henry the Lion, the son of the Duke of Bavaria and the grandson of the Saxon Emperor Lothair, as Duke of Saxony. Though the Hohenstaufen now held the imperial dignity, it may be doubted whether they held also the balance of political power in their hands. The long struggle was in fact exhausting Germany, and during the reign of Conrad there seemed some prospect of ending it by means of yet another dynastic alliance. For Frederick, the old duke of Swabia, had married a sister of

Henry the Proud and in the veins of their son Frederick, later to be called Barbarossa, there thus flowed the blood of both houses. When this Frederick became Emperor on the death of Conrad, it seemed as though the disastrous quarrel might be ended, and even at a late hour a monarchical development

WESTERN IMPERIAL SUCCESSION IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

WELFS

HOHENSTAUFEN
HENRY IV, d. 1106

HENRY V, d. 1125   Agnes⹀Frederick, D. of Swabia

LOTHAIR II (of Saxony), d. 1138

Gertrude⹀Henry the Proud   Judith ⹀Frederick, D. of Swabia, d. 1147   CONRAD III, d. 1152

Henry the Lion   FREDERICK I (BARBAROSSA), d. 1190

HENRY VI ⹀Constance of Sicily   PHILIP of Swabia, d. 1208
d. 1197

OTTO IV, d. 1218   FREDERICK II, d. 1250
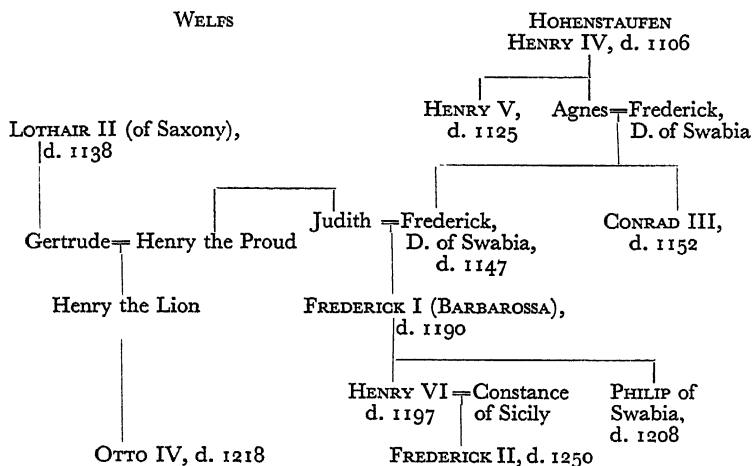
might take place in Germany similar to that in France and England.

The Welf-Hohenstaufen feud and the political differences of the duchies which it represented were, however, fatal to the establishment of a strong monarchy. During the critical period, Germany had failed to maintain any sort of unity, and the constant shifting of the dynasty from north to south had prevented the creation and development of a permanent royal demesne which might (as in France) have provided the starting-point in the growth of the royal power. If the Hohenstaufen could have prevented the alliance between Saxony and Bavaria and established themselves in Saxony the whole history of Germany might have been different. As it was, Saxony always remained a rallying ground of resistance to the Emperors, and when Frederick Barbarossa wanted a nucleus for his personal power, he took the disastrous step of turning to

the rich cities of the Lombard plain, divided from Germany by the great barrier of the Alps, and themselves extremely difficult to control. The long history of the duchies in Germany from the time of Otto the Great was in fact a disastrous one. Each time the imperial dignity shifted to the south there was always the danger of a Saxon revolt. Henry IV suffered from it. So did Henry V. So did Conrad. Finally Frederick Barbarossa himself encountered the same menace, for in the midst of his struggles with the Papacy, Frederick had to meet a Saxon rebellion led by the able and energetic Henry the Lion. After a long struggle Henry was banished. It marked the real triumph of the house of Hohenstauffen in Germany. But the victory was incomplete, for the Emperor could still not enforce his power in Saxony, where the real gainers from the collapse of the power of Henry were the Saxon nobles, who now became free from control. Whenever the Emperor was in conflict with the Church they would rise in its defence. If it had not been for the continuance of the disastrous enmity of the duchies, the Hohenstaufen themselves might well have been able to hold a united Germany together against the Papacy and to have refrained from letting their policy drift southward to Lombardy and Sicily. They might, in short, have established a centralized monarchy in Germany.

It was thus that the reign of Frederick Barbarossa, spectacular as it is, was something of a tragedy. That monarch seemed to link up two disastrous periods for Germany with an epoch of barren promise. He inherited the problem of the duchies. He introduced a new phase in the ecclesiastical problem. Neither of these did he solve. But during his reign he achieved brilliant successes, and he left behind him a tradition that developed almost into a myth. Men said that he would come again to achieve victories and to bring about a Golden Age. To have gained such prestige implies greatness, but a truer judgement has dubbed him 'the most splendid of the long line of imperial failures'. What was the reason of the transitory success and the ultimate failure?

Frederick was well fitted to fire the imaginations of his contemporaries. He was chaste, honourable, and religious. He

loved justice and dispensed it to his subjects. He was a great warrior. He was generous to friend and foe. The heir to both the contending factions in Germany, he came to reconcile them and to promote peace. In all these things he filled the role of the ideal medieval king. He wished to preserve order, to be a 'Lion of Justice'. At the same time he had high notions of the imperial dignity and was deeply imbued with the tradition which is the lifeblood of medieval politics. Early in his reign he wrote to the Pope that he wished 'to restore to its pristine excellence the grandeur of the Roman Empire'. He collected round him a body of learned jurists who found a legal theory to buttress up his rights, and at the great diet held at Roncaglia in 1162, these men could pronounce that in Frederick there were vested all the rights that had pertained to Justinian and Charlemagne. It was all spectacular and inspiring, but would it fit the localized Empire of Otto? Could it take into account the circumstances of the time? Most of all, could it be accepted by the one oecumenical society of the time, whose head was at Rome?

VI

With Frederick, therefore, there opened almost inevitably a new phase of that struggle between the Papacy and the Empire whose beginnings had been marked by the Investiture Contest. From this time forward most of the political thought of the Middle Ages is going to be centred round this controversy. The issues involved in the struggle were clearly stated in the Investiture Contest itself, and from many points of view the quarrel of Papacy and Empire may best be considered as an outcome of these. In truth the whole vexed question—which hitherto has proved insoluble—of the relations of the spiritual and temporal authorities in any political group was involved. The basis of the arguments on both sides was that conception of politics which we have watched at work throughout this essay. Both sides in the struggle held that the ideal political unit was a universal society co-extensive with Christendom, subordinated to one rule, and guided by one law. But, as we have seen, the

development of the Church from the earliest days raised
another problem, and from the time of Gelasius onwards (see
p. 11) the political thinkers accepted the existence of two
orders of life, the spiritual and the temporal. As man's nature
was twofold, consisting of his immortal soul and his mortal body,
so his end was twofold, and in order to fulfil that end it was
necessary that there should be two societies within the great
community. That is throughout the Middle Ages illustrated in
an elaborate allegorical literature. Man is as a horizon, says
Dante, between two hemispheres. Elsewhere the two orders are
compared to the sun and moon, or typified in Samuel and Saul.
Or, most prominently of all, seen in the well-known text wherein
Christ is described as giving two swords to his disciples.

The attempt to reconcile this duality with the essential unity
of Christendom under God, which all men believed to be the
foundation of politics, forms the theoretical background to the
long quarrel of Papacy and Empire. To that problem of recon-
ciliation there were many solutions offered. The first of these
was that associated with Pope Gelasius in the fifth century.
According to this view the two orders were equal. Each drew
its authority directly from God, in whom the essential unity was
obtained, and each was in its own sphere independent of the
other. Against this the Papacy put forward an alternative view
which was developed chiefly in the period we are at the
moment discussing. If mankind be essentially one, it was urged,
the State that was founded by God can only be the Church.
And therefore the Church has in itself all temporal as well as all
spiritual authority. That is what Boniface VIII meant when he
said that he was Emperor as well as Pope. The Empire accord-
ing to this view in so far as it wields a sacred authority does so
by delegation from the Pope, who transfers to the Emperor the
temporal power. And whereas the Pope by this view holds all
authority both spiritual and temporal immediately from God,
the Emperor holds the temporal power mediately from God
through the Pope. These two theories really sum up the
theoretical controversy between Papacy and Empire. For it is
important to note that before the middle of the thirteenth

century no imperial publicist suggested that the Papal theory should be reversed or that the Emperor was the Pope's superior. Rather the imperialists contented themselves with a reasoned denial of the Papal claims and fell back on what may be called the Gelasian position, asserting that the two powers were co-ordinate and equal.

Accepting the premises upon which both parties relied, there can be little doubt that the Papal writers had the best of the political argument. The Gelasian position was, after all, an extremely difficult compromise. There must always be a vast debatable ground between the jurisdiction of spiritual and temporal powers. Moreover, the facts of the case were against the imperialists. In this essay we have been at some pains to point out the limited scope of the Empire founded by Otto. The real heir to the Roman Empire, as the theoretically universal human society was, was not this complex of territory which included Germany and half Italy. It was the Church. From the eleventh century onward there is very little to suggest that the Emperor was generally recognized as superior to the kings of England, and France. On the other hand, the Church as a universal society exacting obedience from all of Christendom was ever before men's eyes as the practical embodiment of the tradition from the Latin past. The Pope could claim also that, given the political ideal of unity, this unity was better realized under a single government than under two co-equal powers. The later Papal position may be regarded as a logical development from the earlier Gelasian position.

The great debate was, however, in its earlier stages when Frederick Barbarossa continued the struggle which had begun with the Investitures Contest. The stage was set for a renewal of the conflict. The Papacy had passed through the dangers of a schism in the early years of the twelfth century, but this was settled by the victory of Innocent II in the Lateran Council of 1139. At the same time important developments had taken place in Italy itself which were beginning to re-act upon the Empire. First of all the Norman dominions in the south had become consolidated under an administrative

genius—King Roger I. This man, after much fighting, had suc-
ceeded in conquering Sicily and uniting that island with
Apulia and Calabria in a strong and vigorous rule. The
Norman kingdom of Sicily was going to play a great part in the
coming quarrel. It might almost be said that it eventually
decided the issue. And in the north of Italy also an important
development had taken place. In Lombardy there had been
forming a number of strong city-states which were in time
to produce a civilization not incomparable to that of their
great Greek prototypes. These cities, eager for independence,
were impatient of any control from the Emperor. In them-
selves they constituted for Frederick a difficult problem. It was
not therefore surprising to find at the outset the Papacy adopt-
ing a policy of conciliation to these towns. In Italy a strong
coalition was in fact forming. Its centre was the Papacy. It
included the centralized Norman kingdom in the south and
also the city-states in the north. On the other hand, with the
accession of Frederick in Germany and as the result of his
vigorous rule, much had been done to unite Germany under the
government of a strong and popular prince.

The beginnings of hostilities may be marked by the Council of
Besançon. Thither the Pope Adrian IV—the only Englishman
to occupy the throne of the Fisherman—sent messages which
stated his own supreme power and more than hinted that the
Emperor was his delegate. From that time forward the strife
continued with few interruptions. Adrian IV was succeeded in
1159 by Alexander III, who carried on vigorously his pre-
decessor's policy. The details of the contest are unimportant.
No fewer than five invasions of Italy were made by Frederick.
Anti-popes were also set up by the imperial party against the
legitimate pontiffs. The central point in the struggle continued
to be the Lombard towns. Early in the reign a most significant
development took place in Lombardy. A federation of the
cities was effected which was known as the Lombard League.
This was promptly resisted by Frederick, who was at first suc-
cessful, sacked Milan, and reduced the League to submission
(1158–62).

But his triumph was short-lived. Two years later the towns were again in revolt, and Frederick came to Italy with a large host. He proceeded at once to Rome, which he took, and then returned to deal with the recalcitrant cities. But disaster befell his army. Many of his troops died from plague, and he returned to Germany with but a tithe of his former strength and without having effected anything. The Emperor's Italian policy never recovered from this blow which prepared men's minds for the disaster of twelve years later. In 1174 Frederick once again invaded Italy. In 1176 he met the united levies of the Lombard League at Legnano. It was a contest between the typical feudal host which had been invincible since the ninth century and a new type of municipal army. The complete defeat of Frederick marked a new epoch in the military history of Europe. It also sounded the death-knell to Frederick's Italian schemes. Legnano was followed fairly soon by negotiations for peace. The Emperor and the Pope met as friends at Venice in 1177, where the Emperor renounced his support of the anti-popes, and at Constance, five years later, peace was concluded between Frederick and the Lombard towns. Frederick renounced over the cities every right but the most vague superiorities. The imperial power was henceforth reduced to a shadow south of the Alps. The towns had proved victorious. So also had the Papacy. It had defied a strong Emperor. It had asserted against him the widest rights. It had come out of the struggle with its strength unimpaired. By Canossa and all that it implied the Papal dominance over medieval civilization had been made possible. By the peace of Venice it was assured. Frederick lived until 1190. After his death but eight years elapsed before the accession of Innocent III, under whom the Papal theory was put into practice and the long development which in various forms we have watched from the fifth century reached, at last, its climax.

VII

The reign of Innocent III as Pope marks in many ways the completion of that political and social system whose growth

we have been concerned to watch in this essay. There were many Popes more remarkable than Innocent, but none achieved a more pre-eminent position in the European political system. Partly this was due to the personal ability of Innocent himself, but far more was it the result of the political process which had, since the beginnings of the Hildebrandine reforms, been operating in Europe. It was, however, no assured heritage into which Innocent entered. Frederick Barbarossa had been succeeded by his son Henry VI, an able, if not a glorious, prince, whose reign had considerable effects on the future. In Germany he had to fight hard for his position against his Saxon rivals, Henry the Lion and his very able son Henry of Brunswick. On the whole he succeeded in maintaining order in Germany, but it was south of the Alps where lay his chief interests.

Henry had married Constance, the aunt of William the Good, the Norman king of Sicily. When this William died without children Henry was at once faced with a revolt in the Sicilian kingdom. A long struggle followed, in which Henry and Constance were victorious. The most powerful supporter of the Papacy in Italy was thus turned into an imperial province. In the centre of Italy, things were little better for the Papacy. A series of weak pontiffs had preceded Innocent, and these had come under the control of the Roman factions. And in the north the Emperor was gradually succeeding in breaking up the once victorious Lombard League by playing off the towns one against the other. There was already beginning to appear an imperial league of towns which found it to its advantage to support the Emperor against the federation backed by the Papacy. In many directions, therefore, the Papacy seemed to have lost the advantages which it had gained by the peace of Venice.

Innocent, however, at once made his influence felt. The death of Henry VI made the task easier by removing a strong directing head from imperial affairs. Gradually the Papacy recovered something like its former prestige in Italy. The Roman factions were set against each other. In Tuscany a Papal league of cities was formed, of which the chief members were Florence

and Siena, and, most important of all, the Papal influence was reasserted in the south. There, Constance, the widow of Henry, saw clearly that the distance separating her kingdom from Germany was too great to assure a peaceful succession to her infant son—later to become Frederick II—and so she confided him to the protection of the Pope. Once more the Papacy regained control of Italy, and once more the revival of civil discord in Germany allowed the Papacy to extend its political power at the expense of the Empire.

The success of the Italian policy of Innocent illustrates one side of the character of this Pope—an immense capacity for detail, an ability to utilize the subtleties of legal advantage. The world soon saw, however, that he was also the unswerving champion of a rigorous theory of absolutism. He may sometimes proceed with lawyer-like caution; he may use, when occasion requires, all the complicated machinery of diplomacy; but ever before his eye is the ideal of the Papacy as the political head of Europe. There is something perhaps a little mechanical in his policy which lacks the dark fire of that of Hildebrand. That is because Innocent is but pushing to a logical conclusion, is but translating into a practical form, the political notions which in this essay we have watched at work during some six centuries. Innocent's task was very often merely to cope with the detailed arrangements which were necessary to put into operation those notions in the complicated world of late twelfth-century politics. But the ideal is there in as extreme a form as it was ever stated. For Innocent, the Papal office is 'the most glorious position upon earth', for 'the Lord had left to Saint Peter not only the government of the Universal Church, but also that of the whole world'. The Pope appears to Innocent as wielding in very truth the two swords. For as Innocent remarked: 'The Papacy dominates all temporal monarchies.' Indeed in this intransigeant policy of Innocent we can see the fruition not only of the Latin tradition of monarchy, but also of the Latin tradition of Empire. It is the final great attempt in the Middle Ages at realizing that political unity of Christendom which the men of the Middle Ages had

inherited as a legacy from the Latin past. It is the attempt which in the Middle Ages comes nearest to practical success.

It was of course certain that such a conception of the Papal function now applied with legal caution and diplomatic skill should at once react upon the politics of the Empire. And here circumstances favoured the Papal policy. For on the death of Henry VI, the old Welf-Hohenstaufen feud (masking the fundamental rivalry of the duchies) appeared once more. One party supported Philip of Swabia, the brother of Henry, whilst the Welf candidate was Otto of Brunswick, the son of Henry the Lion. It was the moment for a reassertion of the Papal claims. Innocent announced that the Pope had the right in the case of such a dispute to nominate the Emperor, and he declared for Otto, who at once admitted the Papal demands. The long civil war which followed in Germany thus once more took on an ecclesiastical aspect, with Saxony on the Papal side. The matter was only settled by the murder of Philip in 1208, when Otto was left supreme in Germany. But once in undisputed power, Otto resisted the control of Innocent, and a long quarrel followed. The Pope turned for assistance to France, and the victory of Philip Augustus over Otto at Bouvines in 1214 had its effects on German as well as on French and English history. But Innocent also took another and an unprecedented step. He nominated as Emperor the young Frederick of Sicily, and with the Papal backing this young prince, later to be the most deadly enemy that the medieval Papacy was ever to encounter, crossed the Alps with an army. Frederick held his own in Germany, and on Otto's death in 1218, he became undisputed Emperor. But he was little more than the Pope's delegate during the earlier part of his reign. For he accepted the Papal position, he admitted the Papal demands as regards investiture, and he continued to do homage to the Pope for his Sicilian kingdom. He recognized the Pope's claims as regards central Italy. Innocent III was completely triumphant in face of the Empire. He had appointed two Emperors, and his supremacy on both sides of the Alps was recognized.

The political supremacy which had in fact been established

by Innocent cannot be better illustrated than in his relations with the other kings of Europe. Regarding himself as set above all temporal government, he did not hesitate to interfere in the affairs of almost all the kingdoms of the West, and in many cases he actually succeeded in translating the leadership which he held to be vested in his office into a defined feudal superiority. The kings of Sweden and Denmark were the vassals of Innocent; so also became the king of Aragon in 1204, and in 1207 the king of Poland. Frederick of Sicily was the Pope's vassal, and Frederick was now Emperor. King John of England, in his struggles with the French monarchy, saw fit to take the same step. Even in France, where the king never became the vassal of the Pope, there was constant interference by the Papacy and the country was for a short time under interdict. After the interdict was raised, the French king was the Pope's ally. The Pope had in short become the acknowledged head, the supreme director of the political activities of Europe. The medieval renaissance of monarchy found its culmination in the personal monarchy of the Papacy, which, so to speak, under Innocent presided over the other royalties that were creating the states of the West.

The detailed application of a political theory which had for six centuries been the formative influence in European development was the work of Innocent. Such a work inevitably on occasion degenerated into opportunism. The work of Innocent was marred by two great blots. The one was concerned with the 'crusade' against the Albigensian heresy of Provence, where the work of the Pope or rather of his agents was marked by a brutality for which even the circumstances were no excuse.[1] The other was the disaster of the fourth crusade, concerning which, however, the Pope always protested himself innocent.[2] In the development of the Church itself, which the Pope naturally regarded as the very essence of the political form of Europe, the reign is important, for at the close of his life Innocent convoked the fourth Lateran Council, where the whole fabric of the medieval ecclesiastical system was overhauled and

[1] See below.   [2] See below, pp. 197, 198.

EUROPE AT THE DEATH OF INNOCENT III

EUROPE AT THE DEATH OF INNOCENT III

APULIA	C. 3	LEON, Kingdom of	A. 3
ARAB dominions	A. 3, B. 4, E. 4	LITHUANIA	D. 1
„ „ (Saladin)	E. 3, E. 4		
ARAGON, Kingdom of	B. 3	NAVARRE, Kingdom of	A. 3
ARLES, „	B. 3	NORWAY, „	C. 1
ARMENIA	E. 3, E. 4		
		POLAND, Kingdom of	C. 2, D. 2
BAVARIA, Duchy of	C. 2	PORTUGAL, „	A. 3
BOHEMIA, Kingdom of	C. 2	PRUSSIANS	D. 2
BULGARIANS	D. 3		
		ROME	C. 3
CAIRO	E. 4	RUSSIA	D. 2, E. 1
CALABRIA	C. 3		
CASTILE, Kingdom of	A. 3	SALADIN, Dominions of	E. 4
CONSTANTINOPLE	D. 3	SAXONY, Duchy of	C. 2
CORDOVA	A. 3	SCOTLAND	B. 1
		SELJUKS OF RUM	E. 3, F. 3
DAMASCUS	E. 4	SERBIA	D. 3
DENMARK, Kingdom of	C. 1	SHAH ARMEN, Dominion of	F. 3
		SICILY, Kingdom of	C. 4
EASTERN EMPIRE	D. 3	SWABIA, Duchy of	C. 2
EMPIRE, The	B. 2, B. 3, C. 2	SWEDEN, Kingdom of	C. 1, D. 1
ENGLAND	B. 1, B. 2		
ESTHONIA	D. 1		
		TREBIZOND	E. 3, F. 3
FRANCE, Kingdom of	B. 2, B. 3	TYRE	E. 4
FRANCONIA, Duchy of	C. 2		
		VENICE	C. 3
HUNGARY, Kingdom of	C. 2, 3, D. 2, 3		
IRELAND	A. 1	WALES	B. 2
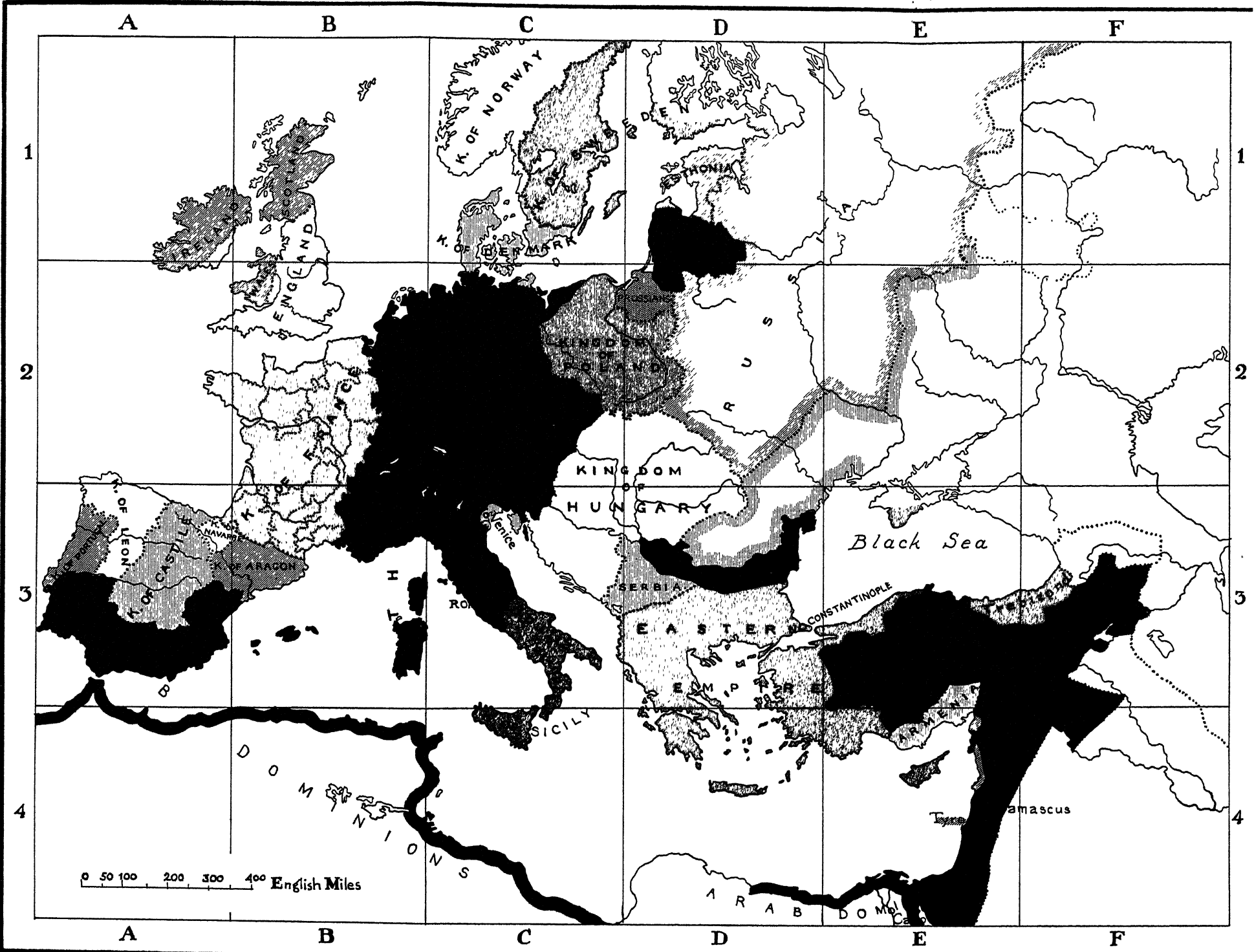
defined. We shall have something to say later[1] of the Europe over which Innocent presided. Here, however, we must at once notice how the reign marks an epoch. The Latin tradition of Empire, the Latin tradition of the Church, the Latin tradition of monarchy, all found during that brief period their most perfect medieval expression, and the resulting condition of western Europe was the product of forces which had been at work for some six centuries. Innocent, as we shall hereafter see, made his influence felt in many directions, but for the moment we may regard his reign as the culmination of a long development in the history of Europe. His reign, for Europe, sums up the most powerful and characteristic elements in medieval civilization. It marks the apogee of Papal power. It coincides with what is perhaps the most brilliant epoch of the Middle Ages. If we want to know exactly what were the diverse elements comprised in the medieval, social and political system, we could turn to no spectacle more profitably than to Europe under Innocent III.

[1] See below chap. ix.

EAST AND WEST IN UNION AND CONFLICT. THE CRUSADES

I

IN the preceding pages we have attempted to isolate and emphasize the predominant factors in the development of Europe from the end of the fifth century to the beginning of the thirteenth. We have shown how the conception of a Roman Empire, which had become identical with Christendom, was the most active principle of political growth during that period. The tradition from the Latin past was expressed in a practical and militant form in the Empire of Justinian, and the same tradition operated also (mainly by means of ecclesiastical influence) in each of the barbarian kingdoms of the West. This more than anything else, enabled Europe to withstand the onslaught of Islam. After that attack had been repelled, the Eastern Empire, robbed of many of its fairest provinces, ceases to be the centre of European growth. The centre gradually returns to Rome. A separation between East and West slowly takes place, and at the same time the Western peoples can be seen grouping themselves around the Papacy. This development, marked by the policy of great Popes like Gregory I, was hastened by events such as the Iconoclast Controversy and the alliance between the Papacy and the Franks. It reached its logical climax in the re-establishment of the Empire in the West under Charlemagne. The Empire bade fair to reproduce the main features of the Latin tradition in the West, which was, however, still most fully enshrined in the Church. But the system had to withstand the internal disintegration and the external attack of the ninth and tenth centuries. After that dark period the Church remains as before, the chief custodian of the tradition from the past, and the reform of the Church, finally associated with the name of Hildebrand, is thus an event of general importance to the development of medieval Europe. The Church is henceforth the main medieval political society. Neither the

rising kingdoms in the West nor the localized Germanic Empire founded by Otto the Great can claim to represent the oecumenical features of what was still held to be the ideal political society. The measure of success accorded to the Papacy in its struggle with the Germanic Empire must be explained on these grounds, and also the fact that medieval civilization in western Europe was predominantly ecclesiastical in tone. The reign of Innocent III may therefore be considered as coincident with the climax of a long phase of European development.

These, we think, are the main factors in European growth during these centuries. The part played by the Eastern Empire steadily diminishes. At first the Empire of Justinian is, so to speak, in the very centre of the European stage. Gradually, however, owing to political processes of which we have hitherto been speaking, the Eastern Empire becomes more isolated. The Moslem invasions, the events of the Iconoclast Controversy, and finally the re-establishment of an Empire in the West, all operated in this way. Still, even after the opening of the ninth century, there is still a vigorous political growth in the Eastern Empire, and that growth affects occasionally the main stream of European development. It conditions, at length, one of the most remarkable phenomena of medieval politics—The Crusades.

II

The re-establishment of the Empire in the West under Charlemagne came upon the Eastern Empire inevitably as a shock and a challenge. Whilst political changes had tended to localize the influence of the Byzantine State, the direct transmission of authority from Roman times had always been insisted upon on the Bosphorus. Whatever might now be the facts of the case, there could, moreover, be no doubt that the theory of the Eastern Empire was unimpaired. There had, in the East, been no break in continuity from the days of Theodosius and Justinian to those of Irene. The citizens of this Empire still called themselves Romaioi—Romans. The district in Italy which they had ruled, still to-day (and for this reason) calls itself the

Romagna. Whatever might be the force of circumstance, the eastern Emperors in the ninth century could never regard the existence of the Empire founded by Charlemagne otherwise than as a humiliation. Basil I, for example, refused to give the imperial title to Louis the Pious. Nicephorus Phocas refused later to recognize Otto the Great. The Western Emperors were addressed by the chancery of Byzantium as *rex*—the imperial title being reserved by these men for the prince who reigned on the Bosphorus. And it seems as if, occasionally, the Western Emperors were aware of the theoretical weakness of their case against the East. For that may be the meaning of those frequent negotiations into which they entered with the Emperors of the East. Charlemagne would marry Irene. Otto II does marry Theophano. And at all events, the Empire of the East, even after the events of 800, did continue to think of itself as Roman. That is the explanation of much of its politics between the accession of Charlemagne and the beginning of the Crusading movement.

Nevertheless, in spite of this theory so constantly insisted upon, the changed conditions during this period did vitally affect the Eastern Empire. In a letter to the Emperor Michael I, Charlemagne used the term Eastern and Western Empires. In so doing, whatever may have been his legal and technical inaccuracy, he was, in reality, merely stating what were existing facts. Henceforward more than ever before, it is beginning to be correct to speak of a Byzantine Empire, for that Empire is rapidly becoming merely an Eastern power, more localized in its influence, more limited in its European significance, more Oriental and strictly Hellenic in its character. The political achievements of the Eastern Empire during this period, and their reaction upon the West, must be viewed in the light of these considerations. And these developments were also of importance in themselves. In the ecclesiastical sphere they affected the whole of the West. In the more strictly political sphere we have to deal in the main with the achievements of a remarkable dynasty—the Macedonian Emperors who held power from 867 to 1054—and with the results of their work.

From the death of Irene in 802 to the accession of Basil the Macedonian in 867 there was an epoch of anarchy in the Eastern Empire. The greatest weakness in the governmental organization of that Empire was always the lack of stability in the central power. There was no recognized principle of imperial succession, and prosperity depended largely upon the throne. The crimes of Irene took away prestige from the Isaurian house and opened again an era of revolution. This is a dreary epoch whose main interest lies in its ecclesiastical politics, for it was the period which saw the end of the Iconoclast Controversy and the beginning of the schism of Photius. Apart from these affairs, the politics of the Empire during this period were violent, futile, and without constructive achievement. No settled policy was pursued, and the Emperors, who rapidly succeeded each other, had to win their power by bloodshed, and most of them disappeared in the turmoil of revolt. It was, for example, a *coup d'état* which placed Nicephorus, the treasurer, on the throne in 802; Leo V was also in 813 the successful nominee of a rebellion and perished in 820 by assassination. Political power, in short, in the earlier half of the ninth century in the Eastern Empire never became stable, and the whole State was given over to anarchy which the violent ecclesiastical controversies of the time tended only to increase.

But while anarchy prevailed within the Empire, the most disastrous feature of this period was the menace from outside. The Bulgarian tribes which had already gained a footing in the Balkans now began a series of raids into Thrace. In 811 the Emperor Nicephorus took the field against them and was defeated and slain. Thrace passed temporarily into barbarian hands and even the capital itself was threatened. It was not until the accession of the more capable Leo V that the Empire could rid itself of the danger by the crushing victory of Mesembria in 814. More serious than the Bulgarian threat was, however, the renewed Saracen attack. In 826 some Arab pirates from Spain seized Crete and successfully resisted all attempts to dislodge them. And during this period a series of Saracen attacks against Sicily was launched. By the end of the earlier half of the ninth

century the whole province of Sicily may be regarded as a Moslem outpost in the Mediterranean, though its loss to the Eastern Empire can only be called complete with the fall of Syracuse in 878. When Basil I, the first of the Macedonian Emperors, murdered in 867 his benefactor Michael III, the Empire of the East was thus on all counts faced with a real crisis. And it seemed doubtful whether it would survive the strain of internal disintegration and external attack.

The Macedonian Emperors gave the State they ruled a century and a half of prosperity and splendour. The initial cause of the spectacular success of this house may probably be found just in those disastrous conditions which preceded their rule. The anarchy of that period was primarily due to the instability of the central power. The calamities of the Empire began to cease when a regularity of succession was once more established. That was the first great achievement of the Macedonian house. The monarchy was still in theory elective. The Macedonian Emperors sought to make it to a great extent hereditary. Their success in this direction gave stability to their rule, allowed the civil service to work smoothly once again, and permitted concerted measures to be taken to meet the needs of external defence. Every device was used by these men to achieve this all important result. Sometimes the Emperors associated their designated successors with them in the monarchy, and as the prestige of the house grew, so the claims of its members to the supreme power correspondingly increased. Revolutions and revolts there were, such as that which brought Nicephorus Phocas to the throne in 963, or that which ended in the assassination of that prince in 969. But any upheaval was in this period, legitimized by a politic marriage, and when the male line dies out it is the husbands of the surviving daughters who succeed to the purple. By such means the same family was enabled to maintain an uninterrupted rule in the Eastern Empire for nearly two centuries, to the infinite benefit of the State.

The new stability ensured by this uninterrupted succession of members of a single dynasty was the real cause of the revival of

prestige of the Eastern Empire under the Macedonian Emperors. Something must also be attributed to the personal character of the early members of the dynasty. These were rough men for the most part, unscrupulous and cruel, but possessed of a real sense of statecraft and a determination to economize the scanty resources of the Empire. And even the members of the family who did not actually reign were usually helpful in furthering the work of reconstruction. For example, the chamberlain Basil, the illegitimate son of Romanus Lecapenus, played a great part in the work of the dynasty. This man was during five reigns and for more than forty years the most prominent personality in the government, and it was largely owing to him that the early Macedonian Emperors were able (in the words of a contemporary) 'to provide for the imperial authority strong roots and to make to grow from these the glorious branches of a dynasty'.

The establishment of this house in power at once began to tell in the development of foreign policy. It enabled the Empire to make a firm stand against those forces from without which threatened its existence. For example, a veritable crusade against Islam begins slowly to develop. The general anarchy in the Moslem world during this period opened the way for an attack, and the Macedonian Emperors were not slow to take advantage of this. Already under Basil I the imperial armies had conducted victorious campaigns in Cappadocia and Cilicia, and by the middle of the tenth century the Byzantine frontier had been pushed eastward from the Halys to the head waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates. Further north, too, the attack was sustained. Tarsus was taken in 965 and Antioch in 968. Finally in 1020, under Basil II, large portions of Armenia were definitely annexed to the Empire. Even Crete was recaptured during this period (960). Never since the days of Justinian had the authority of the Empire been so widely felt in the East.

At the same time the pressure on the northern frontiers was gradually removed. Towards the end of the tenth century the Bulgarian threat began again to be serious. These tribes under their great king Samuel occupied parts of Macedonia and

Thrace, and Constantinople was threatened. The work of deliverance took some thirty years to perform and was mainly due to the efforts of Basil II, who earned for himself the title of Bulgaroktonos—the killer of the Bulgars. After the final defeat of the Bulgarians in 1014 and the death of Samuel himself, the Bulgarians never again threatened the Empire.

The prestige of the Empire maintained by this successful foreign policy was also reflected in the politics of southern Italy. This period was marked by chaos in the South of the peninsula. Between the Arab conquest of Sicily and the establishment of the Norman kingdom southern Italy was a prey to warring forces. But the power of the Macedonian Emperors steadily increased. Under Basil I, the imperial troops were sent to Calabria. Bari was occupied in 876 and Tarento in 880. By 885 the whole district was under Byzantine rule. Whilst Sicily remained in Arab hands, southern Italy gradually began to lean again upon Byzantine support. A rising of Lombard counts was always to be feared and Arab invasions from Sicily frequently took place, but on the whole there was a steady Byzantine advance marked by such victories as that of Garigliano in 915 and of Cannae in 1018. Even against the Emperors of the house of Otto, the troops of the East, during this period, held their own. Otto II, for example, was beaten back at Stilo in 987 in his invasion of Calabria. And southern Italy remained practically under Byzantine dominance until the coming of the Normans.

The success of the foreign policy of the Macedonian Emperors was primarily due to the settled government which that dynasty gave to the Eastern Empire. And this reacted on every department of administration. The establishment for a period of two centuries of a recognized principle of hereditary succession was of immense importance to the governance of the Empire This was indeed intensified by the remarkable position which the Emperor still held in the State. For theoretically the Emperor still wielded the same autocratic authority as had been exercised by the later Caesars. He was the absolute head of the State, and he also made claims to be the head of the

Church in the East as well. Round him there revolved the whole carefully graded and highly trained bureaucracy which was always a prominent feature of Byzantine government. As Leo VI himself put it in one of his edicts, 'All things depend upon the care and administration of the imperial majesty'.

With the advent of the series of strong Emperors between Basil I and Basil II, a new life, inevitably, passed into the civil service. Nothing was changed so far as composition was concerned, but a greater efficiency began to prevail everywhere. In one quarter only is it necessary to notice a functional change. It is in this period that the *themes*, instituted and probably organized before, first began to appear in their full significance. The *themes* were the new administrative districts of the Empire, which superseded the old dioceses and provinces. Based originally upon a purely military scheme of government, the themes by the ninth century were used as the framework for the whole administration. By the beginning of the tenth century there were twenty-six themes, which were later increased to thirty-one, and these afterwards remained the basis of all Byzantine provincial government. Their governors enjoyed both civil and military authority and they were appointed by the Emperor and directly responsible to him alone.

Besides ensuring a stability in the central power and inculcating a greater efficiency in the administration, the early Macedonian Emperors were responsible for a considerable amount of legislative reform. The old code of Justinian was adapted to the new conditions of social life. Basil I promulgated a handbook of law known as the *Prochiron*, and his successor Leo VI completed this work by issuing under the title of *Basilics* a complete code of sixty books, which contained a wholesale revision and adaptation of the jurisprudence of the reign of Justinian.

The stability and efficiency of the government were responsible also for commercial prosperity and cultural development. The geographical situation of the Empire placed it in a position to tap the Eastern trade-routes. It is under the Macedonian Emperors that this advantage was for the first time fully developed. The

Byzantine merchants under the rule of the Macedonian Emperors waxed immensely rich, and customs and market dues began to constitute a most important item in the revenues of the State. Economic prosperity reacted also upon culture. This is the age in the Eastern Empire of the encyclopedias, vast compendia of history and law, works on grammar, science, and

THE MACEDONIAN DYNASTY

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                              BASIL I, 867–886
                                     |
          |--------------------------|------------------------------|
ROMANUS LECAPENUS      =    Zoe=LEO VI, 886–912        ALEXANDER,
      919–45                     |                       912–13
                        CONSTANTINE VII, 912–59
                                 |
     ROMANUS II =        Theophano    =    NICEPHORUS PHOCAS,
        959–63                |                  963–69
  |-----------------|---------------------|--------------------|
Theophano        BASIL II,         CONSTANTINE VIII,       Theodora
=Otto II         963–1025              1025–8              =JOHN
                                                           ZIMISCES,
                                                           969–76
           |----------------------------------|
      ZOE (d. 1050)                      THEODORA
      =(1) ROMANUS III, 1028–34           1054–6
        (2) MICHAEL IV, 1034–41
        (3) CONSTANTINE IX, 1042–54
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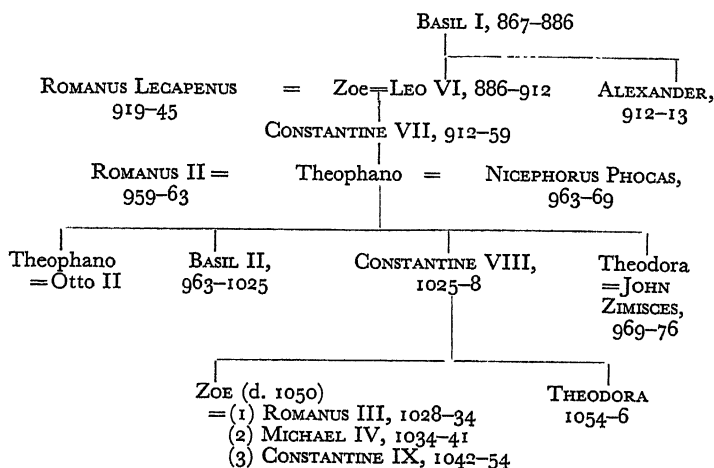
hagiography, and the Emperors themselves did not disdain to take part in the work. Leo VI was a writer of no mean merit; Constantine VII was a great patron of letters; and Byzantium was graced in the tenth century with Psellus, a universal genius in his own way, and the most inquiring and the most brilliant mind of his age. The Macedonian Emperors were, furthermore, great builders, and something of the lost grandeur and methods of the period of Justinian was found once more, whilst the contact with the Moslem East gave new elements of colour and design, and the development of the influence of the Isaurian Emperors turned the artistic genius of the Empire to secular as well as religious subjects. Nor was the old conception of the semi-sacred function of the Empire lost sight of. Once again Byzantine diplomacy works in close connexion with missionary activity. This was exercised chiefly in the direction of Russia.

The tenth century witnessed the conversion of Vladimir, prince of Kieff, and the Russian barbarian tribes, gradually becoming Christian, began to imitate the religious and the social customs of the Empire.

Under the Macedonian Emperors the Eastern Empire, though it was becoming generally more local in its influence, was nevertheless being consolidated into a powerful and effective State. This achievement was the greater in that these men had special problems to face which grew more acute in the course of time and were never wholly solved by the dynasty. The first of these problems was the birth of a new social evil in the Byzantine State. Its chief feature was the concentration of wealth into a few hands. Two distinct classes were forming in the State, the *Penates* or poor, the *Dunatoi* or rich, and the exploitation of the former to increase the already excessive power of the latter gave constant anxiety to the Macedonian Emperors. The introduction of feudal ideas into the Eastern Empire at this time intensified the danger. Everywhere there seemed to be growing up small semi-independent principalities in which misgovernment and oppression were common and which were themselves unamenable to control by the central government. Especially was this the case in Asia Minor, where the great landlords of the new régime were rapidly taking control of the political situation. A series of ordinances against the rich feudatories on the part of the Macedonian Emperors testifies at once to the existence of the menace and to the desire of the central government to cope with it. Such edicts were, for example, promulgated in 922 and 934 by Romanus Lecapenus, in 947 by Constantine VII, and later by Romanus II and Nicephorus Phocas. These ordinances had as their avowed object the protection of the smallholder and the restraint of the unlicensed activities of the new feudal aristocracy. They doubtless did good in postponing the process of social disruption, but in spite of them the evil grew. This age in the Eastern Empire marks the beginnings of feudal rebellion—the most important revolt of the type being the insurrection of Bardas Phocas in 978. The menace of the feudal aristocracy

in fact remained substantially unchecked. When after the death of Basil II the hold of the Macedonian dynasty on the central government became weakened, the whole State was threatened with feudal anarchy, and this in truth proved one of the prime causes of the final downfall of the house. After a period of chaos it was one of the great feudal families from Asia Minor—the Comneni—which in 1057 came tardily to the rescue of the monarchy.

The Macedonian emperors had also an ecclesiastical problem to face. On the one hand the aristocracy of the Church was a growing menace to the safety of the monarchy. On the other hand the lay control over the Church in the East remained very great, and contributed to the difficulty of the relations between the sees of Constantinople and Rome. But this lay control was always resisted by a certain section of the Church in the East, and that resistance took a most dangerous form in the tenth century. In particular, the opposition tended to be centred in the great monasteries, of which that of Studion was perhaps the chief. It was therefore not without reason that Nicephorus Phocas in 964 forbade the foundation of any new religious house, though Basil II in 988 was forced to abrogate this ordinance. Heretical movements still continued to reflect political differences in the Empire, and throughout this period there were constant quarrels between the patriarchs and Emperors. Such took place, for example, between Basil I and Photius, between Leo VI and Nicholas, between Nicephorus Phocas and Polyeuctes, between Michael VI and Caerularius himself. The Byzantine State was at best an artificial creation with little racial homogeneity to hold it together. The principle of ecclesiastical unity had ever been one of its chief safeguards. When this was threatened, the whole safety of the State was menaced at the same time.

The growing insubordination of the lay and ecclesiastical magnates impaired the unity of the Empire. And the evil results of this were intensified by the special difficulties in provincial government which arose during this period. These difficulties were partly political and partly economic in origin. They con-

THE EASTERN EMPIRE

UNDER THE MACEDONIANS
(CIRCA 1050)

English Miles

Eastern Empire

AFTER THE FIRST ATTACK
OF THE SELJUK TURKS
(CIRCA 1140)

English Miles

Eastern Empire

AFTER THE FOURTH CRUSADE
(CIRCA 1214)

English Miles

Greek possessions — Nominally dependent on the Greek Empire
Latin Empire — Nominally dependent on the Latin Empire
Venice and Italian Nobles — Latin Princes

cerned, especially, the relation of the central government of Constantinople with its Italian dependencies, and at last they were largely instrumental in destroying the Empire itself. Their consequences were thus not fulfilled until a much later date, but already before the Macedonian dynasty had passed away we can see their genesis. The development of the Eastern trade-routes under the Macedonian Emperors affected directly the fortunes of the rising Italian sea-ports and brought these into close commercial relations with the Eastern Empire. Bari, Amalfi, Genoa, and Pisa entered early into the orbit of Eastern politics for these reasons. But the town most affected was Venice. The early history of Venice does not concern this study, but it is significant to note that the city of the lagoons had always succeeded in maintaining its independence of the Western Empire by professing a close submission to the Caesar at Byzantium. By the end of the tenth century conditions were seen to be gradually changing. The constitution of Venice was developing; its wealth and its power were increasing; it was beginning to be a recognized centre of sea trade. In these circumstances its dependence upon the Eastern Empire to which it was subject began to lessen. It claimed—and in a treaty ratified in 992 it received—extensive commercial privileges from Basil II. Ninety years later this treaty was renewed in a more extensive form. By the twelfth century it had become evident that the object of the Venetians was to exploit the waning resources of the Eastern Empire for their own profit. Venetian merchants penetrated through the Empire. There grew up an enormous Venetian colony in the capital itself. Worst of all, the Venetians were always ready to support their privileges by force of arms, even against their nominal rulers. Two Emperors of the twelfth century, John II and Manuel I, waged unavailing wars against Venice.

It was thus that under the last Emperors of the Macedonian house the Empire once again began to be threatened with internal disintegration, and the members of the new dynasty of the Comneni could do little to check this. Under John II (1118–43) and Manuel I (1143–80) there was a period of

illusory prosperity, but by this time the whole situation in the East had been changed, and it was clear that the ancient position of the Empire could never be recovered. For the calamities of the latter half of the eleventh century were complicated by a terrible external threat which altered every aspect of eastern European politics and brought eastern and western Europe once more into conjunction. This menace came from the Seljuk Turks of central Asia. These peoples had often before troubled the peace of Europe, but now they appeared in a much more dangerous form. They had become highly organized and had adopted the Moslem faith with fanatical fervour. In the eleventh century, under their very able sovereigns Togrul-beg, Alp-Arslan, and Malek-shah, they invaded Arab Persia and Asia Minor. Long campaigns on the part of the Emperors were quite unavailing, and in 1071 the imperial forces were completely overthrown in a great battle at Manzikert. This was a disaster from which the Empire never really recovered. It meant in truth the almost complete loss of the bulk of the Asiatic provinces of the Empire. It seemed highly probable that a new attack from Islam might obliterate the Empire even in Europe, and sweep up the Danube valley towards the West. Once more, therefore, Constantinople appeared as the bastion of Europe against Asia, but now the strength of the Empire had been lessened from within. The work of the Macedonian Emperors alone had maintained some sort of stability in a State whose continued existence now appeared to be of vital importance to Europe as a whole. The Christian West was inevitably forced to take a direct interest in this attack by an infidel invader.

The crisis created by the Turkish attack set the stage for the Crusading movement. Once more, as had been the case in the eighth century, Asia threatened the very existence of Europe. As it had been when Charles Martel in an earlier century had but completed the work which had been done by the heroic defenders of Constantinople, so now the interests of the whole of Europe seemed to be united once again in a common interest in a common adversary. But the circumstances were now far

more complex, and the developments which had occurred in the East during the two previous centuries all made their influence felt in the strange and paradoxical history of the Crusades. Throughout, we shall have to bear in mind the special difficulties which, in spite of the brilliant efforts of the Macedonian Emperors, were menacing the Byzantine State. We shall see at work those forces of ecclesiastical insubordination, the social and economic dangers which were threatening the Eastern Empire. The peculiar situation of Venice will influence the whole trend of events. That is why the Crusading Movement, itself the result of a revival of the old alliance between East and West, will have such strange consequences. But even thus, those consequences cannot fully be understood unless we consider some of the relationships between East and West which had developed in the period when the Macedonian Emperors were making their great experiment in statecraft.

III

The historical process which culminated in the re-establishment of the Empire in the West had considerable ecclesiastical consequences which, from the ninth century onwards, affected the mutual relationship of the two Empires, and finally impinged directly upon the general course of European development. The Papacy, as we have seen, played a considerable part in creating the Frankish Empire in the West, and we have noted that during the period following the collapse of the Roman administrative system the Papacy also succeeded in maintaining the position in the Church to which at an earlier date it had successfully made claim. On the whole, between the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the ninth, the see of Rome may be said to have sustained a threefold position. It caused to be generally acknowledged its primacy over the other metropolitan sees. Equally generally, the Papacy preached the fixity of the faith, and it insisted that the bishop of Rome was the interpreter of a *regula fidei* by which the orthodoxy of new opinions must be tested. Finally the see of Rome had stood out during all this period as the champion of an ecclesiastical

system independent of temporal control, as against the organization of the Church in the East, which tended more and more to become subject to imperial governance. It is probably in this last direction that the political activity of the Papacy was, during these centuries, of most historical importance, and it was on this ground also, as we have seen, that the see of Rome came most generally into conflict with that of Byzantium.

It was also largely owing to the close connexion between the see of Constantinople and the imperial administration that the establishment of the Empire of Charles at once began to threaten the amicable relationships between the two bishoprics. The resentment of the Emperors of the East at the formation of a State in the West which they could fairly contend had no legal right to the title of Empire, was reflected in the personal ambitions of the patriarchs of Byzantium, who wished as far as possible, with the aid of the Emperors, to exalt their see at the expense of that of Rome. Nevertheless it would be wholly wrong to think that the establishment of Charles's Empire of itself would have provoked anything in the nature of a schism. Indeed, after the Iconoclast Controversy had definitely ended, in 842, it seemed as though the relations between the Eastern and the Western sections of the Church might be more harmonious than they had been for some time. We can, in fact, see two distinct bodies of opinion in the Eastern Church at this time. On the one hand, there was a party, consisting mainly of the greater ecclesiastics, which was gradually becoming hostile to Rome, and to further its ends was content to support the Emperors even when the latter interfered in Church matters. Caesaro-Papism and hostility to the see of Rome became more closely connected than ever before in the Eastern Church during this period. On the other hand, there was a strong party in the Eastern Church, whose main strength was in the monasteries, which turned to Rome—it had found the see of Rome, in the Iconoclast Controversy, its champion against the persecuting Emperors, and it still looked with friendly eyes towards the Papacy as its protector against imperial encroachment on the autonomy of the Church. During the first half of the ninth

century the relationship between the two sees was complicated by the political development in the West which had taken place under the influence of the Papacy, but there seemed no reason why, as in times past, some solution to these difficulties should not be found.

The whole question, however, was transformed by a series of events which began in 858 and which, though unimportant in themselves, had considerable consequences. In that year the patriarch Ignatius was deposed by the Emperor, and a layman, Photius, was appointed in his place. Now Photius seems, on his election, to have been representative of the extreme Caesaro-Papistic party in the Eastern Church, but nevertheless, the rights of primacy vested in the Roman see were tacitly recognized by him when he sent an embassy to Nicholas I, asking for a confirmation of his appointment. In 861 Nicholas refused to accept the appointment without fuller information and eventually demanded the deposition of Photius with all the bishops who had been consecrated by him. Photius replied by sending letters to the Western Church demanding the deposition of Nicholas. So far, Photius seems to have been mainly concerned with attacking the person of Nicholas rather than the rights of the Papacy, but in 867 the controversy began to take on a different character. A council presided over by the Emperor Michael not only excommunicated Nicholas, but denounced the very right which Photius had apparently hitherto admitted—the Papal right of intervention in the confirmation of appointments in the Greek Church. Further, the position adopted by the Papacy in respect of the interpretation of the *regula fidei* was categorically questioned. Latin usages were condemned, and in particular the addition —general in the West—of the word *filioque* to the creed. After this, the quarrel became more and more confused. The accession of Basil I was disastrous to Photius, for the Emperor deposed him and made his peace with Rome. But in 877 Photius was again reinstated and again demanded the Papal recognition. He ruled as patriarch until 886, when he was once again deposed and lived in retirement until his death in 891.

It was really the results of the complicated quarrel which were important. Photius seems to have been an able man and a formidable antagonist. He voiced the opinions of an extreme party in the Greek Church. He is mainly important for providing that party with a new weapon which they were later to use against the Papacy. Hitherto, the primacy of the see of Rome, both in respect of appointments and in respect of the definition of dogma, had been generally recognized in the Greek Church. It was against imperial interference which the Papacy in the past had mainly had to contend. And Caesaro-Papism is an uncomfortable doctrine for a prelate to preach, even in the furtherance of his own personal powers. During the Photian quarrel, and in particular in respect of the *filioque* controversy, the struggle between the two sees was, so to speak, placed upon a theological basis, and the patriarchs in the future will be able to state their case irrespective of the imperial policy.

But it would be very easy to overstress these points. Between 900 and 1054 it must be remembered that concord existed officially between the Churches, and 'it must be added that this concord was real'. 'It may safely be said that the majority of the westerners and of the Greeks dreaded schism and that the two parties, far from mutual hatred and excommunication, considered themselves as members of the same Church.' The faithful were content with union, it was their 'pastors and princes' who were 'solely responsible' for the schism.

There were many causes, however, which tended to negative such desires for unity. The century and a half which we are considering is precisely the darkest period in western European history. Elsewhere in this essay we have sought to emphasize the importance of that decline and the political significance of the ecclesiastical reforming movement which brought it to its close. During this period the incipient anarchy caused by feudal disintegration and the menace of the Scandinavian attack affected the Church itself, and not least the Papacy. The influence, first of the Roman factions, and then, after the coronation of Otto the Great, of the Western Emperors, weakened the prestige of the Papacy in the East. But the claims of the

Papacy to primacy had been the cardinal factor which held the two Churches together. In the decline of the Papacy during these years may be found a disintegrating influence which affected Eastern no less than Western politics.

At the same time the achievement of the Macedonian Emperors tended to increase the prestige of the patriarchate of Constantinople, which continued to depend very largely upon imperial support. Whilst the Papacy was becoming the sport of the Roman factions, men in the East began to turn for leadership to the patriarch who was near at hand. It was thus that the claims of what may perhaps be called the 'erastian' party in the Eastern Church grew in strength. Opposition from Rome was no longer greatly to be feared, for whilst the Papal claims were never given up, it was difficult during this period to enforce them. When the revival came in the West, and the Papacy once more was able to assert the prerogatives which had been acknowledged in an earlier century, it found a strong party, highly placed in the Eastern Church, ready to resist it.

That is really the explanation of the fact that a strong and obstinate patriarch—Michael Caerularius—was in 1054 able, in the interests of his see, to complete the work which Photius had begun. Again political conditions determined the result. The triumphant advance of the Normans in southern Italy in the earlier half of the eleventh century meant, it should not be forgotten, heavy loss to the Byzantine power. There were already indications of the later alliance between the Papacy and the Normans, and this was bringing the Papacy into close relations with a power that was robbing the Eastern Empire of one of its fairest provinces. It was clearly the moment for the patriarch to use the inevitable irritation of the imperial power for the purposes of wresting from Rome an official recognition of his own autonomy. But Michael Caerularius had to deal with the Papacy when it was entering on its strongest period, and Leo IX, the first of the great reforming Popes, was not likely to make concessions which none of his remote predecessors had granted. The quarrel had many ramifications, but it reached its climax in 1054, when in a great synod Michael

Caerularius, after recapitulating the 'grievances of the Greeks', renounced the allegiance of his see to that of Rome and closed the Churches of the Latin rite in the East.

The definite rupture of 1054 might almost be described as the 'personal achievement' of Michael Caerularius. It did, however, represent the views of a powerful party in the Eastern Church which had been growing in strength during the tenth century. It was disastrous to the Eastern Empire. It tended to localize the influence of that Empire still further, and it separated Byzantium from the West just at the time when western Europe was entering upon the medieval renaissance. It ensured the loss of southern Italy to Constantinople, and, finally, it influenced the whole course of the Crusading Movement. For, as a result of the schism, the Crusading Movement takes on a dual character. On the one hand, it is the co-operative defence of Christendom against an alien foe, but on the other hand, it involves the entry of the troops of the West into Eastern territory, which is now sundered from it by important and inflammatory differences of faith. We shall have to watch both these aspects of the Crusades, which, in consequence, not only defended Europe, but also wrecked the Eastern Empire.

III

The causes of the Crusades thus become apparent from a study of the history which preceded them. The contribution made to the common stock of European civilization at a dark hour by the Macedonian Emperors kept the Eastern Empire in the forefront of European politics. The disasters that befell the Byzantine State after their rule made the Empire very susceptible to attack, and that attack came with the Seljuk Turks in an exceptionally menacing form. The Eastern Empire was still able, however, to appeal to the common consciousness of Christendom, which still bore in mind the old Roman ideal of imperial unity. But whilst the cohesion of the Eastern Empire had been impaired by social disintegration and by the rise of Venice, so also had the unity of Christendom itself been rup-

tured by the Caerularian Schism. The attitude of Christian
Europe to its alien and infidel foe thus tended to be modified
by the exigencies of recent political circumstance.

It needed, in fact, some spectacular and emotional stimulus
to revive the feeling of the political unity of Christendom and
to bring the West once more into the orbit of Eastern politics.
This was supplied by the general horror that was stimulated
by the occupation of Palestine by the Turks. The capture
by the Turks of the central shrines of Christian worship came
upon the West as a shock and a challenge. From the time
when the Empress Helena founded the Church of the Holy
Sepulchre at Jerusalem, Christian activities in the Holy Land
had been various and constant. They were encouraged by the
Papacy, and pilgrimages to the Holy Land became a recognized
way of showing devotion and of expiating sin. Such were the
conditions when the Saracen invasion swept Palestine into infidel
hands. The connexion between Palestine and the West was
almost severed just at the moment when ecclesiastical usage
was stressing more and more the importance of the shrines and
the pilgrimages thereto. The new rulers, however, showed con-
siderable tolerance, and the pilgrimages continued without
much interruption. Indeed, under Charlemagne a definite
Frankish protectorate was established over the Holy Places, and
this continued until the eleventh century, with certain interrup-
tions, chief of which was the reign of the fanatical El Hakim
(996–1021).

The situation was abruptly changed with the advent of the
Seljuk Turks. In 1076 the Turks took Jerusalem, immediately
forbade the pilgrimages, and desecrated the shrines. We have
frequently seen the elements of the crusading idea in the policy
of the Eastern Empire. It had been prominent in the wars of
Justinian and still more noticeable in the great campaigns of the
Holy Cross conducted by Heraclius. At once it appeared again
in the face of the Turkish menace. In the West, the Papacy,
representing Western Christendom, voiced and fostered the
general indignation at the discontinuance of the pilgrimages.
But it was the combination of the crusading idea, latent in the

foreign policy of the Eastern Emperors since the days of Heraclius, with the Papal conception of a united and a militant Christendom which finally produced the Crusading Movement itself. Towards the end of the eleventh century these two policies were definitely approaching union. On the one hand, there was the desire of the Papacy to lead Christendom against an infidel foe, on the other hand, there was the need of the Eastern Emperor to save his Empire from destruction by an invader. Against this alliance there remained, however, the obstacle of the schism, which, in spite of efforts at healing, persisted. But it was not strong enough to prevent the union of policies which became crystallized when in 1095 ambassadors from Alexis I appeared at Rome and begged for the help of the West. To this plea the reigning Pope, Urban II, was very ready to respond, since the idea of an expedition far more extensive than any of which Alexis had ever dreamed had already taken shape in the Pope's mind.

This combination of the policy of the Papacy with that of the Eastern Emperor lead directly to the First Crusade. In 1095, at the Council of Clermont, Urban II preached the Holy War, and a swarm of itinerant preachers, of whom the famous Peter the Hermit was perhaps the most important, carried the message throughout Western Christendom. By 1096 the Crusade was on its way. Vast masses of pilgrims preceded the main body to the East, and many perished on the route. The Crusaders grouped themselves in four large sections, all of which proceeded by land, though by different routes. They met at Constantinople, where there was considerable friction between them and the imperial authorities. In 1097 they advanced through Asia Minor, suffering terribly from famine and disease, and in the next year they took Edessa, where Baldwin, brother of Godfrey of Boulogne, made himself Count. The rest of the Crusade proceeded to Antioch. Here, after much quarrelling, it was at length agreed that the city, when conquered, should be handed over to Bohemond of Tarento, who became Prince of Antioch. Finally, in 1099, Jerusalem itself was taken, and was given over to Godfrey of Boulogne, who took the title of Defender of the Holy Sepulchre.

The immediate result of the First Crusade was to establish a series of Latin states in the East. In the north there was the county of Edessa, of vague extent, stretching from the coast to the head-waters of the Euphrates. South of this was the principality of Antioch, grouped round the city but never stretching as far east as Aleppo. South again was the county of Tripoli, a narrow strip of territory comprising little more than the sea-coast between Tortosa and Tripoli. But the most important Latin possession in Syria was the kingdom of Jerusalem in the south, to which all the other Latin realms were subject. This stretched from Sidon to Ascalon by the sea-coast. After that, its boundary went vaguely south into the Syrian desert and back considerably east of the Dead Sea.

The history of these Latin states forms the connecting link between the remainder of the Crusades except the Fourth, which is in a class by itself.[1] The Crusades, from the twelfth century onwards, are a protracted attempt to maintain the existence of the Latin kingdoms in the East. It was a long struggle which at length proved unavailing. Its details do not concern this essay. The Moslem attack on the States was fairly continuous. It more than counterbalanced the sporadic attempts of the West to withstand it. In 1144 Edessa itself was taken by the Turks, and a new Crusade—the Second—largely inspired by the preaching of St. Bernard, went to its relief. It failed in its object, and after its collapse Jerusalem itself fell into Moslem hands, and the Christian power was confined to Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch. The Third Crusade, connected with the names of Philip Augustus, Frederick Barbarossa, and Richard I of England, was an attempt to stem the Moslem reaction which had now passed under the capable leadership of Saladin. It failed to capture Jerusalem, though Acre fell into Christian hands. The remaining Crusades are of little importance. The Fifth was notable for the capture of Damietta by John of Brienne in 1219 and its subsequent loss. Under Frederick II,

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[1] The conventional numbering of the Crusades has, for the sake of convenience, been retained here, though it is, strictly speaking, inaccurate for all the Crusades except the First, since there was a continuous series of expeditions to the Holy Land.

Jerusalem was recaptured in 1229, only to be lost again to a new Turkish invasion; and the efforts of St. Louis in the Sixth and Seventh Crusades to retake it were of no avail. By 1268 Jaffa and Antioch had been lost. By 1291 the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem had completely come to an end.

The failure of the Crusades to maintain a Latin State in the East may be partly attributed to the lack of organization in the crusading armies. These hosts had no definite leadership. It was natural that the Crusaders should group themselves round the chief barons involved, but there was no real discipline, and every Crusade was marked by quarrels among the leaders. There was no commissariat, and thus the difficulties of the long journey by land were accentuated. Disease and hunger marked the route of every crusading host and caused terrible sufferings and death. Later, the perils of the land route were recognized and the crusading hosts proceeded by sea. But this put the Crusaders very much at the mercy of the money-making Italian sea-ports which supplied the ships for transit. Finally, and most important of all, the changing conditions in Europe were reflected in the Crusades themselves. The rise of the temporal States of the West brought a new kind of disunion into the crusading armies. This may be seen especially in the rivalries between Philip Augustus and Richard I in the Third Crusade. The Crusades at their strongest were the effort of a united Europe; when the political unity of the West began itself to be threatened, all hope of success for the Crusades came to an end.

The constitution of the Latin kingdom itself also contributed to this failure. The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem is interesting as an example of a feudal State which never achieved the creation of a strong co-ordinating monarchy. The king of Jerusalem was merely feudal suzerain. He never acquired the prerogatives of true medieval monarchy. Over his immediate vassals his power was limited. Over the princes of Antioch and the counts of Edessa it could hardly be exercised at all. Even the succession to the monarchy was always in dispute. The two principles of feudal election and hereditary right struggled for expression. Godfrey of Boulogne was succeeded by his brother

THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

THE LATIN KINGDOM
OF
JERUSALEM

Baldwin I, and Baldwin I by his cousin Baldwin II. For some time the line descended directly, but it was never stable, and the minorities of Baldwin III, a leper, and Baldwin IV were fatal to the monarchy. The throne was then occupied in turn by the husbands of Sibyl and Isabella, the heiresses to the

EARLY KINGS OF THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

GODFREY OF BOULOGNE, d. 1100
Succeeded by his brother,
BALDWIN I, 1100–18.
Succeeded by
BALDWIN II, 1118–30.

BALDWIN II, 1118–30
|
Millicent = FULK OF ANJOU
1130–43

BALDWIN III   AMALRIC I
1143–63   1163–74

BALDWIN IV   (1) William of Montferrat   Isabella
1174–85   SIBYL = (2) GUY OF LUSIGNON   = (1) CONRAD OF
                        1186–92   MONTFERRAT
                                                       1192.
                                                   (2) HENRY OF
                                                       CHAMPAGNE
                BALDWIN V, 1185–86   1192–97.

                                                   (3) AMALRIC II,
                                                       1197–1205

John de Brienne = Mary   AMALRIC III
1210–22.   d. 1206.

crown, and there was considerable civil war. Even the presence of an alien foe failed to preserve unity in the kingdom.

In truth, the Crusaders at their strongest could conquer but not colonize. The kingdom was always an artificial and precarious concern, and the settled Latins themselves underwent degeneration. There was much intermarriage, and a population of half-castes grew up. Moreover, the settled inhabitants, accustomed to Eastern ideas, gradually grew out of touch with the ideals animating the successive crusading hosts which came to their assistance. They were adepts at dealing by diplomacy with their Moslem neighbours, but the fire that had inspired the

earlier Crusades was not transmitted to them. Only in one quarter was there a combination of eastern experience with crusading fervour. This was to be found in the great military orders of the Knights Templars and the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. With the decadence and distortion of these orders at the close of the Middle Ages, and their mutual quarrels, the last hope of the Crusades in the East passed away.

But the results of the Crusades stretched far beyond the boundaries of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. They vitally concerned the Eastern Empire and dealt that Empire what was virtually its death-blow. Whilst the Crusades were really the offensive and defensive action of a united Christendom against infidel enemies, whilst their avowed object was to help the Eastern Empire against the Turks, the difference, which in the earlier sections of this chapter we have watched growing between East and West, affected the whole course of the movement. In particular, the religious dispute continued, and was aggravated by political circumstances. Alexis I probably never visualized such a large crusading force as was ultimately sent to the East by Urban II, and the behaviour of the Crusaders themselves frequently aroused enmity among the provincials of the Eastern Empire. Violence and arrogance often marked the advance of a crusading detachment through the imperial territory. Between the leaders of the Crusades and the imperial authorities there was frequent friction. The Emperor sometimes sought to exploit the Crusaders for the purely domestic concerns of the Empire. On the other hand, the Western barons, eager to become independent princes in Syria, were impatient of any imperial control at all. And behind all this there always remained the religious schism, intensified by these quarrels, and itself forming an excuse under which they could be conducted. There were many attempts to end the dispute during this period. But all failed of permanent result, and we can see beginning to appear, even at this early date, the disastrous notion that the dispute could best be ended by a Western conquest. As early as 1108 Pope Paschal II gave his support to Prince Bohemund of Antioch when he

attempted to attack the Empire. Later, though without Papal support, Roger II of Sicily began, with considerable Western backing, another attack on that Empire. Both these attempts were abortive, but during the twelfth century the fruits of the earlier dispute were beginning to be reaped.

The tragedy of the Fourth Crusade was thus prepared by earlier history. In 1180 a violent anti-Latin reaction began in the Eastern Empire and culminated two years later in a massacre of Latins at Constantinople. When Innocent III began again to press with great vigour for a settlement of the ecclesiastical schism, he had to deal with a mutual bitterness which it was hard in any way to assuage. That Pope once again brought the question of the schism to the fore and was insisting on the necessity of a settlement at the same time as the Fourth Crusade was assembling at Venice. It was here that the desire for independence on the part of the Venetian republic, whose origin we have watched, became linked up with the religious dispute. Largely owing to the influence of Philip of Swabia the project was mooted of turning the Crusade against Constantinople with the aid of the Venetian ships and Venetian troops. The debts which the Crusaders had already incurred to the Venetians were used as a method of persuasion; the schism was urged as an excuse by the Venetians; and the wealth of the richest city in the world was held as a tempting prize to unscrupulous members of the crusading army. These inducements proved too much for the host at Venice. In 1203 the Crusade appeared outside Constantinople, and in April of the next year the assault began. Constantinople was taken and burnt and the Crusaders pillaged the city and committed every sort of violence and abomination therein for three days.

The events of 1204 are a crime for which an historical judgement can find no pardon. Innocent III was horrified at the turn which events had taken and pleaded his ignorance of the designs of the leaders. The wealth of the city must have been enormous. We know that it dazzled the Frankish troops. European civilization suffered an irreparable loss in the wanton

destruction of the treasures of art and literature contained in the city. Constantinople which for nine hundred years had been first the capital of Christendom, and then its bastion against Asia, perished before the brutal onslaught of Christian arms. The course of the Fourth Crusade justifies the taunt that the Crusades were for the Eastern Empire nothing but a series of barbarian invasions of a peculiarly embarrassing kind. For in spite of a later revival, the Empire never recovered. It split up into a number of small states, chief of which was the Latin Empire established at Byzantium itself. It was the final distortion of the Crusading idea which, though prepared by earlier history, was none the less shocking and disastrous. The Empire could never again act in the same way as a cultural centre embodying a great tradition from the past, nor could it ever serve in the same efficient manner as the bulwark of Europe against Asia. A judicious modern historian has observed: 'If the Eastern Empire had not been reduced to the dimensions of a petty state by the greed and brutality of the western brigands who called themselves Crusaders, it is possible that the Turks might never have gained a footing in Europe.'

Among the results of the Crusades must therefore be numbered the foundation of a series of states in Palestine which failed to survive, and the preliminary defence, but ultimate disruption, of the Eastern Empire. The result of the Crusades on western Europe is much more difficult to estimate, for the effects of the Crusades on the West have been very diversely judged. Western Europe developed so rapidly during the period of the Crusades that, while many have regarded the Crusades as completely sterile of effects, others have attributed to them the twelfth-century renaissance and all its political concomitants. We must therefore be very cautious in any answer we give to a question which is, after all, incapable of an exact solution. The Crusades combined the extreme of self-sacrificing devotion to an ideal with the worst forms of political expediency. But the continual armed effort of western Europe for some two centuries must have produced some effects on the territories from which that armed effort was derived.

The Papacy had taken the lead in the Crusades, and the Crusades, long after this period had closed, still remained an integral part of Papal policy. In the early days this certainly enhanced the prestige of the Papacy in the West, and it probably helped it in its struggle with the Empire. Men who had fought beneath the Papal banner in the East were frequently reluctant to turn their arms against the Papacy in the West. The Papacy, in short, in the Crusades, was the acknowledged head of a militantly united Christendom. Correspondingly, the later corruption of the Crusading Movement, the disgrace of 1204, the failure to maintain the Latin kingdom, also affected the political position of the Papacy in the West; and the Papacy from the time of Innocent III onwards was sometimes not averse to utilizing the weapon of the Crusade for purposes other than that for which it was originally forged. The difference between the political position of the Papacy at the beginning of the thirteenth century and that which it was to occupy in the middle of the fourteenth is partially to be explained on these grounds. At first a perfect reflection of the medieval political system, the Crusades eventually contributed to its decline.

To speak generally of the economic and intellectual results of the Crusades on western Europe would be very difficult. For example, the Crusades contributed to the growth of the Italian sea-ports which undertook, during the later Crusades, the transport of the crusading armies, and waxed rich. But the development of the Italian towns had begun before the Crusades, and other factors had played their part in that development. Venice, it is true, gained more from the Crusades than any other town, for the Fourth Crusade was largely her work, and she reaped a large share of the booty. A third of Constantinople itself fell into her hands, and her trade was securely established in the East. But even Venice, as we have seen, had started on her luxuriant career before ever the Crusades began. And it would be even more rash to speak more generally of the Crusades affecting Western municipal life. Doubtless they did something to open up the Eastern trade routes, but products of the East, silk, sugar, and spice, were reaching the West, mainly through

Italy, before the First Crusade. Equally difficult would it be to isolate the effects of the Crusades in the cultural and intellectual spheres. One example may be taken of this. The twelfth-century renaissance owed much to the increase in the study of Greek and particularly of Aristotle. Here, doubtless, the constant interrelation between the peoples of the West and the Byzantine Empire was of importance. But again, it would be unsafe to generalize. Western Europe in the twelfth century received its Aristotle, as we shall see, not only from translators such as James of Venice, in direct contact with the East, but also from the study of Arabic versions of Aristotle's works which came into western Europe by way of Moslem Spain. The Crusades at the most may be regarded as one of the causes of the transformation of Europe in the twelfth century.

We may perhaps best view the Crusades as the reflection of that political structure whose growth it is the purpose of this essay to watch. Whatever may have been the later corruptions, however far the earlier quarrels between East and West may have deflected the Crusades from their original purpose, the Crusades at their most efficient were the product of a politically united Christendom. Like the political system which produced them, they were Latin, non-national, and ecclesiastical. They originally embodied high ideals of courage and self-sacrifice. But they could never have taken place except from a Europe whose growth for five centuries had been in the direction of producing an ecclesiastical civilization embodying the political ideals of the Latin past. It is well to beware of idealizing the Crusades, but at the beginning they were the offensive and defensive action of a united Christendom against an alien foe. They reflected the political ideals which men were trying to put into practice in the West. That must be the explanation why causes insufficient to the modern mind were sufficient to send wave after wave of the aristocracy of western Europe to perish on the plains of Palestine.

SOME FEATURES OF MEDIEVAL INSTITUTIONS

I

THE politics of the Eastern Empire under the Macedonian dynasty and that of the Comneni, and more especially the historical processes connected with the Crusades, removed the Eastern Empire from the main stream of European growth. We are left with western Europe, whose political structure we have watched developing until it reached a climax during the reign of Innocent III. But if our analysis of the factors of European history between the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the thirteenth approaches the truth, we should find it reflected in the social scheme existing in the West at the end of the twelfth century. This, then, will be the purpose of the cursory summary attempted in this chapter: a description of some of the characteristic social institutions of western Europe at the end of the twelfth century and the historical reasons for their special features.

II

The natural division of institutions as they existed in the twelfth century is into the ecclesiastical and the secular, and it will be followed in these pages. It was a division which was latent also in medieval thought, but not then applied in the modern manner. It must be remembered that the modern antithesis of Church and State did not exist in this period. We have watched the identification between the ecclesiastical and the political systems of the West in theory and to a large extent in practice. Men thus in the twelfth century did not think of 'Church' and 'State' as two opposed societies. There was for them but one political society *par excellence*—Christendom—though there were two governmental hierarchies charged with its rule. Whilst, therefore, we watch the process by which the 'Church' became organized as an independent society, we must never forget that we are using the word in this sense to represent the officials of a society which included the entire population of the

West. The two 'Orders'—spiritual and temporal—it must always be remembered, in the twelfth century, governed the same set of people. The subjects are the same; the hierarchies differ. All groups, moreover, social and political, are included in the ultimate unity of Western Christendom.

The position held by the Papacy in Europe under Innocent III serves, itself, as a fitting illustration of these ideas. Under that Pope the political ideal enshrined in the Latin tradition came nearest to practical expression. The Pope became the political head of Europe. He was regarded as the superior of the temporal princes, and in many cases he had transformed this claim into an active feudal suzerainty. Indeed it is the identification between the Church and the political system of western Europe in men's thoughts and to a very large extent also in their practice which was the most noticeable feature of this age. It is thus that the position of Innocent III in the Church reacted upon the whole social structure of Europe. The steps by which that position had been reached have been the subject of many pages of this essay. We have watched the situation of the Papacy at the time of the breakdown of the Western imperial system and the development of Papal political influence under Gregory the Great. On the one hand, the balance of power in Italy gave a fitting opportunity for the growth of Papal policy; on the other hand, the preoccupation of the Eastern Empire with Eastern affairs made to devolve on the Papacy the duty of especial protector of civilization in Italy. The other phase in this political growth is concerned with the separation of East and West. Its main features are the Iconoclast Controversy, the slow grouping of the Western peoples round the Papacy in a common political opposition to the Eastern Empire, and the refoundation of the Empire in the West under Charlemagne. This process culminated, in a sense, in the Photian schism and the rupture under Caerularius. Again, in the dark period which followed the collapse of Charles's Empire it had become increasingly clear not only that the very existence of civilization in the West was involved in the movement for ecclesiastical reform, but also that that reform depended directly on the practical operation of a

strong central executive in the Church, capable of carrying on the struggle against temporal control. The Papacy thus reached a crisis in its history in the latter half of the eleventh century. It then defined its position in respect of the political powers of Europe more clearly than ever before. It undertook the long battle with the temporal powers over the matter of investitures. The conflict between the Papacy and the Empire went through its various stages. By the time of Innocent III, the Papacy may be said to have emerged victorious from that struggle. It had in all its political activities maintained its position.

The interconnexion between secular and ecclesiastical politics in the theory and practice of these centuries implied, as we have also seen, that the Papal war for ecclesiastical liberty proceeded with the maintenance of the Papal position within the Church. This we have found to have had many aspects. One of its main features was the consistent proclamation by the Papacy of its special position within the Church as the one authorized exponent of the *regula fidei* and its defence of this position against all parties who opposed it. Another feature of this growth was the development of a provincial system in opposition to the rival notion of feudal or royal control over the hierarchy. This became important after the re-establishment of the Empire of Charles with its theocratic implications, and it reached its critical stage during the subsequent centuries. Not only did the Papacy slowly succeed in making the province and not the kingdom the unit of ecclesiastical government, but it gradually, and with difficulty, succeeded also in subjecting the archbishops as the governing heads of the provinces to Papal control. The policy summarized in the Forged Decretals was mainly important in this respect. They sought to bring the great metropolitan sees of the West under the direct control of the Papacy, whilst at a slightly later date the extension of the legatine system brought the Papacy from time to time into direct contact with all the churches of the West. The final success of the Hildebrandine reforms meant that these aims were realized in western Europe. After the reforms, the main business

of the Papacy in this respect was stabilization and organization. The history of the Papacy between Leo IX and the death of Innocent III has been described as 'a progress towards solidarity, order, and central control'. The Papal supremacy in the Church was, in western Europe at the end of the twelfth century, except in unimportant quarters, undenied.

It may, therefore, be stressed that Innocent III was 'the vehicle of a progressive tradition'. His position, the organization of his court, his policy in respect of temporal and ecclesiastical institutions, and the reforms he essayed to carry out can only be explained with reference to the past. Nevertheless, a mere recapitulation of headings such as this tends to make too simple the general development whose implications we shall have so often to watch. The special position of the Papacy within the Church reacted upon its political influence in Europe. The feudal supremacy which it had secured in various quarters helped it in its struggle with ambitious metropolitans or recalcitrant bishops. The position of Innocent himself was, however, clear. He is the first to use the title 'Vicar of Christ' in connexion with his office. In Mr. Hamilton Thomson's words, his ideal was 'a monarchy wielded by the earthly representative of Him who said that His kingdom was not of this world, and his interference with kings and princes was guided by their attitude as sons of the Church to its head'. This inclusion of the whole of western Europe within the Church gives special interest to the Papal government at the end of the twelfth century. Innocent III regarded himself not only as the supreme lawgiver to an independent and privileged hierarchy. He thought of himself also as the apex of the Christian world, and thus made the influence of the Papacy felt not only in every grade of the Church, but also in every department of the social structure of western Europe.

This centralized absolutism required an elaborate administrative machinery to ensure its translation into practice. The centre of this administration was the *Curia*. We watched the reorganization of the Papal court and council at the time of Nicolas II. The *Roman Constitution* of that Pope defined the duties of the Cardinals. Their chief function was to elect the

Pope; but they also fulfilled duties strictly similar to those of the *Curia regis* of a medieval king. Like such a body, they exercised no 'constitutional' powers in the modern sense, nor did they limit in any way the Pope's authority. Their business was to offer him advice if called upon to do so, and to assist him in the general government of the Church. Moreover, as in the temporal states, the differentiation of governmental function in the Papal Curia was slow. Only gradually had there been formed round the Pope out of his *Curia* special bodies of men to do special administrative work. Thus by the time of Innocent III, the Papal Curia was sitting as a judicial court of appeal, hearing cases from all over Europe. There had also been evolved a highly organized Papal chancery and there was a separate finance bureau—the Camera of the Exchequer.

The history of appeals to Rome had been a stormy one in the past and was to be so again in the future. It had been one of the points at issue in the Investiture Contest. During the twelfth century, appeals to the Papal court had grown more and more numerous. And in the time of Innocent III it was not seriously contested that there was an appeal to the Papal court from the decision of any ecclesiastical tribunal. When such an appeal came to Rome it was usually tried by the Pope, accompanied by such of his cardinals as might be in Rome. Sometimes the appeal was referred back to special judges in the country from which it had come. And there are already beginning to appear at the Papal court specially trained lawyers who will act as the hearers of appeals—*auditores*—and on whose findings the Pope will ultimately base his decision. We must think of the Papal court acting as a supreme ecclesiastical tribunal to which there constantly flowed an ever increasing stream of litigation from all over western Europe.

The orders of the Pope, his decisions, and his acts generally were promulgated by means of Bulls. The *Bulla* was originally the leaden seal affixed to Papal documents, and the word came later in loose speech to be applied to the document itself. There were two main divisions of Bulls at the time of Innocent III— Great Bulls (or Privileges) and Little Bulls (or Letters). The

former were formal documents containing certain special features which included the Pope's monogram, an elaborate device known as the Rota, and a subscription by a certain number of cardinals. The preparation of these Bulls was entrusted to the Papal chancery, which was a very highly skilled body. The construction of a Bull followed meticulous rules which prescribed its language, metre, handwriting, and the method by which the seal was affixed. And the chancery clerks were expected not only to perform these duties, but also to be able to detect forgeries in any documents which did not adhere to the rules of the chancery at the time at which they were issued. The beginnings of diplomatic study can be watched in many of the cases heard at the Papal court during this period—cases which turned on minute points in connexion with such Bulls as had been produced as evidence, and which, after the most scrupulous examination were pronounced as genuine or spurious. The Roman Curia at the end of the twelfth century was subject to much contemporary criticism. It was accused of venality and of undue delay. But the more we watch the operation of that court, the more we become impressed with the fact that here we are moving in an atmosphere that is different from that which existed anywhere else in Europe at the time. It is a world which, doubtless, had its own peculiar vices, but where, as nowhere else, 'subtle distinctions were made and nice questions of law and fact determined'. The Papal court and chancery in this respect had considerable influence upon the growth of legal institutions in western Europe.

The financing of the Papal administration came largely from special quarters. The possessions of the Papacy in Italy gave to the Holy See a revenue which made it financially independent of any one temporal prince. At the same time the wide feudal superiorities which had been achieved by the time of Innocent III were themselves, like any other feudal lordships, productive of revenue. Such was the case, for example, in Apulia and Sicily, in Portugal, in Poland, and under John in England. A regular number of *census payers* came into existence which all owed varying amounts to the Papacy. Very

similar was the census paid to the Papacy by certain ecclesiastical foundations, which seems to have had its origin in the disturbed conditions of the ninth century. Just as lay folk commended themselves to their stronger neighbours, so did certain monasteries put themselves under the special protection of the Holy See. In both cases this involved payment or service. Later, the privileges of exemption from the jurisdiction of the local bishop on the part of a monastery, or of the metropolitan on the part of a bishopric, were viewed in the same way. By the time of Innocent III there were thus a number of census payers to the Holy See scattered throughout western Europe, and in 1192 a special register had been compiled by the Papal Camera to record their names and the amount they owed. This was known as the *Liber Censuum*, and it is one of our chief sources of information for the workings of the Papal Camera and of the Papal revenue at the end of the twelfth century.[1]

Apart from these special sources of income, the Papacy under Innocent III received revenues from Christendom at large. Such taxes in their development were intimately connected with the Crusades, for which, for example, princes such as Louis VII of France and Richard I of England levied money from their subjects both lay and (with the Papal consent) ecclesiastical. But under Innocent III a new departure was taken. For the first time, in 1199, Innocent III directed a mandate to all bishops to send to the Papacy one-fortieth of the year's income of all the benefices in their dioceses. This type of Papal taxation was

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[1] A special, and in many ways exceptional, variety of such Papal taxation is the 'Peter's Pence' in England. Its origin is obscure, but a grant had been made to the Papacy of 300 marks by Æthelwulf, the father of Alfred, and this sum later became traditional. Under Alfred, every Christian throughout England was ordered to assist towards this contribution. By the twelfth century, Peter's Pence had become subject to controversy on all sides. Innocent III accused the English bishops of collecting far more than the 300 marks and keeping the balance for themselves. The implications of the payment were also always a matter for controversy. It was assumed at Rome that the payment implied an acknowledgement of feudal dependence on the part of the English monarchy. This was denied by the English kings who probably in this matter were right in their history. After the subjection of King John, when England became a regular census payer of the Apostolic See, it became, however, very difficult to separate off the payment of the 'pence' from that of any other feudal due.

to grow in the future. It should be remarked that under Innocent III it was accompanied by strict provisions embodied in the Lateran Council decrees that whilst the Pope claimed the right to tax the Church, the clergy were exempt from direct taxation by their temporal rulers, who had to be content with such feudal payments as were their due from the ecclesiastical fiefs. The financial system of Innocent III, like every other feature of his legislation, presupposed the notion of the hierarchy as a closely organized and independent body.

The government of Innocent III thus both in its general features and in the details of its administrative system is largely to be explained with reference to previous history. In no sphere of his activity is this more true than in the fact that the climax of the reign is the summoning of the fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Ecclesiastical councils had proved throughout the centuries which we have to discuss an important feature of the organization of the Church. It followed naturally from the precedents set by the past that the climax of the medieval system should be marked by a general council of the Church. The critical and controversial periods of conciliar history lie before and after this period. For historical criticism has concerned itself mainly with what are described as the first four oecumenical councils held at Nicea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon in 325, 381, 431, and 451 respectively, and on the other hand, with the Council of Constance (1414–18) and the Council of Basle which met in 1431. Nevertheless, between the end of the Western Empire and the assembly of the council of 1215 conciliar activity was constant and vigorous, and its influence in the development of ecclesiastical organization and social structure was considerable.

The councils of this age may be divided summarily into several types. There are firstly *general councils* purporting to be held of the whole Church. The assignation of the term 'oecumenical' to any council has by now become a subject of dispute among theologians. Prescinding from this question, we may recognize certain general councils. Such was the council held at Constantinople in 553 in connexion with the Three

Chapters Controversy, and that which was held at the same place in 680 and condemned Monothelitism. In 787 another council met at Nicaea and condemned the Iconoclasts, and yet another was held at Constantinople in 869 and deposed Photius. After the Greek Schism, any councils held in the West were naturally recognized only by the Western Church, but the title 'oecumenical' has also been assigned to the four great Lateran councils held at Rome in 1123, 1139, 1179, and 1215.

These general councils offer the most important example of conciliar activity with which we have to deal during this period, but they were by no means the only type of council held. Bishops of the old patriarchates, or the primitive dioceses, still met in the early part of the period, and there were similar meetings of the bishops of single barbarian kingdoms in the West. These councils sometimes called themselves universal. A good example of such a council was that famous council of Toledo in 597, called in connexion with the conversion of King Richard, which termed itself *sancta et universalis synoda*. It included sixty-two bishops from Spain and southern France and five metropolitans. With the development of the provincial system, this type of council died out and was replaced by provincial councils, called by the metropolitan of an ecclesiastical province, and consisting of the bishops of that province and other ecclesiastics qualified to take part. The bulk of the councils mentioned in this essay, other than those which may be termed general, were of this type. Finally, the bishop himself was expected to call a diocesan council of the clergy of his diocese. This was normally presided over by the vicar-general of the diocese. All these councils had a vigorous history, and conciliar activity was very great at the end of the twelfth century. In addition to the Lateran Council itself, sixteen councils were held by the legates of Innocent III in various places, and provincial councils were ordered to be held yearly by metropolitans.

It is once again important to dismiss from the mind modern 'constitutional' ideas when considering the ecclesiastical councils of this period. At the end of the twelfth century, ecclesiastical government was, in the West, regarded as monarchical, and

ecclesiastical councils, whether of the diocese, the province, or of the whole Church, were not believed to create any limited monarchy within their respective spheres. Their purpose was rather to elucidate by discussion difficult points of ecclesiastical politics with a view to subsequent action by the officials concerned. The main reasons, for example, for which, during this period, general councils were held, were the presence of a heresy (such as that of the Monothelites or the Albigenses), or the desire to promote effective common action on the part of Christendom (as in the Crusades), or the wish to promote a reform throughout the Church. Such were their objects—the strengthening of the executive authority and not a curtailment of its power. At the time of Innocent III, the authority of the Papacy was not, therefore, regarded as being in any way limited by the council. During the years of his pontificate it was not disputed that the Papacy had over the whole Church, and consequently over the general council, a 'superiority of which no one disputed the legitimacy and the advantage of which only the sin of heresy could make him lose'. The attempt to exalt the general council above the Papacy in this matter came in the fifteenth century and does not concern this period. Similarly, during this epoch the authority neither of the bishop nor of the metropolitan was constitutionally impaired by the provincial or diocesan synods which they respectively summoned. The function of the council in the last century of this period was thus viewed as being co-operative and not limiting, although it might, under certain circumstances, be the duty of any council to expostulate with its ecclesiastical president on account of certain of his acts. The council of this age has been aptly defined as a 'legally convened meeting of the hierarchy for the purpose of carrying out their judicial and doctrinal functions by means of deliberation in common, resulting in regulations and decrees invested with the authority of the whole assembly'.

These general considerations must be borne in mind in any survey of the vexed question of the presidency of councils and the right to convoke them. History and law must also be kept distinct in this matter. By the time of Innocent III, canon law

was here quite definite. Councils could legally be convoked only by the ecclesiastical heads of the districts which they represented; they could be presided over only by those same heads or by their delegates. But the past history of the councils was not so simple as the legal theory by itself would suggest. Within the ecclesiastical system, the doctrine had not been seriously questioned. But the rights of the laity in the matter of both the presidency and the convocation of ecclesiastical councils had, in the past, been vigorously asserted. As in so many other matters, the doctrine of Innocent III in this respect was again historically evolved out of a confused and contentious past.

It was, for example, a commonplace of ecclesiastical law in the time of Innocent III that the right to convoke and to preside at a general council pertained to the Pope alone. The four Lateran Councils all conformed to this rule. The first (1123) was convoked by Calixtus II to ratify the Concordat of Worms and to promulgate rules of ecclesiastical discipline; the second (1138) was summoned by Innocent II, again to enforce ecclesiastical discipline; the third (1179) was called by Alexander III after his victory over Frederick Barbarossa, to make rules for the pontifical election and to suppress heresy; whilst Innocent III summoned the fourth, in 1215, to suppress heresy, to overhaul the whole fabric of the ecclesiastical system, and to consider the question of the Crusade. As we go back to the earlier general councils, the matter is by no means so simple. Whatever might have been the legal position in the matter, there had been quite clearly an imperial theory in respect of general councils which, on occasion, went far to translate itself into practice. In the fourth council of Constantinople (869), the Pope, Hadrian II, sent legates who demanded of the Emperor Basil I that they should preside, and for the first five sessions they did, without doubt, do so in fact. But in the sixth and subsequent sessions, the Emperor Basil, accompanied by his sons, attended the council and assumed the role of president. As against this, the official acts of the council seem to make a distinction between him and the council proper, and whilst the

names of the Emperor and his sons now head the list of ratifiers of the acts of the council, they are followed by the statement *conveniente sancta ac universali synodo*, and a list follows of ecclesiastical dignitaries, still headed by the names of the Papal legates. At the same time, the position of the patriarch of Constantinople and the representatives of the other Eastern patriarchates was at this council peculiar. Whilst they do not appear to dispute the presidency of the legates, they certainly also do not regard themselves as acting on a par with the other bishops. With the legates they seem (to use an anachronism) to think of themselves as constituting a kind of executive committee within the council itself. At the second council of Nicaea, in 787, the situation was equally confused. Irene and her son certainly presided over the council. On the other hand, it has been contended that this was merely a presidency of honour, and attention has been called to the fact that the signatures of the legates of the Pope head the list of ecclesiastical witnesses to the acts of the council, and that one list of the acts of the council contains only their signatures with those of the Bishop of Constantinople and of the representatives of the other patriarchates of the East. At the third council of Constantinople (680), the Emperor Constantine was certainly present, and reports of the council speak of him as president, but once again a distinction seems, on this occasion, to be made between the Emperor and his suite and the council proper. And the legates of the Pope head the list of signatories to the acts of the council, whilst the Emperor signs last, after all the bishops. Finally, the controversies between Justinian and Vigilius before the second council of Constantinople, in 553, had a curious result. Neither the Emperor, nor the Pope, nor his legates were present at the council. The bishop of Constantinople, Eutychus, presided throughout.

Similarly, in the matter of the convocation of these four general councils, the extreme difficulty of the historical evidence may be contrasted with the later, clear-cut definition of the law. We may say that the later legal view finds much historical corroboration; we must also add that the emperors of the East

clearly played a special part in the convocation of these councils. The second council of Constantinople was convoked by the Emperor Justinian. But the Pope Vigilius stated that this convocation had been agreed upon between him and the Emperor in the presence of the bishop of Constantinople and several other high personages of Church and State. The subsequent quarrel between Emperor and Pope, and the absence of both from the council, confused the issue in this instance, but it seems reasonable to state that in this case the Emperor acted in co-operation with the Pope. The council of 680 was convoked by the Emperor who, however, asked the Pope to send his legates. Pope Agatho never seems categorically to have approved the imperial decision other than by sending his legates accompanied by a detailed statement of the orthodox faith. The situation in 787 was somewhat similar. The Empress Irene convoked the council, at the instance of the bishop of Constantinople. But both parties sent to the Pope Hadrian a letter, in which they invited him to be present thereat, either in person or by means of legates. He sent legates to the council, and later informed Charlemagne that the council had taken place *secundum nostram ordinationem*. Finally, the council of 869 was convoked by Basil I, Emperor of the East, but the Papacy was asked to send legates, and, in fact, did so. Whilst, therefore, in the four Lateran Councils the facts coincided with Innocent III's view of the Pope's part in the summoning of the general councils, the circumstances of the four previous general councils were more confused. The theory of Innocent was that the Papal consent was necessary to the validity of the council. And such consent seems either directly or by implication to have been given in these four councils and to have been regarded as necessary. On the other hand, the initiative in summoning the councils seems to have often come from the Emperor, and a more modern theory has asserted that in this matter the Emperors acted as the delegates of the Papacy, either officially or, at least, in not being disavowed. This view has little to support it. The imperial theory from the sixth century onwards was certainly that the Emperors had the power inherent in

their office to convoke a council of the Church. The doctrine of Innocent III, enshrined in the twelfth century in the law of the Church, that the convocation of a general council is the sole and exclusive right of the Papacy, was historically the product of controversy. Legally, the right to convoke a general council was viewed by Innocent III as being a rigorous consequence of the Papal primacy.[1]

And if lay influence made itself felt occasionally in the general councils of the Church, still more was this so in the case of the smaller councils in the earlier part of our period. Examples would be easy to multiply. The Arian Theodoric convoked several orthodox synods at Rome, especially in the matter of the Laurentian Schism. Childebert I summoned the council of Orleans in 549. Anglo-Saxon kings were present at the epoch-making council of Whitby in 664, and Charlemagne summoned the great council of Frankfort in 794. The shire-courts of Anglo-Saxon England were throughout presided over by both bishop and ealdorman, and often discussed ecclesiastical business. It became one of the fixed purposes of the Hildebrandine reformers to exclude royal representatives from all but those general councils in which faith, reformation, and peace were to be discussed. There they continued to appear. At the fourth Lateran Council there were present both lay princes and their emissaries.

The abundance of conciliar activity throughout this period was undoubtedly a sign of vitality in the Church. The councils were certainly regarded in this way by Innocent himself, and the legislation of the fourth Lateran Council was to mark, in fact, a revival of provincial councils which had shown signs of languishing in the twelfth century. Their revival, moreover, had considerable influence. Their function was limited but important. The view of Innocent as to their use had indeed already

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[1] On this controversial matter, see the conclusion of F. X. Funk, embodied in Hefele-Leclerq, *Histoire des Conciles*, vol. i, p. 9. The whole argument, both ancient and modern, turns chiefly on evidence from councils before our period has opened, just as the whole discussion of the relations of Pope and Council came to a head in the councils of the fifteenth century. Under Innocent III the Papal supremacy in this matter was unquestioned in the West.

been summed up by Gratian. It was, to exhort, to debate, and to advise. And the elaborate system by which groups of men assembled from wide areas to meet and discuss their interests had a great effect upon men's minds. On the one hand, it brought home to all men the solidarity of the ecclesiastical body, a society which was a living whole, inheriting a constant tradition from the past. On the other hand, this corporate action was later to serve as an example for lay institutions. The representative organization of the States-General in France as it made its transitory appearance under Philip IV, the slower and more certain growth of the 'Commons' organization in England in connexion with the royal Parliament of the fourteenth century undoubtedly owed something to ecclesiastical usage.

The Papacy and the councils of the Church are institutions which continuously influenced the growth of medieval society at every point. The influence of the Church was translated and its official duties performed by an all-pervading hierarchy which took its place side by side with lay officers in the government of the Christian world. The ecclesiastical hierarchy falls into two divisions—secular and regular. The one was composed of a priesthood and an episcopate; the other of members of various religious orders. At the beginning of the thirteenth century these were united in one important characteristic. The secular priest and bishop equally with the monk was vowed to practise a perpetual celibacy.

Concerning the value of the ideal of a celibate priesthood and the possibility of putting such an ideal into practice, opinions have differed widely, and it would be futile to enter into a controversy which is already old and embittered. Here we are merely concerned to note that the influence of the medieval Church upon the social structure of the Middle Ages was dependent to a great extent upon the application of this principle. At the beginning of our period, rules of celibacy of a modified kind were already embodied in ecclesiastical legislation, and the Roman discipline in the patrimony of St. Peter was becoming strictly defined. Priests were to dismiss from their houses all women who were 'strangers', but in the common case

of a priest being married before his ordination, he was allowed to keep his wife on condition that he treated her as a sister. Such regulations were hard to observe, and Gregory the Great, in particular, legislated vigorously in the attempt to get them strictly enforced. Outside the Roman patrimony the situation was less clearly defined. A long series of councils in Gaul, in the sixth and seventh centuries, prescribed the Roman discipline in this matter to the Gaulish Church. But its application seems to have met with a very limited success. An important step in this direction of putting the rule into practice was the institution of the canonical life by Chrodogang and others, and the influence of monasticism also made itself felt. In this matter perhaps more than in any other the disasters of the dark century of the Viking attack were detrimental to ecclesiastical discipline. A long chain of ecclesiastical writers call attention to abuses. Peter Damien ended the series with a famous tract, and the application of a rigid rule of celibacy throughout the Western Church became a cardinal point of the Hildebrandine reform.

The establishment of rigidly applied rules of ecclesiastical celibacy was a reform effected by the Papacy of the Hildebrandine age in the teeth of great opposition. That opposition consisted not only of those who were personally interested in the old conditions, but also of a minority who contended that the abolition of clerical marriage led inevitably to unnatural practices among the priesthood, or to widespread concubinage. The Papal legislation in the matter was vigorous, and it called in the laity to assist in the enforcement of its rules. Councils at Rome in 1050, 1059, and 1063 forbade the laity to come into contact with priests who were married or had concubines. There was, however, much opposition. In Gaul, for example, there were many protests. In England, a council of Winchester (1076) could (even after the Norman Conquest) decree that priests were forbidden to marry, but if already married they need not put away their wives. The sons of priests are the occasional attestors to peasant charters in England in the twelfth century. The second Lateran Council of 1139 took the final step. It decreed that no priest should have intercourse with a woman;

nor would the marriage of a priest be valid; any child of a priest was for that very reason a bastard. We have before insisted that the whole Hildebrandine programme hung together. In no matter was this more so than in connexion with celibacy. The victory of the principle of celibacy was due, more than anything else, to the establishment of the vigorous executive power of the Papacy in the Church. By the middle of the twelfth century it was established in principle. From this time forwards until the close of our period, all priests who offended in this matter were regarded as having violated one of the most cherished principles of ecclesiastical law. It was a principle, moreover, which was far-reaching in its results. It might almost be said to have conditioned the character of the social influence of the priesthood in the twelfth century. It made the government of the Church into a closely knit hierarchy, and gave to the parish priest a special position which he could not otherwise have maintained in the village in which he lived. It also gave a special character to the secular clergy in the twelfth century.

The position of the bishop and his clergy had, in fact, varied very much during this period. At the time of the invasions, the cure of souls was normally performed by the bishop himself, and by other clergy making circuits from the episcopal seat and returning to the town which was the head of the see. Such a system proved to be inadequate as society gradually came to be organized upon a rural rather than an urban plan, but it was only by degrees that the dioceses resolved themselves into smaller districts whose boundaries became gradually determined. The evolution of the parish, which tradition often sought to attribute to one man (as to Theodore of Tarsus in England), was probably a slow development throughout western Europe, as the new needs of the settled districts necessitated a corresponding change in the ecclesiastical organization. We can watch two processes in this evolution. On the one hand, bishops would found churches on their own lands to serve definite districts; on the other hand, there was certainly much independent action on the part of the laity in this matter. Usually in the case of these lay foundations of churches it was a lord who made the gift.

The process was so gradual and unco-ordinated that the results were themselves at first confused. The founders of the new churches and parishes, both episcopal and lay, thought of them almost as their personal property. The bishop insisted upon his right of supervision, but the new arrangements gave to an interested laity a far larger share of control in ecclesiastical affairs than they had hitherto possessed.

The position of the parish priest was thus, at the start, somewhat precarious. His social standing was dependent chiefly upon the personal prestige which he could command, and to the definite share he had, like the peasants round about him, in the common fields of the community in which he lived. The revenue of the church itself went to the *possessor* of the parish, and only by degrees was the parish priest recognized as being definitely entitled to a share thereof. A long series of councils held in Gaul, for example, in the sixth century, legislated in this matter. Such was the situation until the development of feudal law prepared the way for more exact definition. The church property in each parish was created by gifts, usually from the lord of the soil. Subject to the maintenance of the priest, the *possessor* remained entitled to the revenues.

These revenues were augmented from the eighth century onwards by the general application of a system which perhaps was of earlier origin. This was the tithe. It became a recognized principle that all lands should pay a tenth of their produce for the maintenance of the church. This, unlike the other revenues of which we have been speaking, was a purely ecclesiastical affair. It was intended for the clergy and for the clergy only. But the particular clergy who were to receive the grant in early days remained vague, and in the course of time, in the vast majority of cases, it became detracted from the parish priests into the hands of bishops or monasteries. Later, tithe itself frequently passed into lay hands. But in England its attribution to clerical uses seems generally during these centuries to have been maintained. Canon law in the twelfth century was quite definite in this matter. Under no circumstances should tithe be alienated from ecclesiastical purposes.

The advent of feudal law introduced important modifications into the parochial system, and we hear of the typical feudal terms—benefice and advowson—being early applied to the endowment of parishes. The possession of these rights—and they were often very profitable—almost always rested with the same people who had earlier been the *possessores*. These rights moreover, a secular aspect, being viewed as feudal privileges. It is indeed in this sense highly significant that in England, under Henry II, all litigation concerning advowsons was tried not in the ecclesiastical courts, but in those of the king. The attempts of the Papacy to make the ecclesiastical body independent of feudal influence were directed against great dangers which manifested themselves in many parts of the organization of the Church.

The parish priest thus tended to be dependent for his livelihood, like the peasants round him, on his allotted share in the fields of the village. He was marked off from his fellows by no economic superiority. He subsisted, like them, upon a tenure which depended upon superiors. His rights were bound up in the common agricultural system which included them all. He owed an ecclesiastical submission to his bishop; he owed a secular submission to whoever possessed the benefice or the advowson of the parish. Yet this man was all important in the medieval ecclesiastical system. Humble himself, he yet shared immense sacramental powers with the greatest ecclesiastics in Europe, and he brought the medieval Church into close contact with the medieval peasantry. The practice of celibacy gave him a position apart in the village community in which he was a co-operating member. Moreover, a great mass of ecclesiastical legislation recognized his immense importance. His morals are the care of oecumenical councils, and he looms large in the canonical legislation of the West. No bishop, says one ordinance, may ordain an uninstructed priest. The priest is to be a man of probity, says another. He must be at least twenty-five years of age. In England and in France, the village priest must often have been very like the peasants who surrounded him. But he was, nevertheless, the wielder of immense

powers which the sacramental system of the medieval Church gave him. He was intimately connected with the simple arrangements of village life, part and parcel of the rural organization which dominated and controlled the life of the peasantry. But at the same time he was a segregated being, a member of the hierarchy which stretched up to Rome itself. It was through the special social position of the priest that there was most possibility of the medieval ideal being realized, whereby the simple affairs of village life might be permeated with the influence of the Church.

The immediate superior of the priest in the ecclesiastical hierarchy was the bishop. He had, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, the supreme direction of his clergy and of the administration of his diocese, and he was responsible to the Pope for its good government. He was regarded as possessing special jurisdiction and powers, as belonging to a succession which, it was believed, ascended to the apostolate itself, and he was also considered as exercising a special jurisdiction by delegation from the Holy See. Where the one began and the other ended ecclesiastical law was vague at the time of Innocent III, and the matter seldom became of practical importance. It was, however, generally admitted that in the entire administration, the bishop must conform not only to the general legislation of the Church, but also to the orders of the Pope. Beyond these limits his power over the priests in his diocese was absolute. His was a monarchical authority, and provided he did not legislate against the *ius commune* of the Church, he was not bound to convoke a synod to ratify his acts. He was not only personally responsible for the government of his diocese, from which he could not be separated except by the Pope himself, but he had the duty of selecting the priests who served under him and ordaining them. In some respects his power decreased during this period. On the one hand, the monasteries sought successfully, after the Cluniac revival, to free themselves from episcopal control. On the other hand, the immense temporalities of the wealthier bishops and the feudal duties which these entailed often directed the episcopal attention in other directions than

those in which it might have been primarily interested. For all that, it would, at any period in this epoch, be hard to over-emphasize the importance of the position of the bishop in the medieval Church of western Europe.

And if the importance of the episcopate in the Western Church was very great, the personal influence of the bishops upon the social development of Europe was immense. We have already watched this at work at many of the crises in medieval history. The bishops were, for example, after the invasions, the main support of the tradition from the past. The letters of Sidonius Apollinaris show a type of the civilizing influence which these men exercised. They speedily became intimate in the councils of the barbarian kings. Remi, Augustine, Wilfrid, Hincmar, Bruno—it would be easy to compile a long list of bishops who materially influenced the policy of their sovereigns at critical points in the development of the barbarian kingdoms. They were regarded secularly as constituting a kind of aristocracy of wisdom. And in England, for example, they took their place naturally in the shire courts and in the king's witan. The whole policy of Louis the Pious was influenced by an episcopal party at his court. Bishops presided over, and, to a great extent, determined, the establishment of Hugh Capet. Dunstan and Lanfranc are but the beginning of a long series of statesmen prelates in England. The Hildebrandine reforms themselves were concerned largely with the status of bishops, and the investitures contest was a natural outcome of the powerful position occupied by the episcopate in the State. Possessed of vast wealth, often (like Odo of Bayeux or Henry of Winchester) themselves of princely rank, equipped with far more education than the lay members of the feudal aristocracy, their influence was incalculable. An account of the influence of the episcopate upon social conditions between the sixth and the thirteenth century would involve rewriting much of the history of western Europe.

It is small wonder that the appointments to such an influential class should have been a matter of much controversy. The right to appoint to bishoprics governed one of the

essential points in the whole social order of the Middle Ages. Here again, the legislation and practice of Innocent III sums up a long and controversial development—a development which is divided into two parts by the Investitures Contest, whose political significance we have already watched. At the time of the barbarian invasions the rule governing episcopal elections seems not to have been very definite. The clergy and the people of the diocese seem to have had rights of election from a very early date. But the approval of a higher authority seems to have been normally necessary to make the election valid. Such a procedure was, in fact, recognized in substance in the legislation of Justinian. With the breakdown of the imperial system in the West, a wholly new menace appeared, which threatened to obtrude unworthy men into the episcopate. Late in the fifth century, Caesarius of Arles found it necessary to emphasize the fact that the bishop should be elected by the clergy, the laity, and the bishops of the province. But the Frankish kings were not slow to claim that they themselves had the right to appoint to bishoprics. Councils at Orleans (533, 538, 549), at Clermont (535), and at Paris (557) protested against this usurpation, but it continued in practice. A provincial council of 549 even admitted a compromise in the matter, which was, however, repudiated by another in 614. During the seventh century, provincial councils were often, in practice, lenient in the matter of admitting royal nominees to episcopal appointments. And it is certain that in practice, during this period in Gaul, the royal will was one of the most influential factors in the selection of bishops, and Charles Martel carried the matter to the point of scandal, using the episcopate freely to reward his followers.

The action of the Frankish Kings seems only to have been excessive in a procedure which was common to all barbarian kingdoms. Otto the Great and his son and grandson, certainly, were, in practice, the real nominators of the episcopate in the Empire. The practice was carried on in an intensive form under Conrad II, and it explains why the Gregorian reformers resisted the reforms advocated by Henry III. In England

much the same conditions seem to have prevailed. The influence of the kings in appointing to bishoprics before the Conquest is apparent in early documents. And at the end of the period it had become a commonplace that the easiest road to a bishopric in England was through the royal chancery. The Norman and Angevin kings still exercised a great influence in the appointment of bishops in England.

There can, in short, be no doubt that in the West, between the sixth century and the tenth, the barbarian royalties were in a position to influence, practically, to an enormous extent the selection of the episcopate, and that in this matter they exercised their power. The right of king to appoint to bishoprics was, however, never recognized in canon law. Moreover, there had always been a current of opposition. We have seen this appearing in the early Gaulish councils. Elsewhere it also took shape. A council of Toledo in 633 proclaimed the necessity of regular episcopal elections. In 681, at another council in the same place, a compromise was made, by which consecration by the Bishop of Toledo was made necessary before a bishop nominated by the king could proceed to his see. The early church in England immediately after the advent of St. Augustine seems in this matter to have been able to maintain a strong position, and at the close of the seventh century Withred of Kent was made to agree to respect the liberty of episcopal elections. But the most notable statement of the ecclesiastical position in this, as in so much else, came from that remarkable ecclesiastical revival in the reign of Louis the Pious. A capitulary of the council of Aix-la-Chapelle in 818 runs: 'We consent to conform to the provisions of the sacred canons which are known to us, in accordance with which bishops are canonically chosen in the diocese by the clergy and the people.' The inspirer of this ordinance was probably Wala, abbot of Corbie, and his ideas were reflected in independent action of the same nature in the south of Gaul during this period. But the practice of the tenth century was little different from what had gone before. In no respect was the development of the provincial system by the Papacy of more importance than in this. It is in the light of such

considerations that the magnitude of the task before the Hildebrandine reformers is made clear, and the widespread importance of their victory in the Investitures Contest emphasized.

The social and political significance of that struggle has already been stressed in these pages, and the extent to which it determined the character of medieval civilization in the West. After it, so far as spiritualities were concerned, it was recognized that the temporal power had no rights in the appointment of the bishop. Such royal interference as there was with episcopal elections could only be exercised clandestinely, and was recognized as being *ultra vires*. The age of Gregory VII may be said to have freed the episcopate in this matter. The age of Innocent III had only to maintain and define a position which had been already won.

But this was only one side of the development which Innocent III closed. It became necessary to define the electing body which was to choose the bishop. At the beginning of the tenth century it had remained ill-defined, consisting vaguely of the clergy and the people of the diocese, and it was part of the policy of Hildebrand to maintain as far as possible this popular element in elections as a counter-balance to the influence of the lay magnates. During the twelfth century, the electing body seems to have been greatly narrowed. The right to elect the bishop came to be confined to the canons or the clergy immediately attached to the cathedral church. This tended to become the custom through western Europe, though England, where the monks attached to the cathedral often retained their rights, was a partial exception.

But the cathedral chapters were nevertheless supervised in this important matter by the general legislation of the Church. The third Lateran Council (1179) stipulated that a candidate for a bishopric must be at least thirty years of age, that he must be well educated and that his character must be worthy of his high office. By the fourth Lateran Council the whole question was reconsidered. The methods to be followed in elections themselves were defined. If the competent body did not elect within

three months, the choice was to pass to the immediate ecclesiastical superior; and after the election, Innocent reserved to the Papacy the right of rejecting any candidate as unworthy. In practice he also occasionally appointed to bishoprics directly. His most famous intervention in this matter was in the case of the vacancy of the see of Canterbury in 1207, where he rejected both the candidate of the monks and that of the king, and appointed his own nominee, Stephen Langton. Such direct interventions by the Papacy were rare in the time of Innocent III, but the fourth Lateran Council laid it down that the right to transfer a duly appointed bishop from one see to another lay with the Papacy alone. Even at the end of the twelfth century the chief danger was still from lay interference, and in practice, episcopal elections were often the centre of the conflict of powerful parties who brought all their influence to bear upon the chapter. Nevertheless, in this matter also, the reign of Innocent III was a period of definition, and the rules for the appointment of bishops were made clearer than they had ever been before.

In every direction, we have observed that in the history of ecclesiastical institutions the reign of Innocent III marks the culmination of a long period of growth. It is an epoch in which is perfected that elaborate organization which stretched from the centralized absolutism of Rome itself throughout the closely knit scheme of provinces, dioceses, and parishes. Its aim was to create an ordered and an independent hierarchy which might bring the influence of the Church to bear upon every department of medieval social life. It was with this end in view that there laboured the administrative body of the Roman Curia, the metropolitans, the bishops, and the parish priests, so that the immense organization of the Western Church might be operated and its sacramental system applied.

III

But the student of medieval institutions must not only take account of the organization of the secular hierarchy. He must also, and perhaps more immediately, be concerned with the

development of monastic life. Monasticism and its equivalents are, it is true, found in most of the great religions, but in none have they played a greater part than in Christianity, and in no period was Christian monasticism more influential on social organization than in the centuries which are the subject of this essay. Innocent III found already flourishing in the West, Benedictine monasteries and numerous monastic orders, Cluniac, Cistercian, Premonstratensian, Carthusian, and many others. The fourth Lateran Council was thus naturally much concerned with the organization of monastic life. It sought to regulate it. It took account of the different forms of monastic custom which had arisen. It strove finally to set a limit to the further growth of diversity. By the thirteenth canon of the council, the foundation of any new monastic order was forbidden. Men seeking to live the monastic life are bidden to enter one of the orders of monks already in existence. The decrees of the Lateran Council may, in fact, well serve as the starting-point for this review. Innocent III, it is quite clear, was here again surveying the products of a long development. He was seeking to co-ordinate those results upon a regular plan. The monasticism of the West in 1200 was the direct outcome of many centuries of growth. Whilst all the forms of western monasticism were inspired by certain broad general ideals common to them all, the great varieties of usage which had arisen were the result of the special needs and the aims which had in the past called new orders into being and stressed first one and then another aspect of the monastic life. The main features of western monasticism in the twelfth century can only be explained with reference to the past history of monasticism.

The career of St. Benedict influenced vitally the whole future of Western monasticism. The stream that had its humble source in the cave of Subiaco spread into a mighty river, dividing at last into a great delta which irrigated the wide expanse of twelfth-century social life. The parent stream of Benedictinism flowed on unchecked by change, but from it diverged other rivers which, though taking their origin from the same fountain head, fashioned for themselves a course often

new and peculiar. That is why there is at once a variety and a uniformity in medieval monasticism. The variety was the result of special and individual development. The uniformity sprang, to a great extent at least, from the persisting ideas of St. Benedict himself.

This being so, it is very necessary to have some conception of what St. Benedict did and did not contribute to monastic life. He was not the founder of Christian monasticism. Before his time there had been a flourishing monastic life in the East. And this monastic life (it is a vital distinction) had already taken two principal forms. There was first what may be called the hermit type. This consisted of a life of complete isolation, such as that practised by St. Anthony. For a long time it was regarded as being the highest form of monastic activity. It developed widely in the East, and whilst it degenerated on occasion to special forms such as that of the stylite monks of Syria, with their horrible forms of self-mutilation, it contributed considerably to the growth of Christianity in the East. But beside this type of monachism, there was already developed before the advent of St. Benedict a community life which was to have a more direct influence on the West. This was connected mainly with the career of St. Pachomius the founder of a definite order of monks who flourished in southern Egypt in the middle of the fourth century. Under his system the monks lived in separate cells, but shared a common table and met at stated times for religious observance. In Greece also, a crude form of community life had already been prescribed by the rule of St. Basil.

Before the time of St. Benedict, monasticism never flourished in the West as in the East. It is true that monachism of both kinds was preached by men such as Martin of Tours, Paulinus of Nola, and others, and in some cases it survived till a later period. But with one solitary exception it may be said that before St. Benedict there was no real force which contributed to the great future of western monasticism. That exception was the Keltic Church, which contained both types of monachism. In fact the Church in Ireland in early days has been held to have

been exclusively monastic. The Keltic monastery was not unlike the collection of cells of the Pachomian pattern. It was sometimes organized on tribal lines with the patriarchal chief as abbot. It was very vigorous during the missionary period of the Keltic Church. But with the centuries its influence steadily decreased. By the twelfth century it had become almost nonexistent. Partly this was due to the fact that Keltic monachism as a *system* was always weak. In their day, the great Keltic monasteries, such as Iona or Lindisfarne, were a glory to the West, but there was always a lack of organization which rendered a continuous development difficult. Rather vague regulations applying to all the Keltic monasteries were indeed drawn up by St. Columbanus in the seventh century. But these never seem to have been rigorously applied. Men always tended under the Keltic rules to move from one monastery to another, and each monastery was virtually independent of all the rest. There was no real connecting link between them or any rule of universal acceptance. Keltic monasticism contributed, therefore, little to the later developments for which St. Benedict was directly responsible.

St. Benedict cannot then in any sense be said to have been the founder of Christian monasticism, though it owes to him more than to any other man. In general his work may perhaps better be summarized by saying that he took from existing systems what he rightly conceived would be of most value to Western conditions. His aim was simple. 'We are going', he said, 'to set up a school of God's service in which we shall hope to establish nothing harsh and nothing burdensome.' With that aim in mind he drew up his famous Rule, his *Regula*, whose importance to medieval history can hardly be exaggerated. For St. Benedict's Rule has been one of the great facts in the history of western Europe, and it still conditioned and influenced a vast section of European social life in the Europe over which Innocent presided.

If we examine the Rule of St. Benedict generally, we may note certain broad directions which it gave to the whole future of European monasticism. Its most striking feature is perhaps

the emphatic way in which it prescribes not the eremetical, but the community life. It describes various types of monks, and it concludes: 'Let us proceed to legislate for the strongest and best kind, the coenobites.' The whole tenor of the Rule, in short, contemplates nothing else than an organized community, living a fully common life under a rule with common prayer, common work, common meals, common dormitory. It was a life lived wholly within the precincts of the monastery, the occasions of going forth being reduced to a minimum, and regarded as definitely undesirable and dangerous. The importance of this was immense. It separated Benedictinism off sharply from the most prevalent type of Eastern monachism and it determined the future development in the West. If the hermit life never flourished in western Europe, if the great influence of medieval monasticism was exercised by communities, it is largely owing to St. Benedict that this was so.

The second main feature of Benedictine monachism as established in the Rule and ever afterwards retained, was that the monk had not only to live in a community but also to remain for life in the particular community into which he had entered. This *stability* is an essential mark of Benedictinism. The Benedictine monastery, from the first, tended to be a relatively small institution, responsible for its inmates until death. It was self-contained; it managed its own affairs. In early days, and till long afterwards, it had very slight connexion with other monasteries. It was ruled, moreover, by an abbot, who had in his own monastery supreme power. To him the monks owed an unquestioning obedience. He was chosen by his monks and appointed all other officials of the abbey. There was no check to his power. 'He ought', says the Rule, 'to take counsel with his monks, but the ultimate decisions rest with him alone', and he was held to be directly responsible in this world and the next for the welfare of his monastery and for all the monks within it.

The Benedictine monastery which came into existence as the result of the Rule and remained as a permanent feature of western European life throughout the Middle Ages, was thus markedly different from any other institution which had

preceded it. It was a small community of men, bound together by the common desire of its members to dedicate their souls and bodies to a special kind of religious service. They renounced, as individuals, all private property; they owed an unquestioning obedience to the abbot, and they lived together as one family until death. Whilst they bound themselves by a vow to do these things, nevertheless, it is this analogy of the family, first expressed by St. Benedict himself, which perhaps best illustrates the Benedictine ideal. The Benedictine Order never approached a rigid military discipline; it was always more akin to the freer discipline of family life. Benedictine monachism always avoided extremes. From the first, for example, there were in it none of the violent austerities of earlier eastern, and some later western, monachism, and at first, the general conditions of the life of the Benedictine monks 'were probably not rougher or harder than would have been the lot of most of them had they remained in the world'. The real difference lay in the element of religion which the Benedictine monk was expected to introduce into every detail of his life. The performance of corporate religious devotion was, it is true, the central feature of the monk's life, but he was also expected to work (at first in the fields), and the hours set apart for this work outnumbered those which were assigned to worship. It was not until perhaps two centuries after the time of St. Benedict that it became the rule that all the Benedictine monks should be ordained.

Benedictinism remained the most potent force in Western monasticism throughout the Middle Ages. It was, it must be emphasized, nothing less than revolutionary in its inception. It discarded the eremetical life. It rejected the extreme forms of bodily austerity. It rejected also a purely contemplative life without definite work. In all these things it may have been peculiarly suited to the desires of western Europe in the Middle Ages. Perhaps it was the moderation of its rule that led to its wide acceptance and the rapid growth of Benedictinism. By the end of the eighth century the enormous productivity of medieval monasticism was already foreshadowed. Benedictine

monasteries were widely established throughout the West, and were already beginning that multifold work which they were later to perform; they started to wield the immense influence on intellectual and social life which they were later to exercise. The Benedictine growth was rapid and uninterrupted from the time of St. Benedict to the age of Innocent III. By the beginning of the thirteenth century, Benedictine monasteries were scattered all over the West, and from the Benedictine Rule many other Orders had been derived.

The essential genius of the Benedictine organization was the autonomy of the individual community, which was self-contained, and the permanent home of its members. It led to free development. It stabilized the strength of particular houses. But it also, in a troubled age, tended to limit the influence of the monasteries themselves. In a period when communication was difficult and dangerous, the very features of Benedictine organization encouraged a certain provincialism in individual abbeys. Moreover, it prevented the monasteries joining together readily to repel an attack on any one house. Some times this could be a peril in a quite literal sense. The great houses of Monte Cassino and Farfa were both, for example, dispersed by the Lombard invaders. The isolation of each monastery also allowed, on occasion, abuses to creep in without the cognizance of the other members of the Order. Worst of all, when the dark age came after the downfall of the Empire of Charlemagne, the monasteries in isolation were unable to resist the lay control which everywhere attacked the Church. It was indeed the monasteries which were perhaps most affected by the social and political troubles of that time. They also fell more and more under the control of lay magnates. The result was an inevitable decline of discipline and the growth of abuses in particular cases. It was these dangers and conditions which called for a reform.

The reforming movement of the tenth century is associated with the great name of Cluny, and marks the second phase in the history of western monasticism. But it was heralded by sporadic preaching in Gaul, and accompanied by much reforming work

in England. In Gaul, the most important name was that of Benedict of Aniane; in England, Dunstan and Æthelwold essayed extensive reforms and were partially successful in carrying them out. The general tendency of the teaching of these men (though there was of course considerable variation among them) was to inculcate a stricter form of observance, and to denounce the laxity which they saw in the monastic life of the time. They pleaded very strongly for a uniformity of observance among the abbeys of England and the Frankish Empire, and they sought to define more clearly the duties of monastic life. Their leading ideas were summarized in Gaul in a text known as the *Regularis Concordia*. But it is probable that their teaching would have been ineffective if the Cluniac reformers had not themselves striven to realize many of their aims.

The monastery of Cluny in Burgundy played an important part in the general history of ecclesiastical reform which rescued the Church and western Europe from the disasters of the darkest hour in medieval history. The aim of the great abbots who presided over that house was, first of all, the reform of the Church by minimizing the control thereof by lay magnates. With this end in view the abbey of Cluny, which had at first been merely a prominent member of the great fraternity of Benedictine monasteries, became, in time, the head of a close federation which came to assume special characteristics in organization. The first of these was that the daughter-houses of Cluny were not autonomous bodies in the old sense, but were ruled by priors directly subordinate to the rule of the abbot of Cluny himself. Secondly, the whole Order succeeded in placing itself out of the control of local bishops and under the direct governance of the Pope.

The effects of this new organization upon the general movement of ecclesiastical reform have been discussed elsewhere in this essay. But the influence of Cluny was also felt, so to speak, within the sphere of monasticism itself. The distinction of the great abbots of Cluny such as Odo, Odilo, and Hugh, and the zeal of the monks inspired many new foundations according to the Cluniac pattern. These spread over north-western Europe, and

after the Norman Conquest stretched into England itself. No less than two hundred priories were founded, directly subjected to the abbot of Cluny and practising an observance which was kept rigorously uniform with that of the mother-abbey. Such a close-knit organization could not fail to affect the whole of western monasticism, and whilst the older houses kept outside this new centralized administration, they were affected by the energy of the new Order. The influence of Cluny within monasticism was very great, apart altogether from the new constitutional principles which it introduced. It laid great stress upon a strict ascetic life. It insisted that all monasteries ought to conform rigidly to a central pattern. Most important of all, in attempting to make the monastic life more strict, the Cluniac influence was directed to minimizing the importance of the monk's work and stressing that of his religious worship. The hours of worship were greatly extended by the Cluniacs, and the services themselves became more and more elaborate and ceremonious. The Cluniac interpretation of the Benedictine life was predominant in the tenth and eleventh centuries. It was ritualistic in its tendency and it decreased the element of work to increase that of formal worship.

The rapid growth of the Cluniac movement, which directly augmented the power of the central house, coupled with the elaboration of ritual and ceremonial, which marked the revival from the eleventh century onwards, inspired in turn a revolt of the puritan elements in western monasticism. Men who desired, above all things, greater simplicity, were apt to look elsewhere than Cluny for a pattern of monastic life. Typical of such movements was the foundation of the Order of Camaldoli, which received Papal approval in 1072. Camaldoli itself was a desolate mountain near Arezzo, and on it a settlement of monks lived a hermit life, dwelling in separate cells, passing their time in solitary and silent meditation, but meeting for common offices in their oratory. Another and a more important Order of this strict and severely ascetic type was that founded by one Bruno, a native of Cologne, in 1084, in the desert of Chartreuse. The Carthusian Order which resulted from this

movement was also marked by extreme austerity, by a considerable employment of the eremetical life, and by a general emphasis on solitary meditation. All these Orders had comparatively little influence outside their immediate districts, during the period with which we are concerned though the Carthusians were to become extremely important at a later date. These orders in general are mainly significant during this period as representing a reaction from the Cluniac ideal. The tenth and eleventh centuries, in spite of them, were, so far as monasticism in the West was concerned, dominated by Cluny.

That supremacy was not seriously challenged until the early years of the twelfth century saw the initiation of what may be called the third phase of the monastic history of Western Europe. This was associated with the monastery of Cîteaux and was once again inspired by the desire to effect a reform. The monastery of Cîteaux was founded in 1098 by a group of Benedictine monks who desired to live a stricter life than that of their fellows. It received its legislator in its third abbot, Stephen Harding, and in 1115 the great St. Bernard entered the monastery.

The constitution and aims of the new Order were embodied in a text known as the *Carta Caritatis*. It may perhaps best be described as an attempt to steer a middle course between the local autonomy intended by St. Benedict and the extreme centralization attempted by Cluny. The abbot of Cîteaux was the head of the Order, and he received the power to visit and supervise the workings of the daughter-houses of the abbey. The abbots of these in turn, on occasion, visited and inspected the mother-house. Each abbey of the whole Order was directly affiliated to the house from which it had been founded and to no other. Thus the abbot of Cîteaux had no direct connexion with the vast majority of the abbeys of the Order, each of which was the subject of an annual visitation by the abbot of the house from which it sprang. A general chapter of the abbots of the Order was held annually at Cîteaux and had considerable powers. The *Carta Caritatis* was the most elaborate monastic constitution then known. It gave a limited autonomy to each

of the abbeys, which were nevertheless subject to an annual visitation from some quarter. It restricted the monarchical power of the Benedictine abbot, and introduced in many ways a system of checks and safeguards which had almost a popular basis. The democratic features of the *Carta Caritatis* later influenced the constitutions of the Dominican Friars.

The Cistercian Order grew with extraordinary rapidity, and spread all over western Europe. It showed great proselytizing zeal, and its call to a communal life (as opposed to an eremetical) of abstinence and prayer in uninhabited valleys had a tremendous appeal to the men of that age. The vigour of St. Bernard gave to the Order a special influence and distinction. Bernard was the most important single figure in Europe during the latter years of his life, and the friend and adviser of the Pope, Eugenius III. Between 1145 and 1153, the Western Church was virtually ruled from Clairvaux, where Bernard lived, and with his death in 1153 the great age of Cistercian activity passed. The fourth Lateran Council (12th Canon) could however, still refer to the Cistercian Order as offering a pattern of monastic organization.

Perhaps the main feature of the history of monasticism in the West, and that which produced its special characteristics in the twelfth century is its development from the single ultimate source of St. Benedict's Rule. One partial exception must, however, be made to this statement. From the middle of the eighth century, when St. Chrodogang, bishop of Metz, drew up special rules for the clerks of his cathedral church, it had been common for groups of clergy to form themselves into bodies of Canons Regular, who lived a community life whilst performing their ordinary work in the church. The enforcement of clerical celibacy by the Hildebrandine reformers increased the numbers of these groups. They were not until late in our period in any sense clearly defined. In the eleventh century, however, a movement began to co-ordinate these groups under a common rule, and for this purpose recourse was had not to the *Regula* of St. Benedict, but to a letter of St. Augustine written to a congregation of religious women and 'supposed to embody the principles

upon which he had constituted the common life of his clerics at Hippo'. After 1103, mentions of this Augustinian Rule become common. It was enforced on all Canons Regular by Innocent II in 1139, but already it had produced an Order which was to exercise a considerable influence. This was founded by one Norbert, and his Order was known as the Premonstratensian. He adhered to the 'Augustinian' Rule, and whilst he refused to make his community strictly monastic, consisting as it did of Canons Regular, he prescribed usages which in their austerity approached those of Cluny. He also prescribed a constitution which, though it allowed a considerable autonomy to individual communities, brought the chief members of the Order together in a general chapter. In other respects, the constitution of the Premonstratensians bore a strong resemblance to that of Cîteaux. The adoption of the Augustinian Rule for colleges of Canons Regular does not really affect the truth of the remark that the whole of western monastic life drew its inspiration from St. Benedict, and developed from his *Regula*. The use of St. Augustine's letter was the result rather of a search for a formula which for the canons could compare in antiquity and authority with the venerable rule under which the monks lived. In practice, its adoption made little distinction between the two systems. The organization tended to conform very closely to that which the strictly monastic orders had evolved by a direct development from St. Benedict.

The variety of monastic institutions which existed in western Europe in 1200 was thus the direct result of a long historical development. It is very customary to explain that development as consisting of periodic lapses from the ideals of St. Benedict and periodic reforms. There is a substratum of truth in such a view. Undoubtedly the monasteries of Gaul, for example, in the ninth century shared in the general corruption of the time, and the Cluniac revival was a reaction from this. Similarly, the ideals enshrined in Cluny had become dimmed in the twelfth century, and this gave to the Cistercians their opportunity. But on the whole, such a formula of growth cannot be rigorously applied. From time to time there was,

in particular cases, urgent need for reform, with the result that there 'was some monastery, some congregation, or some reformer in the limelight'. But the vitality of the institution of monasticism in the West during these centuries suggests that throughout there was a 'background of old-fashioned houses in which a very respectable religious life . . . was being led in a quiet way, outside of the reform circle of the hour'. The 'unreformed' Benedictine houses which persisted throughout these centuries could probably, on these lines, maintain a very good case against the 'reformed' Orders.

The same qualifications have to be made with regard to the reformers' claims to have instituted a return to the more primitive ideal of St. Benedict. In certain cases this may have been so, but more often the monastic reformers seem to have sought (perhaps unconsciously) to transform the Rule into something different. St. Benedict never intended the institution of an 'order' at all. The independence of each religious house was a cardinal feature of his system. The centralization of Cluny was certainly alien to the original Benedictine spirit. So also was the new stress which the Cluniacs gave to the element of formal worship in the daily life of the monk, to the detriment of his working hours. It has even been suggested that in doing this they 'upset the equilibrium so wisely established' by St. Benedict. Similarly, the extremes of asceticism which marked so many of the twelfth-century Orders were a reaction against, rather than a return to the ideals of St. Benedict. They represent, if anything, an attempt to reproduce the types of eremetical asceticism which St. Benedict had rejected as being unsuitable to western conditions. This applies of course especially to Orders like those of Camaldoli and Chartreuse, but it also applies in a lesser degree to the Cistercians themselves, who, like the Cluniacs, instituted a system of organization and uniformity among the monasteries, which St. Benedict would certainly have rejected. Monastic history in western Europe till the twelfth century is not a mere record of degeneration and reform. It contains that theme, but it may rather be described as a series of attempts to attain to some particular aspect of the

monachist ideal made by different men in different ways and with different degrees of practical success. That is the explanation of the complexity of monastic institutions at the end of the twelfth century.

The vast scope of the monastic movement in western Europe during these centuries, its rapid growth, and its multitudinous forms affected the whole history of Europe and influenced every department of medieval life. In all the developments which went to form the social structure of western Europe in the Middle Ages the monasteries played their part. The monks were such a large section of European society and so influential that their teaching and their work was part and parcel of that of western Europe generally. If we want to know the results of their labours, we have, therefore, to look at the general trend of European development during these centuries. For, during this age the monks shared prominently in the labour which saved civilization after the barbarian invasions of the fifth century, and preserved it with much greater difficulty amid the dark disasters of the ninth. They worked at every stage in the preparation of that new renaissance which brightened in western Europe in the twelfth century. Especially in the early part of our period, the value of what would now be called deathless corporations, carrying on an unbroken continuity from generation to generation can well be imagined. They supplied a constant element of stability amid political conditions which seemed constantly unstable and ever shifting. They stressed also, when it was most needed, aspects of life which were alien to the more violent ideals of the time. They emphasized the claims of quietness, the cultivation of leisure. Later, as we have seen, the monasteries developed special organizations of their own, and these, in turn, created in the separate Orders social characteristics. But throughout these centuries, the monasteries must be regarded as a part of western European social life. That indeed is an essential and peculiar feature of the social history of this age.

The monasteries may, in this sense, be regarded as having, between the sixth century and the twelfth, provided a civilizing

leaven in the mass of European society. The influence of monasticism may best be observed in the general history of western Europe during these centuries. Beyond that, only a few special features of their social importance need be summarily mentioned. From their stability in a fluctuating social order, the monasteries, from the first, tended to become homes of study, with the result that whilst the culture of this age was predominantly ecclesiastical, it was also (within the Church) predominantly monastic. It is true that the monastic 'work' prescribed in his Rule by St. Benedict was agricultural, not intellectual, and the suitability of intellectual concentration for the monk has always, within monasticism, been the subject of a debate, which reached its climax in the great controversy between Mabillon and de Rancé, in the seventeenth century. But, as a point of fact, when we come to deal with the learning and literature of the Dark Ages,[1] the names which we shall have to consider will, nearly all, be those of monks. And we may at once summarily stress the fact that between the fifth century and the eleventh all that we understand by scholarship, by culture, by art, and by literature, tended, in the West, to centre in the monasteries. Nearly all the great historical writers of the time were, for example, monks, and it was a monk—the Venerable Bede—who may be called the father of medieval historiography, and whose methods and achievements have won praise in modern times from scholars as diverse as Theodore Mommsen and Senator Croce. Education was also, during this period, largely in the hands of the monasteries, and the curriculum of studies which the monks devised during the Dark Ages was later taken over by the great medieval universities. The rise of Cluny was inimical to the Benedictine schools, as it was to every feature of the monastic 'work' as opposed to formal worship. It marks perhaps the beginning of the period when education passed very slowly out of monastic hands. But monastic educational influences persisted even after this. We know that at a later date, for example, classical writers were regularly read, even in Cluniac houses. In the sphere of culture, the five

[1] See below.

centuries following the death of St. Benedict have justly been called the 'Benedictine Age'. Without the monasteries, in short, the cultural heritage which we have derived from the Middle Ages would have been immeasurably poorer, and until the beginnings of the twelfth-century renaissance, and to a certain extent even afterwards, the monks were educating western Europe.

In another sphere also did monasticism make an especial contribution to the history of western Europe during the earlier centuries of this period. We have, in this essay, frequently stressed the political importance of the growth of the ecclesiastical organization. The spread of the Latin tradition was everywhere marked by the conversion of princes or tribes to Christianity. Western civilization, as defended or expanded by a Charlemagne or an Alfred, is bound up with missionary activity frequently backed by the sword. As the conversion of Clovis or of Reccared was the turning-point in the history of their kingdoms, so also was the first phase of the Scandinavian menace to England ended with the conversion of Guthrum; and the climax in the Saxon wars of Charlemagne was the conversion of Witikind. In this work the Benedictine monks played a large part. As an example of this, it should be remembered that the great missionary Pope, Gregory I, was a monk, and modern scholarship is tending to endorse the view that St. Augustine of Canterbury and his companions were Benedictines. It was an English Benedictine, Winfrid, better known as Boniface, who laid the foundation of the Church beyond the Rhine, and thus prepared the way for Otto's Empire, whilst the eastward expansion of that Empire in a later age was accompanied by the activities of the monks, Wulfgang and Adalbert of Prague.

If the monk laboured with the soldier in the defence and extension of the civilization of the West and gave to many of the wars of the Dark Ages their peculiar character, monasticism was also intimately connected with the economic and social development of western Europe during this period. We have already noted the important part played by the Church in the development of feudalism. It was to the great religious houses that the earliest grants of 'Immunity' were given by the kings

in the West, and in the Middle Ages proper the monasteries were incomparably the greatest landowners in western Europe. This rapid increase in wealth was probably bad for the ideals of St. Benedict, and it was this, more than anything else, which inspired the numerous reforms which are such a marked feature of Benedictine history. But it must also be remembered that the development of landed wealth was due to practical as well as ecclesiastical causes. If the monks used their prestige to acquire property in land it should not be forgotten that during this period they were also certainly the most efficient landlords. In the seventh century, the interest of St. Benedict in agriculture was itself a civilizing influence, an aspect of devotion to the settled arts of peace. In later days the great monastic registers and cartularies, which are such a precious source for medieval history, themselves testify to the care with which the great monasteries administered their vast estates. It is true that the peasant on their lands in the twelfth century suffered under as heavy disabilities as he did elsewhere. But in spite of this, it would not be too much to say that the monks in earlier days did give to labour a dignity which it had never possessed, either in the ancient or in the barbarian worlds. The monks, after all, in the earliest centuries were recruited from both the noble and the peasant classes. The sight of these societies of men, sometimes wellbred, usually better educated than their neighbours, taking their turn in the workshop and in the field, provided a lesson of far-reaching importance to Europe. In the later centuries of our period this changed continually. But the part played by the monks in the Dark Ages as constructors of an ordered society can hardly be overestimated. The success of the monasteries in the economic sphere of life during this period led to other results which reacted upon monasticism itself and materially affected its political influence.

The immense part played by the monasteries in feudal society, and the vast landed wealth which they possessed meant that the abbot became a most important personage in contemporary secular society. He was a prominent member of the feudal aristocracy, holding great estates by military

tenure, and the difficulties which both he and the medieval bishop had in reconciling this with their membership of the ecclesiastical hierarchy are apparent from the whole stormy history of the Investitures Contest. The 'lord abbot' was, in the twelfth century, in very truth a lord. He was one of the most important men in the kingdom in which he lived. No monarch could, therefore, fail to be vitally interested in his appointment, and it was thus natural that elections to the greater abbacies tended to become matters of hot dispute, in which external influence, not always of a very reputable kind, was brought to bear upon the choice of the monks. And, once appointed, such an abbot would tend to play a large part in the affairs of the State. He would be one of the king's most influential councillors. In so doing he might very well increase the monastic influence on secular politics. No one, for example, who studies the history of the great English house of Bury St. Edmunds can fail to be impressed by the enormous political influence of such abbots as Baldwin (1065–98), Anselm (1121–48), or Samson (1182–1221). Medieval history abounds with examples of statesmen abbots. But an abbot of such a type had moved very far away from St. Benedict's ideal. 'The absences of such an abbot had to be frequent and prolonged, and when at home, he lived apart from his monks, hardly sharing in their life.' And whilst the greater men of this type might be statesmen, the lesser might degenerate into politicians. Undoubtedly, the medieval abbot was something often really great, but his was a position that very easily lent itself to abuse.

Moreover, by the twelfth century the increase in the landed wealth of the monasteries had affected the social influence of the monks themselves. It was usual, in the more important houses, for the possessions of the abbey to be divided between the abbot and his monks. The latter, then, were, in their corporate capacity, important landed proprietors. There always, therefore, a danger that the monasteries of such a type might degenerate into communities of squires. This point has probably been over-emphasized in some modern works. The

observance of the monastic rule with its night office, for example, is alien to the habits of country gentlemen of all periods. But certain members of the aristocracy of the twelfth century occasionally sought to treat the monasteries as the 'dumping-ground' for their relatives and dependents, and particularly for their illegitimate children. Benedictinism always had certain democratic features, and these it retained. But in practice, there was a real danger at the end of our period that the monasteries themselves might, in certain cases, become closed corporations, open only to a privileged class. It was the menace of such evils rather than the actual possession of landed wealth on the part of the monasteries which inspired twelfth-century criticism, and brought about vigorous legislation on the subject at the time. For these reasons also the Mendicant Orders when they arose preached above all else the complete renunciation of wealth.

The Mendicant Orders were founded by two men whose careers coincided with the turn of the twelfth century—St. Francis and St. Dominic. The career of St. Francis is well known, and the record of his saintly and poetic life in the Umbrian hills has passed into the storehouse of those histories which inspire mankind. He and his followers attempted a literal imitation of the life of Christ, and, in particular, they renounced all worldly possessions, and sought to preach the Gospel by travelling over Europe as penniless beggars, devoted only to their sacred calling. The success of the movement was due to the mystical genius of its founder and to the single-minded and simple piety of his rude followers. In 1210, the Franciscan Order was recognized by Innocent III, and in 1223 it received a definite rule. At much the same time a similar Order of Mendicant Friars was being established in Southern France. Its founder was a Spaniard called Dominic, who sought to win over heretics to the orthodox faith by preaching. The year 1216 saw him established with a few followers in Toulouse, and in 1220 this Order of preachers adopted the life of absolute poverty, and itself became a Mendicant Order recognized by the Papacy.

The development of the organization of the Mendicant

Orders had already begun before the close of the period which is the subject of this essay. The simplicity of life and ideals of St. Francis himself did not tend to facilitate the construction of any elaborate constitution in the Order, and the evolution of a constitution was, in fact, fraught from the very first with controversy. A party grew up speedily in the Order which 'did not regard poverty as an end in itself, but adhered to it only so far as it served the great practical object of the Order—the conversion of souls'. The practical difficulties of a life of absolute poverty also made themselves felt at an early date, and the election of Elias as General Minister of the Franciscan Order in 1232 was really a triumph for this party. As against them there existed for several centuries a party of Spiritual Franciscans who resisted the organization begun by Elias, and later produced their most prominent member, Joachim of Flora. Before 1250, there already existed a system of conventual houses for Franciscan Friars, knit together by occasional general chapters. The Dominican organization was evolved more easily. St. Dominic chose for his followers the 'canonical rule' of St. Augustine, and supplemented this with a body of *constitutions*, mostly borrowed from the Premonstratensians. But there was always a tendency for Dominican organization to develop on highly original lines. And between 1238 and 1240 there was reduced to form by the third Master-General of the Order, Raymond of Peñafort, perhaps the most elaborate constitutional machinery which the Middle Ages produced. Its basis was a series of chapters, conventual, provincial, and general, the first consisting of the friars themselves, the others containing their representatives. The Dominican constitution marks an epoch in the history of representative institutions.

The importance of the Friars lay in the future. In origins widely different, these two Orders tended to approximate to each other. At first the appeal of the Dominicans was more strictly to the intellect than the Franciscans, and their rules of poverty were not so strict. But with the organization of the Franciscans by Elias, after the death of Francis himself, the differences between the two Rules became slight. The mendi-

cant ideal stirred the imaginations of contemporaries, and the Friars multiplied exceedingly. They entered into every department of ecclesiastical life, and by their direct dependence on the Papacy, and their immunity from episcopal control they became in later centuries exceedingly powerful. In many cases the original aims of their founders were lost sight of, and in particular it may be noted that the Dominicans and the Franciscans played (as we shall see) a prominent part in the intellectual revival associated with the development of medieval universities. Already, before our period closed, the Friars began to show something of their future influence.

The next two centuries might almost (in the sphere of ecclesiastical history) be termed 'the age of the Friars'. The epoch which is the subject of this essay might (in the same sphere) be termed 'the age of the monasteries'. Throughout, the presiding genius is St. Benedict. It does not fortunately fall within the province of this essay to discuss the general value of monasticism as a part of religious or social life, nor need we enter into the vexed question of the possibilities of a widespread later corruption of the monastic ideal. The evidence upon which that controversy turns comes, in the main, from a later period. We cannot, however, leave the subject of the monastic Orders whose growth we have briefly watched without stressing once again the immense influence which, during these centuries, they exercised upon every department of European development. Had it not been for the monasteries, the social, cultural, and political history of Europe between A.D. 500 and A.D. 1200 would have been very different. No student of this age can fail to regard monasticism as one of the most potent—perhaps the most potent—factor in the social growth of western Europe during this epoch.

IV

The conception of the political unity of Christendom governed also the arrangements of society on its temporal side Within the fundamental unity all groups were held to be of equal theoretical importance. The relation between the

modern state and the subordinate group within it, whose sole existence is held to be dependent upon a grant of authority from the State, was wholly alien to the twelfth-century mind. The temporal state was only one of many groups which went to make up Christendom, and the temporal state in the twelfth century was itself no highly organized unit, but a collection of smaller groups. That is why the medieval theory of sovereignty was so different from that propounded at a later date. If the State was not a unified body superior to all others, nor the sole repository of the rights of sovereignty, it was clear that the ruler of the State had only limited rights over the rulers of other political groups. The two cardinal features of the structure of Europe in its theoretical aspect in the twelfth century were the political unity of western Christendom and the equal moral sanction accorded to all the smaller groups contained therein.

The characteristics of many of these groups we have already noted. We have watched the formation of the kingdoms of the West and the accretion of power which came to the monarchies therein. From another point of view we have seen in the growth of feudal ideas the creation of small independent lordships, and the difficulty with which these were co-ordinated in the general scheme. That co-ordination was fairly generally effected in the twelfth century in western Europe, when society may be regarded as ordered upon a feudal plan. The fief has become the normal unit of social and political life and we have already noted the main features of feudal growth. Here, therefore, it is only necessary to take a brief survey of some aspects of the feudal stabilization which had been effected in the twelfth century.

It may be said at once that it is necessary to beware of too rigid a generalization. Feudal growth was, as we have seen, highly diversified. It differed widely from place to place. Consequently there was never a 'feudal system' applied to western Europe. What may be said is that feudal growth had been allowed to operate in different degrees in different districts. The disintegrating elements which were involved in that

process had, to a large extent, been suppressed, and, in consequence, those principles of social relationship which we have broadly called 'feudal' were, in the twelfth century, generally recognized throughout the West.

The basis of feudal organization was, as we have seen, the private contract, and this contract in practice was nearly always bound up with land tenure. Land was held under certain fixed conditions, the tenant performing duties to his lord, the lord in return having obligations to fulfil towards his tenant. There was thus, until we reach the summit of the feudal edifice, no absolute ownership in the land. In a sense it is true that the king might be regarded (as in England in Domesday Book) as the absolute owner of all the land in the kingdom, though even the king (as John to Innocent III) might hold his kingdom in fief to some other party. But below these exalted heights every one was a tenant. Every one had services to perform for his land. Every bit of land had its lord. *Nulle terre sans seigneur* is a cardinal maxim of French feudal law. The result was the formation of a vast tenurial pyramid.

The importance of these tenurial relationships to the historian is that they comprised not only private duties but also public rights and political obligations. The prosecution of war and the administration of justice were the two chief functions of medieval government, and both of these were organized upon a feudal plan in western Europe in the twelfth century. The typical feudal service was a military one. The central figure of the feudal society was the mounted knight. The tenant of the king, for example, in England, held his lands on condition that he appeared with a certain number of knights to serve the king when required, for a stated period. It is easy to see the dangers of such a system. The duties of the knights themselves might easily be confused, and in the early days of feudal arrangements it seems to have been general for such knights to regard their services as due to their immediate overlord, even if the overlord should be undertaking military activities independent of the king or even against him. But by the end of the twelfth century such ideas, constituting, as we have seen, one of the chief

dangers of feudalism, were obsolescent.   In England, and later in France, the rule was generally enforced that the knights appear with their overlord to serve the king and not to serve their overlord in any 'private war'. The growth of the monarchies of the West was the means of turning feudal military organization into an ordered method of defence. So it might indeed have been regarded until the time when the beginning of the employment of mercenaries and the commutation of feudal service into money payments began to transform the whole system.

Such transformations, however, belong to a later period. Feudal service was a reality in the West in the twelfth century, and much of the revenue of a medieval government was itself derived from its organization. For the knight had not only to serve his lord in war, he had also to pay him money at certain stated times. The *feudal incidents*, as they were called, comprised the greater part of the contributions made to the treasury of a medieval king. The military tenant, for example, paid a fine to his lord on taking over the estate (the 'relief'). In the case of the lord's pecuniary necessity he must give his lord 'aid', though it was vaguely agreed that he should only be called upon to do so if the demand was reasonable. The lord could, again, exercise rights of 'wardship' if his tenant was under age, and also make what bargain he could by giving a female ward in marriage. All these incidents tended as time went on to be more and more exactly defined. The relations of the greater tenants to the king in such respects form the matter of most of the 'Great Charter' which the magnates of England wrested from King John.

Feudal organization had its judicial as well as its military side. 'Just as there was no land without a lord, so also was suit to the lord's court as well as service the normal rent of every tenant.' The matter was somewhat confused even to the men of the time, but it may at least be kept clear of modern misconceptions. Men did not claim the *right* to attend the feudal court of the king or of any other lesser lord. They came as a duty and it was the lord who saw that the duty was obeyed. It is the strong king, the powerful lord, who has a large court. This feudal justice had,

however, two aspects which were very difficult to keep apart. On the one hand, the mere fact of tenure implied jurisdiction; on the other hand, there were, as we have seen, wide jurisdictional rights which came during the growth of feudalism, by delegation by the king of specifically royal rights in the form of immunities. In the twelfth century these rights in practice were often hard to distinguish. Nor was it of much moment for the men of the time to do so. Discussion only came when a jurisdiction was challenged, and then it was to the advantage of the holder of the rights to produce a charter from some king in the far past to justify his claim. But such a charter was by no means always necessary. When the earl of Warenne was asked by Edward I of England by what right he exercised his justice he produced a rusty sword. Prescription was always held to be a valid reason for the retention of feudal jurisdictional rights, and the result of their operation was that in the twelfth century there had arisen a whole scheme of courts one above the other. Judicial custom still varied widely from place to place, but in the twelfth century the general principles of a feudal law, applicable everywhere, were being slowly evolved. The decline of this feudal jurisdiction only came before the attack of a royal justice derived from Latin notions of autocracy, which the rising monarchies of the West were gradually more and more able to enforce and apply.

The characteristics of feudal groups varied with the extent of the concentration of these military and judicial rights. That is why it is impossible to make any wide generalizations. On the one hand, the lord exercised them over a greater or lesser number of persons; on the other hand, the possession of jurisdictional rights, whilst it was inherent in the very fact of tenure, could be vastly extended by a specific grant of immunity or by prescription. At the one extremity of the scale there was the lord with a few free tenants, at the other there was the great magnate, holding land stretching throughout wide districts, with a whole hierarchy of vassals and subvassals under him. The greatest feudal privileges were usually those held by ecclesiastics. Sometimes the rights of great monasteries were such that the royal

officials could not enter their territories. The abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, for example, was possessed of eight and a half hundreds of the shire of Suffolk. It claimed the allegiance of forty and more knights, all of whom were enfeoffed with the land of the abbey and all of whom possessed tenants of their own; and all this great edifice was erected upon the basis of a peasant population scattered about a very large number of villages and working under the control of stewards of the abbey or of its tenants. There was an infinite variety in feudal organization.

But if it is impossible to generalize about a 'feudal system' which never existed, it is necessary to emphasize some of the broad characteristics of feudal organization even in the briefest survey of twelfth-century conditions. In the first place it should be noted that twelfth-century feudalism was no mere synonym for arbitrary tyranny or anarchy. Feudalism was above all a contractual system which involved between the lord and man reciprocal rights and duties. Doubtless the lord, as the stronger party in the transaction, tended to get the best of the bargain, but the lord himself was bound by the contract and held subject to certain definite rules of which all men were aware and which he could not break with impunity. Indeed, if the lord abused his position the tenant was held justified in renouncing his allegiance. This *diffidatio*, as it was·called, was a recognized principle in feudal arrangements—the most striking example of a *diffidatio* being perhaps the renunciation by the English barons of their allegiance to John. Over all the relationships, private and political, which feudal ideas conditioned, there did prevail the notion of a common feudal law which more and more succeeded in making its influence felt and which was gradually crystallized in the law books of the great feudal lawyers—in the works, for example, of Glanvill and Bracton in England, of Beaumanoir in France, of Jean d'Ihbelin in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Secondly, feudalism tended to knit together the kingdoms of the West in a contractual nexus under the king as feudal lord paramount. Quite apart from the much more important rights vested in monarchy, the kings of the new kingdoms gradually came to enforce their feudal rights over their

tenants, and this was of itself a contribution to their power. Indeed, feudal ideas may also be held to have been operative in holding together the Latin West under the Papal political leadership in the twelfth century. Both the unity of Western civilization and the political hegemony of the Papacy were, as we know, derived from sources independent of any feudal notions. But under Innocent III the Papacy seems to be making a bid to be also the feudal head of western Europe— the summit of a vast tenurial pyramid whose base was to stretch throughout the kingdoms of the West. Finally, feudalism implied the existence of a large number of self-contained units. Whilst the feudal network in the twelfth century formed the bond between man and man in the rising kingdoms, the fief was a unit in itself, and the widespread existence of these self-sufficient units precluded the formation of anything like the modern centralized state.

The economic characteristics of feudal organization were, perhaps, its most important feature. For this aspect of the feudal scheme most affected the humbler folk of western Europe during the Middle Ages. The central figure of feudal society was in a sense the warrior. Apart from him there was the churchman and the labourer in the fields. An early code of laws can thus divide all men into 'those who pray, those who fight, and those who work'. The labourer in the fields was less affected by feudal development than the specialized warrior; nevertheless, his life was spent in and largely conditioned by an institution which, though it was by no means wholly feudal in its arrangements, was deeply affected by feudal notions. This was the *Manor*.[1] As the occupation of the normal, humble person

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[1] It must be noted that the manor was itself a term which covered a number of widely differing organizations. If there was never a 'feudal system' still less was there ever a 'manorial system'. The 'manors' as described in Domesday Book include not only the village under lordship; they include also tiny estates consisting of a few peasants on the one hand, and on the other, vast complexes of territory containing many villages and a numerous peasantry often subordinated merely by having to pay an annual rent at some central point. If we generalize at all upon the manor it must always be remembered that we are dealing with a highly variegated institution and concentrating upon a type of manor which was probably the most common and which most influenced the agricultural organization of the West, at this period.

in western Europe in the twelfth century was agriculture, so was his horizon bounded by the village in which he lived and the fields which he tilled. But the medieval village in the twelfth century was organized upon a definite plan. It, too, had entered into the feudal scheme. It was absorbed in a *manor* which, in its common form (there were many divergent types), was nothing less than a village under a lordship. But the manor was a complex institution, and we may notice some of its salient features, always remembering that it was the institution through which the bulk of the population of north-western Europe in the twelfth century obtained their daily bread. The manor, normally coextensive with the village, was a self-contained agricultural unit which maintained itself by a system of co-operative husbandry, and whose organization was the determinant of peasant status. Its head was the lord of the manor, who had extensive but by no means unlimited rights over its inhabitants. The agriculture of the manor in the northern and western sections of Europe was based upon what is known as the open-field system. The whole land of the manor was contained in large unenclosed fields, and in these the inhabitants of the manor held strips, not contiguously, but scattered throughout the great fields. Even the lands of the lord himself were normally divided in this way.

The essential point to notice in the manorial organization is its self-sufficiency. The fields on the manor, farmed by a system of common ploughs which tilled all the land, were responsible for the maintenance of the inhabitants of the manor. That is why throughout the Middle Ages the problem of famine was always so acute. One bad season, or a raid by some magnate, caused terrible distress. Two consecutive bad seasons led almost inevitably to starvation and widespread famine and pestilence.

And as the 'manor' contained the vast bulk of the feudal peasantry, so did a man's position in society depend very largely upon the place he occupied in the manorial organization. The relation of the lord to the peasantry within the manor varied greatly from place to place, and the peasantry themselves

tended to fall into categories which were, however, never universally defined. There were free-holders, men who held small estates within the manor usually for a money rent and were free to buy or sell land as they would. But the bulk of the population of the manor were non-free; the most common name for them was *villein*. They were subject to a large number of servile duties and servile payments. They could not leave their holdings, though it is doubtful whether many would ever have wished to do so. In general they paid a fine when they inherited their tenements—the heriot—and another fine on the marriage of their daughters—the merchet. They had usually to contribute to the sowing of the land of the lord of the manor. They performed compulsory services at stated times of the year such as harvest on the lord's land (boon work), and regularly throughout the year they worked on the same land for so many days in the week (week work). But, in spite of the rigours of strict law which gave the villein few rights, he could not in practice be regarded as a slave. He could be taxed at will by his lord, but not so far as to deprive him of his tenement. He had also extensive rights against other men than his lord, and even against his lord he was protected by manorial custom. And this manorial custom was no vague thing. It was enforced in the manorial court, the suitors to which were both the free and the unfree tenants of the manor, who were ultimate judgement finders in disputed cases. It is by no means an uncommon thing to find the villein winning a case against his lord in the manorial court.

It would be very hard to generalize upon the lot of the peasant under such a régime. On the one hand, feudalism in the twelfth century must not be confused with the later abuses of the system which have made the very epithet 'feudal' in modern, loose speech a synonym for oppression. On the other hand, the picture of the medieval village with its cottages grouped round the church and surrounded by the unenclosed fields of a smiling countryside has offered to modern sentimentalism a tempting bait which by some mouths has been eagerly swallowed. The services which the average peasant had

to perform were very heavy. In practice he was a bondman, and a large proportion of the labour of both him and his family was devoted to his lord. It must be remembered that in the twelfth century, life in the villages of France and England was primitive in the extreme. Culture—and as we shall see there was plenty—was confined to the churchmen, and the average villager lived a precarious and often a brutal life. The records of the manorial courts of necessity emphasize the unpleasant side of medieval village life, but they do show a society riddled with greed, petty violence, and sensuality. These may be called the servile vices, and whatever the social theory there was always a possibility of a harsh lord treating his villagers merely as human live stock.

The material conditions of life in the twelfth-century village were in fact undoubtedly hard. Health and life itself must have been preserved often with great difficulty. The social hygiene which had prevailed in the Roman world had been lost for the medieval village. A 'competent dwelling' for a peasant could be described as being 20 feet in length and 14 feet in breadth, and this would probably include a small walled-off section for the animals. In such conditions epidemics were terribly common. Famine and pestilence were regarded as the special curse of England. France was especially affected by diseases due to gross errors of diet (e.g. ergotism), and the Normans were regarded as being cursed with 'leprosy'—which, in the absence of any specialized system of diagnosis, probably comprised a large number of skin diseases.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to concentrate too exclusively on the dark side of peasant life in the twelfth century. Men of the time, for example, continually stressed the 'gaiety' of medieval England. In France and England in the twelfth century there is little evidence of any widespread social discontent. The wars are the wars of princes. If life was hard, if its conditions were stringent and squalid, there were compensations. There was for the peasant a security of tenure. He did not depend upon a precarious wage and have to fight to maintain this in a competitive market. He lived on the produce of his land. Moreover, he

belonged to a social order which was stable, and he submitted his life to an ethical system in which, rightly or wrongly, he believed. It is thus that we can discern a 'general buoyancy and good nature' in the medieval peasant, and these, it has been remarked, 'were the product of medieval Christianity working upon kindly natures. Men whose belief in eternity was vivid and unshaken could afford to make light of temporal misfortunes; the conviction that good and bad fortune were in no way due to human causes but the working of an inscrutable Providence made them at once less solicitous for their own earthly ambitions and more compassionate to those who had dropped out of the race.' Simplicity often leads to superstition. It often creates a bovine endurance of a lot which no man should suffer. But it also often creates a true contentment. In medieval peasant life we must see hardship, squalor, cruelty, vice, but we must also see it as the life of men who sometimes succeeded in spite of difficulties in leading an existence which might be called tranquil—a life bounded by the village, insusceptible to disturbances from without and marked regularly by the transformation of the seasons and by their counterparts, the Feasts of the Church.

Concerning the origin of the manor there has raged a great controversy, into which we do not propose to enter. Two main theories have been roughly advanced. Some see the germ of manorial growth in the Roman institution of the villa, managed by a steward for a lord and tilled by slaves and semi-servile tenants known as *coloni*. This view also emphasizes the importance of those quasi-feudal tenures in the late Empire of which we have made mention. On the other hand, the opponents of this view see the beginning of the manor in free agricultural groups, who shared out the land after the invasions among themselves, and gradually in time passed under lordship. This theory stresses the significance of the strip system of agriculture which finds no place in the Roman world, and the free elements in the later villein's condition. The manor probably derives from a variety of sources. It contains elements which are non-feudal, but it fitted naturally into the feudal

scheme. It created a number of self-contained economic and social groups which existed within all the great medieval states.

The manor and the village with which it is intimately connected formed the basic unit of medieval social life. Alongside of it and as an important factor in the social organization of the time, there was by the end of this period coming into prominence, the city.[1] But the city was in a sense always somewhat extraneous to feudalism. Its growth and its increasing prominence were themselves symbols of changing conditions. Agriculture was the staple industry of the period we are discussing. The growth of the city, with its consequences, was a new development which had an immense future before it, but whose main features belong to a later age.

The events of the fifth century were fatal to the flourishing municipal life of the late Empire. The cities decreased in size and importance. They were no longer the centre of the social life of the countryside. Sometimes a continuity is to be traced, but in these cases it is nearly always because the site of the Roman city became the head-quarters of the government of some important personage. This was usually the bishop whose see had originally been established in the Roman *municipium* and who sometimes continued to exercise his power there. Occasionally such a development took place in connexion with a lay magnate. But, in general, the barbarian states grew up independent of the towns which had once existed within them, and many of the sites of important Roman towns are to this day undiscernable.

It is to the beginning of the eleventh century that we must ascribe the inception of a new town life in western Europe. This sprang from many origins. There were the remnants of some of the Roman cities, but these, outside some of the towns of Italy like Rome, Ravenna, and Milan, could seldom boast a complete institutional continuity. On the other hand, there were little centres of trade growing up. Groups of men, sometimes organized into crude fraternities, settled occa-

[1] For the importance and development of the medieval town, see below, Guiraud.

sionally in the Roman cities, close to a great church or to the stronghold of some temporal magnate, to carry on their primitive bartering, and this movement received an impulse from the building of strongholds by the princes of Europe, like Henry the Fowler, or Athelstan. In these cases the settlement of a body of troops in a fortified place usually also attracted merchants to serve their needs. But it was not until the middle of the eleventh century that this growth of municipal life began to have a European significance.

From that time forward we can see not only an increase in the number and the importance of the towns but also a general movement towards the achievement of municipal independence. This took different forms from place to place, and it is impossible to make wide generalizations. In the twelfth century the towns of Provence, such as Arles and Nîmes, Carcassonne and Montpellier, seem to be acting independently of the great lords, temporal and spiritual, who had rights therein. Such conditions were never achieved without difficulty. In 1188, for example, Toulouse revolted against its count, Raymond. A similar revolt took place at Béziers in 1167, and at Nîmes in 1207. The path to municipal independence or even municipal privilege was always a hard one.

A similar process took place in the north also. In the early twelfth century was asserted the first independence of Arras, Noyon, Valenciennes, Amiens, Corbie, Soissons, Bruges, and Lille. But it was in Italy that the early town life of Europe took the most spectacular form. Quite apart from such exceptional examples as Milan, Venice, Rome, or Florence, the history of the Lombard towns was dramatic in the extreme. The manner in which these utilized the quarrels between the Papacy and the Empire, and their early use of the principle of federation, mark an epoch in the growth of the towns of Europe. The battle of Legnano shows the town for the first time as a formidable factor in European social life.

The most cursory survey of this municipal growth indicates the extreme variety of the development. Everywhere, local conditions created different circumstances under which the

growth took place. It was sometimes the bishop who opposed the liberties of the towns and sometimes the local baron. Sometimes privileges were extorted by means of armed revolt; sometimes the towns allied themselves as in Lombardy against a common foe. Very often, too, and particularly in England, the work of emancipation was carried on by means of purchase. The majority of the famous 'liberties' of the English towns were bought with hard cash.

Just as the growth of the towns was infinitely various, so also was their character. The great Italian seaports owed their wealth and power very largely to the Crusades. Certain of them found it necessary, as Florence and Venice, to undertake wars of conquest to ensure and increase their economic prosperity. The medieval development of Rome, as Gregorovius has shown, was unique, and was intimately connected with the legacy of the past which men like Arnold of Brescia or Cola di Rienzi exploited. In many parts of the West the towns entered into the feudal scheme and became *communes*, collective feudal lordships with feudal superiors and inferiors. Again, and this was the commonest case, we have to deal with places that were little more than villages and whose main occupation continued to be agriculture. These towns were, indeed, only distinguished from large villages by the special privileges which they enjoyed.

The acquisition of privileges is, indeed, the characteristic feature of the early growth of the towns. These privileges varied from place to place and were usually vested in a guild of merchants which in practice also governed the town. This normally formed an aristocratic group against which the proletariat were constantly at war. There was little that was democratic in the organization of most towns in the twelfth century.

The great age of the medieval towns came after this period had closed, and the powerful leagues like that of the Hansa or of the towns of Swabia only came into prominence later. But before our period closed, we may note how alongside of the village groups of medieval Europe, there was also beginning to exist in the twelfth century a new social unit containing infinite possibilities of further social development in the future.

Indeed, the most rapid survey of Europe in the twelfth century suggests that its cardinal feature was an immense diversity resolved finally into a unity. This is no mere paradox, for above the numberless groups which made up medieval social life there towered the imposing unity of Christendom which comprised them all and within which they continued to exist. The manor, the town, the monastery, had each a vital life of its own, but it was an integral part of the larger social order. Europe itself under Innocent III was *communitas communitatum*. Its form was the result of the operation of a tradition which was nothing less than the imperial idea of the past translated into an ecclesiastical form. The political structure of western Europe under Innocent III was the logical outcome of six centuries of growth. In general, it is, in fact, the unity of this vast social order which most needs to be emphasized, and its penetration by a civilization which was predominantly ecclesiastical in tone. Christendom was at the end of the twelfth century regarded as a unit. And within Christendom there flourished a vast number of small social groups which, each in its own fashion, contributed to the social ends of the men contained therein. All these pregnant cells of social life were, moreover, comprised—as contemporaries would have expressed it—in the macrocosm of Christendom. The varied activities of the monasteries, town guilds, and later universities, were all contained in the larger unit which might almost be viewed either as Church or State, a political unit which always strove to be regarded as ideally identifiable with a Europe united in a common faith.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MEDIEVAL CULTURE

I

No survey, however brief, of the development of medieval Europe can afford to omit a glance at the cultural background to the history of western Europe between the fifth century and the twelfth. To some it may be even now a matter of surprise that the word culture may legitimately be used with reference to western Europe during this period, for there is in certain quarters still prevalent a notion that western Europe during this 'glacial age of the spirit', as it has been called, produced nothing of importance to the intellectual growth of Europe. The pedigree of this popular fallacy is somewhat elaborate, and we may merely note how during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century it was very customary to think of the Middle Ages as constituting a kind of gap between the age of the classical writers and the period of their 'rediscovery' in the fifteenth century, to regard the political speculation of this period as an interlude between Aristotle and Machiavelli. Such an interpretation is now nowhere put forward by competent scholars, and we are beginning to realize that this period has a positive contribution to make to the sum of European scholarship, and that that contribution was furthermore in strict harmony with the social and political growth of western Europe during these centuries. In illustrating, therefore, some of the main features of western European culture during this age, in noticing in what departments of scholarship it was strong and in which it was weak, we may perhaps once again be enabled to isolate the influences which were responsible for directing the social growth of western Europe in the Middle Ages.

II

The fallacies involved in thinking of this epoch as sharply distinct from the Classical Age which preceded it and from

the Renaissance which came after it are especially absurd if applied to scholarship. Here, as in social growth, we have in both cases to deal with a gradual development, and no cataclysmic interpretation will serve to illustrate the main trend of growth. We can see no abrupt change in the fifth century. As the Empire is slowly becoming merged in Christendom, so is the literature of antiquity gradually assuming an ecclesiastical form. The stored wisdom of the Fathers is the main contribution of the last age of the Empire to literature. The stream of pagan literature slowly dries up. Sterility here is to be seen, and Claudian is the typical example of an effete and charming decadence. The virility and exuberance of a living literature is to be found in the ecclesiastical works of the time. The *Civitas Dei* of St. Augustine is symbolic of the future. Boethius marks the main characteristics of the transition.

Even the classics were by no means neglected, as is sometimes supposed. There comes, it is true, a different method of treating them. Men look back to the great writers of antiquity with a reverence which has never been surpassed. They lack the critical spirit of a Poggio or a Scaliger. But this is a very different thing from saying that there is a sharp break to be found between the two epochs in this respect. The debt of classical scholarship to the Middle Ages has been generally minimized in popular treatises. The truth is far otherwise. 'It would be an unpardonable overstatement', we are now told by a competent authority, 'to affirm that the modern age has received a larger share of the legacy of Rome by natural transmission than that it has acquired from the Renaissance; but it would be no less inaccurate to fail to recognize that a considerable portion of that which the men of the Renaissance did find and accept had already reached them by direct transmission, and that they were enabled to carry out their own discoveries thanks to that which had been taught them by the Middle Ages.' The Provost of Eton, Dr. M. R. James, has recently pointed out that 'the earliest copies of Caesar, Sallust, Lucretius, Juvenal, Persius, both Plinies, Tacitus,

Lucan, Seutonius, Martial, and the greater part of Cicero' all date from the age of Charles the Great. Such extensive copying, he affirms, leads inevitably to the conclusion that there was in the ninth century 'a vivid and widespread interest in the best literature that was accessible'. If the Middle Ages lacked a power of criticizing the classical texts in the modern manner, they treated, in general, the literature of Rome with a reverence which would appear to us even excessive. As Comparetti showed in a fascinating book, Virgil stalks through the Middle Ages almost like a presiding genius. He looms large throughout these eight centuries, alike in literary tradition and in popular legend, until at last he leads the greatest medieval poet from Hell to the gates of Paradise.

> 'Or se' tu quel Virgilio, e quella fonte
>   Che spande di parlar sì largo fiume?'
>   Risposi lui con vergognosa fronte.
> 'O degli altri poeti onore e lume,
>   Vagliami il lungo studio e il grande amore,
>   Che m' ha fatto cercar lo tuo volume.
> Tu se' lo mio maestro e il mio autore;
>   Tu se' solo colui, da cui io tolsi
>   Lo bello stile che m' ha fatto honore.'

Thus do the two literatures meet and merge like the two societies; Virgil is treated by Dante as the symbol of secular learning. It is typical of the attitude of the Middle Ages towards the writings of antiquity.

That is a general feature of medieval scholarship. But just as there was a tendency at one time for the Church to develop into an anti-social organization at war with the Empire, so also at the beginning of our period there was a danger that the ecclesiastical body would wage war on the secular literature of the past. Cassiodorus needs to protest from his library at Squillace of the secular learning—'utilis et non refugienda cognitio'. The tendency to denounce the learning of the past, Manichaean in its essence, reaches its climax in some of the writings of Gregory the Great, who can boast (not wholly with truth) that he is 'gloriously illiterate', or reprove a bishop for expounding

grammar. 'The same mouth', he adds, 'singeth not the praises of Jove and the praises of Christ', and a bishop should flee from 'nugis et secularibus litteris'. But just as the anti-imperial tendency in the Church gave way to the union and amalgamation between the two bodies, so also did this attitude of distrust towards the classical writers also yield to the general reverence for the literature of the past. Theology was exalted to a place it had never occupied before, but the antithesis which had by some been put forward gradually died out. Gregory of Tours already in the sixth century regreted it. The Carolingian scholars were busy copying the classics. John of Salisbury in the twelfth century could laugh at those who set up such a contrast within the house of wisdom. The great scholastics owed an immense debt to the past, and the climax of their philosophic achievement, the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas, would have been impossible apart from its Aristotelian foundation.

We have to deal, in short, with a literature which is permeated through and through by the Latin tradition. It is moreover—and this is an obvious point which nevertheless needs considerable emphasis—itself a Latin literature. With the partial exception of Britain almost the whole literary output of this period is written in Latin. Nothing could more aptly symbolize the character of medieval civilization. True, the language changes as it adapts itself to new conditions; that is the case with every living language. True, also, the grammar degenerates from the Ciceronian standard and many of the medieval writers of the first age, like Gregory of Tours, are acutely and distressfully conscious of the fact. But this is itself a sign of the vigorous growth of a living language as opposed to the cultivation of a dead tongue. And it may perhaps be claimed that it is time there ceased to be that facile disparagement of the 'monkish Latin' of the Middle Ages on the part of those who have never studied its literature. It was a great classical scholar who recently wrote of Gregory of Tours himself: 'Who but the pedant cares about the Latinity if the Latin be true, sincere, and vivid?' When the great scholars and thinkers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries arrived they wrote in a

prose that made no pretence to be Ciceronian, but it was nevertheless a language of great dignity and a language which expressed their meaning forcefully and clearly to all their readers.

Medieval literature springs from the Latin past out of which it has its natural growth. It is the accurate reflection of a political development whose chief characteristic is the blend of Roman political ideas with the ethical teaching of Christianity. 'Roma potens, mundi decus, inclyta mater,' wrote Alcuin in the ninth century. It is the summary of most of medieval scholarship. The perversions of the Latin texts by successive commentators themselves testify to the close connexion with the past. Classical mythology is widespread through this literature. In the chronicles there is scarcely an important city which does not claim to have been founded by some classical hero. Cerberus and the centaurs enter as of right into Dante's netherworld, and keep company with Lucifer and the fallen angels. The Latin tradition is a living force in medieval learning and literature, which are themselves the off spring of the Latin past that has become one with the Christian present.

No mere summary such as this can adequately explain the manner in which the Latin past was used in the literature of the centuries following on the downfall of the Empire of the West. The great *Civitas Dei* of St. Augustine marks the beginning of the stream whose end is the *Summa* and the *Divine Comedy*. At first we may see a certain localization of output as the result of the invasions, and it is to Italy under Theodoric that we must look for the first phase of the production. There we have Boethius, whose works, and in particular the treatise *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, were widely known throughout the Middle Ages, and very influential. At about the same time, too, Cassiodorus was collecting and inspiring his famous library in Squillace. These men look, Janus-wise, both ways. They symbolize the transformation which was slowly taking place. It was highly significant that in spite of the losses to literature in the fifth century (and the magnitude of their extent we shall

never know), nevertheless, in the sixth these two men should have been able, on the one hand, to produce a popular work redolent with the Neoplatonic spirit of the late Empire and, on the other, to preserve for future generations an invaluable collection of the materials of study.

But the chaos in Italy, following the death of Theodoric, was unfavourable to scholarship, and it is to Spain that we must next look in our general survey of the stream of medieval literature. Before the end of the sixth century, one Martin of Braga is producing works which show clearly the influence of Seneca. In the seventh, the learned Julian of Toledo is writing voluminously and with a certain distinction on theology, history, and grammar. But the Spanish contribution of this period is largely contained in the work of Isidore of Seville (570–636). 'He was beyond question the leading transmitter of knowledge in his century.' In the twenty books of his *Etymologiae* he brought together a collection of facts (and fictions) which served as the encyclopaedia of the whole medieval period. This work, is written in no spirit of opposition to the writings of the classical period, and we owe to it the preservation of many fragments of classical Latin authors which would otherwise have been lost.

Before the Spanish period was over the torch had passed to Gaul. There we may note above all two names: the first is that of Venantius Fortunatus, *bon viveur* and scribbler, a master of light verse but withal a poet as well, flatterer, sentimentalist, dilletante but, nevertheless, the man to whom posterity is indebted for such masterpieces of devotional poetry as the *Pange Lingua* and *Vexilla Regis*. The other Gaulish writer of this period is better known. He is Gregory of Tours. The historian is doubtless prejudiced in his favour, for we owe to him the best part of our knowledge of Gaul at this period. He complains bitterly himself that he has lost touch with the language of antiquity. 'Alas for our days! For the study of letters is gone from among us.' But for all that, Gregory is himself a link with the past. The constant ideal which he despairingly holds up to himself as to correct diction is itself a

sign of this age, and in his vivid and picturesque narrative he is himself symbolic of the virility which pervades medieval letters.

The successor to Italy, Spain, Gaul, in the leadership of western learning was undoubtedly Ireland. The origins of the great Irish revival need not concern us. By the seventh century it was beginning to make itself felt. The energy and the variety of the production associated with the period of expansion of the Keltic Church were truly marvellous. In every department of the scholarship of the time these singleminded scholars excelled. Theology, philosophy, apologetic, devotional literature were all represented by the Irish schools. There has been much exaggeration about this Irish revival, but the truth is indeed sufficiently glorious. Ireland, in an age of turmoil and struggle, lit up the whole of the West. From it spread a fire which blazed up continuously through the centuries and contributed immeasurably to the medieval adaptation of the classical heritage. It is even probable that Greek was studied in seventh-century Ireland, and it was later an Irish philosopher, John the Scot who prepared the way for those philosophical studies which were the peculiar scholastic achievement of the Middle Ages. Nor was the revival solely confined to the serious side of scholarship. In some of the light literature of the time we get a glimpse of the charming spirit of simplicity, devotion, and learning which characterized the work of these men.

> I and Pangur Ban my cat
> 'Tis a like task we are at,
> Hunting mice is his delight,
> Hunting words I sit all night.
>
> 'Tis a merry thing to see
> At our tasks how glad are we
> When at home we sit and find
> Entertainment to our mind.
>
> 'Gainst the wall he sets his eye
> Full and fierce and sharp and sly;
> 'Gainst the wall of knowledge I
> All my little wisdom try.

So in peace our task we ply,
Pangur Ban, my cat, and I.
In our arts we find our bliss,
I have mine and he has his.[1]

Such was the spirit which illuminated the Keltic scholars of Bangor and Clonfert, of Armagh and Clonmacnois. Perhaps the chief interest of the Irish scholarship of this age lies in the extent to which it spread. The great expansion on the part of the Keltic Church which we have already noted produced in its turn a vast efflux of learning from Ireland. The Irish scholars travelled through the West, and everywhere they took with them their own special traditions of a learning that was, nevertheless, 'profoundly Latin'. St. Columbanus's career is a typical example of the influence of these men. The monasteries that they founded at Luxeuil and Bobbio remained centres of learning for centuries. That great home of scholarship—St. Gall in Switzerland, was also an Irish foundation. But the immediate effects of the Irish expansion were first felt in England. We have seen how the Roman and Keltic missions shared in the conversion of that pagan wedge which in England had been driven into Christendom. The process of reconversion was therefore marked in England by a renewed activity in scholarship which became centred in that transitory Northumbrian kingdom whence learning radiated from the school of Lindisfarne throughout the whole of western Europe. This movement reached its climax with the intellectual activity of Bede, 'a scholar who would be remarkable in any age.' It would be wrong to think of Bede as the typical product of Keltic intellectual expansion; he was too individual for that. But it may truly be said that he grew up in an atmosphere of learning which the Keltic missions rendered possible. With Bede indeed, the learning of the age is summed up. He excelled in everything he undertook, and students of theology and of history are alike indebted to the work of this man, every one of whose works is worth careful study and perusal. The career of Bede

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[1] Translation by Mr. Robin Flower, quoted by Miss Waddell, *Wandering Scholars*, p. 31.

marks the end of the first stage of the process by which the literature of Rome was merged and transformed into the typical medieval learning. Within a few years of his death Alcuin was born, and Alcuin forms the link between the learning of Britain and that of Gaul. The torch had thus been kept alight and transferred from hand to hand. It flared in Italy under Theodoric. It was handed to Spain and on to Gaul. Transferred to Ireland, it was taken throughout the West, and especially to Britain, and from Britain it was at last brought back to Gaul, where it was to light the flame which issued from the Carolingian Empire.

The re-establishment of the Empire in the West was contemporaneous with a movement towards a universalization of European knowledge. Charles himself was interested in the revival of letters, and his reign and that of his son are as notable in the history of scholarship as they are in that of politics. The names of the men concerned need not detain us. Suffice it to say that the Irish learning found a new home at the court of Charlemagne and that a great intellectual activity took place. Alcuin is the most prominent figure. He himself was not a writer of the first rank, though he was a great controversialist and still more a great organizer of intellectual activity. He entered into the theological controversies of the period and he presided over the Palace schools which, Charlemagne founded, and which tended to gather to themselves the scholarship of the time. Around the court there speedily grew a circle of men who were all distinguished in their way, such as Theodulf the poet, Einhard the writer of the *Vita Caroli*, one of the greatest biographies of the Middle Ages, and Paul the deacon, the historian of the Lombards. Among this group there was much theological controversy, and it is symptomatic of the time that this, too, took a new form. On the one hand, we have men like Agobard and Gottschalk debating in the traditional manner, but suddenly the whole tone of the argument is raised by the brilliant and original work of John the Scot, whose depth of thought would have been remarkable in any age. John the Scot has been called the first Nominalist,

and also the last Neoplatonist of the Middle Ages; he has been termed the 'author of scholastic debate', and also a fierce enemy to the whole medieval system of thought. His writings were condemned after his death, but he remained a living influence. He was probably the most original thinker that western Europe produced between the seventh and the eleventh century.

It meant much for Europe that this revival had taken place in the Carolingian Empire, for during a dark period (850–1000) the memory of that great achievement was kept in mind, and there was no real break in the intellectual output of Europe. More than ever before the monasteries became the centres of European scholarship. This is the epoch when the great monastic libraries became of such incomparable value. The sight of a monastic library going up in flames before the Viking attack was a fit symbol of the danger to Europe which that attack involved. Fulda, Lorsch, Fleury on the Loire, St. Gall, Bobbio and Monte Casino remained the very source for the intellectual inspiration of Europe. It was largely through the monasteries that the zeal for learning was kept alive under the greatest difficulties. They produced writers as interesting as Rabanus Maurus, for example, or as original as Hrotsvitha, the nun of Gandersheim, or the 'inscrutable master of the sciences' who became Pope as Sylvester II and astonished and alarmed Europe by the extent and character of his learning, the friend and inspirer of the brilliant, lovable and incompetent Otto III.

It is an epoch of transition. By the eleventh century there are signs of a change. The Latin tradition has been kept alive in learning and literature. A new harvest is to be reaped therefrom. We are on the eve of a new renaissance which culminates in the twelfth century, a renaissance at least as remarkable in all its varied forms as that of the sixteenth century. It is 'a general revivification of the human spirit'. We may watch it if we will in the poetry of the Troubadours or in the revival of humanism by men like John of Salisbury, or in the birth of the universities, or in the fearless speculations of men like Abélard, or, again, in the lively theological work which prepared the

way for the solid achievements in this field in the thirteenth century. But from whatever standpoint we regard the twelfth century we must conclude that it constitutes an epoch in the history of European civilization 'not less momentous than the Reformation or the French Revolution' (Rashdall).

The Renaissance of the twelfth century had its counterpart in the political development of Europe. The danger involved in what we have termed the 'Third Attack' had rendered settled scholarship impossible. The repulse of that attack gave Europe a feeling of security which she had never possessed before. The work of Alfred and of the Ottos in defending Christendom produced, at last, important intellectual results. The conversion and civilization of the Normans was symbolic of the change. At the same time, the great achievement of the Hildebrandine reformers gave Europe peace within, established her social order upon a settled plan, and determined the characteristics of the great age of medieval scholarship.

Viewed from the standpoint of results there seems an immense contrast between the tenth and the twelfth centuries. Yet it must emphatically be repeated that without the continuous work of the 'Dark Ages' the twelfth-century achievements would have been impossible. In the twelfth century we have a quickening of momentum, but the initial impulse is the same. We have a widespread and transformed study of the classics, but it is the outcome of a mentality which had always regarded the past with reverence. Again, in the twelfth century there is a transformation of the philosophical and theological learning, but it is the natural outcome of the work which had gone before. There is no break with the past, but the development is extremely rapid; and we can watch it primarily in two directions. On the one hand, there is the rise of a fine and vigorous humanism; on the other, the rapid growth of an important theological and philosophical learning. These two streams in time joined each other, but the humanist and the theologian (it is the way with them) do not always take kindly to each other. There is considerable opposition, and in the long run in the Middle Ages the theologians get the best of it, and their intellectual

system, scholasticism, is perhaps the typical product of medieval thought. This development was, however, in the future. The twelfth century may thus be regarded as the great age of medieval humanism, whilst the thirteenth is the great age of medieval theology.

We can see signs of this humanistic movement in the eleventh century itself. The mysterious Gerbert is as it were the forerunner. After him in Lombardy there are a number of learned men who seem to be looking forward (if vaguely) to great things in the future. Benedict of Clusa in 1028 is bragging of his learning in the most egregious manner of the sixteenth-century scholars. Vilgardus of Ravenna is alluding to Virgil and Horace and Juvenal as 'like unto gods'. Even the Puritan elements in the Hildebrandine reform are closely connected not with the crude paganism of Vilgardus but with new methods of literature. There is much technical merit in the poems of Peter Damien. It is from Lombardy, too, that there came to England that great lawyer, Lanfranc. But the centre is shifting already towards France, when Fulbert comes from Rome to Chartres to found there the school which was to be one of the glories of the twelfth century. Almost every man of letters in that age in France 'has him as master', and through his school his influence persisted till it culminated in that finished product of twelfth-century humanism, John of Salisbury. Fulbert's learning was unostentatious and traditional, but it was profound and did much to stimulate his many disciples. Far more like the typical humanist born out of due season was Guibert of Nogent, the author of one of the most famous autobiographies of the Middle Ages, the writer both of pornography and sedate prose, a fine classical scholar and, till the end of his life, a man of the world. Even before the end of the eleventh century the signs of the new renaissance have begun to appear.

The development of humanism could perhaps best be studied with reference to that school of Chartres which Fulbert founded. The typical twelfth-century humanist was Bernard Sylvester, who flourished at that school towards the end of the twelfth century. Bernard was an ecclesiastic and fulfilled the duties of his order

rigorously, but there was, nevertheless, something essentially secular in his vast learning. He seemed little disturbed by questions of theology and, says his biographer, he had 'no inclination to consecrate his gifts to the service of the Church'. He was representative of a new temper in scholarship which, whilst it was not in any sense hostile to the Church, proceeded independently of ecclesiastical influence. His humanistic learning was immense, and it was wholeheartedly dependent upon the study of ancient texts. His best-known work was a production in prose and verse *On the Universe*, and he wrote an elaborate commentory on the *Aeneid*. 'We are', he said, 'as dwarfs mounted on the shoulders of giants so that we can see more and further than they, yet not by virtue of the keenness of our eyesight nor through the tallness of our stature, but because we are raised and borne aloft upon that great mass.' It is a reasoned defence of classical scholarship.

Chartres produced also a school of theologians, but with them we are not for the moment concerned. The trend of Bernard Sylvester's humanism was reflected in a widespread teaching of the classics in Chartres during his lifetime and after his death. The critical study of the ancients, an imitation of their style even to excess, and continual practice in verse and prose composition formed an important part of the daily routine of Bernard Sylvester's pupils. The possible sterility and distortion of education by these methods was seen by one of them, John of Salisbury, who has hard words to say on occasion about arid pedants, but there is a permanent value in the spirit inculcated by the single-minded scholar, and the ideal of scholarship set up by these men illuminated one of the greatest phases of the Middle Ages.

> Mens humilis, studium quaerendi, vita quieta
> Scrutinium tacitum, paupertas, terra aliena,
> Haec reserare solent multis obscura legendo.

It is in its way the final description of the scholar's life.

The career of John of Salisbury might almost be taken as the most perfect example of the product of this type of twelfth-century scholarship. John was probably born between 1115 and

1120. As a lad he went abroad to study, and for many years he visited all the chief teachers of Gaul, especially those of Paris and Chartres, to which place he was especially indebted. He then started as a teacher himself and speedily earned fame. His own writings are very remarkable, both for their tone and their matter. For with John of Salisbury we come on that extreme liberality of spirit which is characteristic of the best forms of humanism. He felt deeply about the controversies of the time and contributed to many of them. He was a sincerely religious man and versed in theology, but his two most important works, the *Metalogicus* and the *Politicraticus*, are marked above all by a humanism which was distinguished even in that age. He was a classical scholar of great merit and a widely travelled man. 'I have ten times passed the chain of the Alps,' he wrote in 1159; 'I have twice traversed Apulia.' Nothing human failed to interest him, and he wrote with a feeling for style and formal perfection which was wholly admirable. As the exponent of humanism devoid of exaggeration and error, John of Salisbury stands as the symbol of the twelfth-century achievement in liberal scholarship.

Before the twelfth century had closed, the humanism of the age was rewarded by the renewed acquaintance of the West with the works of Aristotle, and, in consequence, the steady development of medieval culture from its Latin origins was affected by intrusions from another quarter. A feature of the cultural history of the twelfth century is the influence of translations from Islamic versions of Greek texts. This movement had its most profound results in the sphere of scientific studies, where we shall have to consider it in greater detail. But in one department of humane learning it was also to be vitally important. It is not too much to say that the turning-point in medieval scholarship was reached with the Aristotelian invasion of Paris in the twelfth century. This had been effected mainly by re-translations into Latin of Moslem translations of the Greek texts, and it would thus be hard to isolate the relative importance of the two elements in this new influence on the West. There seems, however, to be no doubt that the Moslem translations

were adequate, and the Latin translations were efficient if not elegant. Whilst, therefore, the Arabic commentaries, particularly those of Averroes, formed part of the new materials of study, in the main this new influence must be considered as having been primarily Greek. The results of the rediscovery were profound. It did nothing less than initiate the most important philosophic and theological movements of the Middle Ages. But the influence of the renewed Aristotelianism, great as it was, must not be over-emphasized. Its great achievements would not have been possible apart from the zeal for learning and the technical capacity which had developed during the earlier centuries. They would not have been possible even without the organization of the great medieval universities and the scholarship and teaching of the Mendicant Orders.

The revival of Aristotle was also to prove in time detrimental to the typical scholarship of the twelfth century. It may be said to have retarded humanistic culture in Europe by several centuries. The humanism of the early twelfth century promised so much. The results of the Aristotelian revival were fatal to it, for the new Aristotelian learning was directed almost at once into theological and philosophical channels. It was used to enhance the great controversies on doctrine which had up to now proceeded alongside of the humanistic movement and from now onwards threatened to overwhelm it. Towards the end of the twelfth century the writings of the humanists are full of complaints that grammar and history are being unduly neglected. By the thirteenth century the vast bulk of the intellectual endeavour of western Europe was concerned with building up that majestic philosophic edifice known as scholasticism, whose foundations had, however, already been laid by the time that John of Salisbury was astonishing the world with his humanistic brilliance.

Another aspect of the Renaissance of the twelfth century was the renewed and intenser study of law that developed at this time in northern Italy. We have already been at some pains to indicate the importance of law-making in the formation of the barbarian states and the influence which the great work

of Justinian had on subsequent generations. The reverence for Roman law was part of the general connexion of the men of the Middle Ages with the Latin past. But in the twelfth century this took a new and a most productive form. Roman law had been studied throughout the Dark Ages. In Italy there was a law school at Rome till after the sack of the city by the Normans in 1084, and schools also at Pavia and Ravenna. But early in the twelfth century the centre of legal study was shifted to Bologna and became connected with the name of Irnerius who, if he was not an original genius, at least gave a new impulse to the study of the law of the past. Patronized by the Countess Matilda of Tuscany, this man brought the *Corpus Juris Civilis* of Justinian once more into the regular curriculum of legal education. He studied it, and lectured on it in a technical and professional manner. His career marks the beginning of the legal achievements of the Middle Ages and the origin of Bologna as the centre of the legal education of Europe.

At the same time a parallel development took place. As we know, the law of the Church had developed on the model of the imperial legislation of Rome, and the revival of the civil law studies was marked also by a corresponding revival in the study of Church law—canon law. In the eleventh century there had been many attempts made at codifying this canon law. The principal of these were the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms, the *Collectio Canonum* of Anselm of Lucca, and the *Decretum* ascribed to Ivo, bishop of Chartres. But as Irnerius is the symbol of the revival of civil law study, so is the renewed development of canon law to be primarily associated with one name—that of Gratian—whose *Decretum* was completed before 1142. The work of Gratian is marked by an attempt to rationalize the whole system of canon law. His work may be described as an inspired text-book. It is not a code. It was largely influenced by the method of the *Sic et Non*, of Peter Lombard and it strove to give a reasoned basis for the legal development of the past and to answer all objections thereto. It is influenced throughout by the civil law, and the close connexion of the two legal developments is to be seen on every page of the *Decretum*.

But in one particular it swerved noticeably from the old imperial system. The extreme powers which the civil law ascribed to the Emperor were in the work of Gratian rigidly circumscribed as regards the Church. Anything like a State-Church system was categorically denounced, and the Church was regarded as an autonomous society under the leadership of the Papacy. The canon law thus became a weapon for the Papacy against the Empire, and it owed its subsequent growth mainly to the efforts of a long series of lawyer Popes, the chief of whom was perhaps Gregory IX. At all events, the first half of the twelfth century marks a great reform in legal education. The study of both types of law proceeded apace from this time forward, and men looked to Bologna for inspiration in every department of legal learning.

Whilst the twelfth century was the age *par excellence* of medieval humanism, it was also active in the preparation of the medieval philosophical system. The earlier theology had with certain exceptions been concerned with the citing of authorities one against the other. It is towards the end of the eleventh century that there begins that debate on the nature of universals which was, so to speak, to form the scaffolding by means of which the medieval theological system was to be built. This is no place to enter into the subtleties of that debate,[1] but we may notice the issue and some of the men who were concerned therewith before the twelfth century had closed. This controversy was waged between two schools of thought who took the names of Nominalists and Realists. The Nominalists claimed that ideas and universal qualities were mere names and had no separate existence outside the objects in which they were represented. The Realists urged that such ideas and concepts had a real existence of their own. The question is a vital one to philosophy. Its opening in a controversial form meant nothing less than a marked revival in intellectual speculation. For it was the Nominalists who opened the attack and Nominalism has latent in itself a certain scepticism which is essential to free inquiry. The beginnings of this important inquiry may perhaps be

[1] See A. E. Taylor below.

dated from the controversy between the Nominalist, Roscellinus, and Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury. That learned argument made two points clear. The first was that orthodoxy was beginning to be attacked by intellectual weapons from within the Church, and the second was that orthodoxy, if it was to survive, must forge intellectual weapons in its own defence. This Anselm strove to do, though he always contended that faith itself must precede the reasons for faith.

The reviving speculation of the time reached its climax in the meteoric career of Abélard. Abélard carried the scepticism of Roscellinus to lengths to which the earlier thinkers would never have ventured, and at the same time he brought with him an unrivalled reputation for dialectic. His life was one of acute controversy and his lectures at Paris and elsewhere were violently attacked. St. Bernard was his enemy after Abélard had lapsed into heresy at the end of his life. As a clear-headed logician, as an independent moral philosopher, and as a daring theologian, Abélard exercised an immense influence over his generation and even over his opponents. After his brilliant and disputatious life it was abundantly clear that theology must be defended with intellectual weapons. It is not too much to say that the beginning of the scholastic system owes very much to the attacks of Abélard upon orthodoxy. It was left for Peter Lombard to carry on his work within the shelter of orthodoxy, and from that time forward Nominalism itself loses its initial character of a revolt against authority.

The ferment caused by the teaching of Abélard and the spirit of inquiry which he represents was intensified by the Aristotelian revival of which we have made mention, for scholasticism itself was little more in its beginnings than the application of the formal logic of the schools to the problem of theology, and the use in theological argument of Aristotle's method of reasoning. It was left to the great theologians of the thirteenth century to complete this work, which may be said to reach its climax in the *Summa*—the final production of St. Thomas Aquinas.

The development of culture during these centuries may thus be briefly summarized. The main positive achievements of

the age may perhaps be described in this sphere as the preservation of an inheritance from the classical past and the perfection of a valuable system of philosophy. Of the former we have already said something; the latter will be discussed elsewhere in this book.[1] But in many other directions the scholars of these centuries left an inheritance which was of great value to posterity. Of this, one example may profitably be given in an historical essay. The political thought of these centuries had a permanent importance; it illustrated much of the history of the age, and its influence in the realm of political speculation is not dead to-day.

The political speculation of this age, like its political history, starts with the conception of the permanent establishment and continual growth of a Christianized Roman Empire. For the political thinkers of this period the Roman Empire did not pass away with Julian and paganism. Rather with Constantine it became one with Christendom, the divinely appointed agent for the social existence of the faith. In the pages of Dante, for example, this idea is predominant. For him there is no break with the classical past, nor in the fifth century is the progress of the imperial destiny interrupted. The eagle, it is true, flies east (*se fece Greco*), but the continuity of its flight is never stayed. The Romans are throughout the pages of Dante the chosen people (*populo santo*), and the Western Empire, when it is re-established, is held by Dante to carry on the tradition from the past. The philosophy of history as expressed by Dante is a spiritual journey of humanity whereby the long pathway of the Roman genius has become merged in the *Via Sacra* of the Cross. In all this Dante is typical of the general point of view of the age. Medieval political thought in its general aspects is an attempt to combine in an intellectual system the political ideas of Roman imperialism with the ethical teaching of Christianity.

It was thus that throughout the Middle Ages the world was viewed as a great politico-religious community whose ultimate unity rests with God. It is a mystical body, a *universitas*, a uni-

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[1] See below.   A. E. Taylor.

versal realm, founded for a common purpose, which is governed by one law that, on its temporal side, represented the Roman tradition and, on its spiritual, organized Christianity. This was the great macrocosm upon which all the microcosms within it are ordered and modelled. This idea pervades medieval political thought. It was accepted by both parties in the controversies of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, whose differences were concerned not with the essentials of social theory but with their application, not with the reality of Christendom as the political society *par excellence* but with the adjustment of the two orders, the spiritual and the temporal, within it.

When they proceeded further and asked what was the reasoned basis of society and social institutions, the medieval theorists obtained results which have ever since influenced political speculation. In general they were not themselves innovators, and the debt that medieval speculation owes to Aristotle can hardly be over-estimated. For instance, they accepted the fundamental Aristotelian notion that the reason for society is that man is by nature a being formed for the social life. For these men, as for their Greek master it was impossible to conceive of man as man apart from his fellows. He would in such a case be either a beast or a god. Man's very nature, they said, presupposes the social life. Human nature, remarks St. Augustine, is sociable, and medieval thinkers consistently held that the ultimate basis of society is the nature of man. Usually they put this more technically and said that the reason for social institutions is that Natural Law may be obeyed. Medieval political speculation is based upon the conception of a Law of Nature and the complementary notion of a State of Nature.

The word nature has been used with much confusion in political thought. In the first place it is used to express *primitive* conditions. The state of Nature is viewed as the original condition of man and is regarded either as a golden age or as a 'nasty brutish and short' existence. The essential notion in this treatment of nature, whatever its conclusions, is that of a primitive state, and the Law of Nature is merely man's instincts

and passions. But in the second place 'Nature' has in political speculation been used to signify not the primitive but the *normal*. A man's nature is thus found not in what he was in a primitive state but in what he would be if fully developed at his best. The 'State of Nature' according to this view need have no relation to time, but is in essence an ideal state to which man, to fulfil his end, must always strive; and the Law of Nature becomes thus the great body of those principles of good conduct which are ideally common to all mankind and the fundamental basis of all morality. In general and with certain confusions the medieval thinkers always used the term in its latter sense. When they spoke of the Law of Nature they meant the great body of universally recognized moral principles by which alone man could guide his life to perfect his end as man. Society then, being for them based upon a Law of Nature, was regarded as having a moral purpose.

In this they were but taking over ideas which had been formed in the last centuries of classical civilization by the Stoics on the one hand, and by the Roman lawyers on the other, which had resulted in the conception of a Law of Nature containing the universally recognized principles of morality applicable to all men, and thus distinct from and superior to the local laws of particular States.[1]

There is one aspect of the doctrine which became later of great importance in medieval political thought. And that is the contrast which was drawn between the Law of Nature and all local law. For this resolved itself into a distinction between those laws or institutions which were based upon nature (φύσει) and those which were based upon convention (νόμῳ), the former having an intrinsic and moral worth of their own and the latter being merely based upon empirical rules which might serve a useful purpose in particular circumstances, but lacked the basis of universal morality which was ascribed to the Law of Nature. This distinction the medieval thinkers translated into theological terms. 'When I speak of Nature', writes St. Chrysostom, 'I mean God, for it is He who

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[1] See above, pp. 41, 42.

made the world.' And between the ideal state of man visualized in the conception of Nature and the actual existing political institutions, it was obvious to the medieval publicists that there was a great gulf fixed, for it seemed impossible to reconcile man's necessary laws and customs with the Divine Wisdom from which was held to proceed Natural Law. To bridge this gulf there was introduced by the political thinkers the theological conception of the Fall of Man. Before the Fall it was considered that those fundamental principles of Natural Law were sufficient for society; after the Fall it was urged that it was necessary that the actual customs and laws of man should be accommodated to other and less perfect conditions. It was in this way that the theorist looked at actual institutions as he saw them. They were *conventional*, lacking the supreme sanction of Natural Law but receiving justification in that they were necessary to check the vices of man which he had learnt since the Fall.

It must be repeated that this distinction was in reality the restatement of a classical idea in theological terms. The essential similarity is brought out, for example, in a passage of St. Isidore. 'All laws are either divine or human, the divine rest upon nature, the human upon custom, and the latter accordingly differ among themselves because different laws have always pleased different peoples.' That is a statement of the seventh century. In the twelfth Gratian could write: 'Mankind is ruled by two things—Natural Law, and Custom. Natural Law is that which is contained in the Law and the Gospel whereby every one is commanded to do to another what he would have done to himself.' In short, the medieval theorists started their explanation of the rationale of social institutions with three principles in mind. The first of these was the notion of a Natural Law proper to the normal or fully developed state of man, and based upon the reason of God as the true source of all morality and law. The second was the conception of existing laws and the institutions of temporal States as being ideally based upon Natural Law but differing essentially from it both in that they varied from place to place, and in that they recognized customs which were not the result of the natural end of man but merely

necessary to man in his depraved state and as a check on his vices. Thirdly, there was an ever-present distinction between the Law of Nature and these actual laws, which made itself felt in every discussion of political institutions by necessitating the question whether these were *natural*, i.e. proper to man as man being based directly upon the universal principles of morality as embodied in Natural Law, or *conventional* being merely the result of man's evil propensities and a means whereby peace and order might be maintained in spite of them.

It is in this way that there may be explained the medieval view of slavery. This had been a much debated problem of political thought since Greek days and it was always discussed in relation to the distinctions which we have been considering. Aristotle, for example, came to an important decision in relation to slavery. He decided that slavery was *natural*, and that some men were by their very nature fitted to be slaves and nothing else (φύσει δοῦλοι). The teaching of the medieval thinkers, forestalled in some measure by that of the Stoics, was in direct opposition to this. For they took their stand upon the Christian teaching that in the sight of God all men are of equal account, and that the soul of the slave is of as much importance as that of his master. On the other hand, slavery in some form or other existed everywhere at the beginning of the Middle Ages, and whilst thinkers denied that it was *natural* they admitted that it had a *conventional* sanction in particular cases. Slavery was thus viewed as a result of the coming of sin into the world, but it was also regarded as a conventional discipline by which the sinful tendencies in human society might be checked. Medieval theory thus never categorically denounced slavery as in itself unlawful or improper. But it did deny the existence of the *natural slave* and it did insist that the master should always observe certain rules of good conduct towards the slave. Slavery, in short, was regarded as *conventional*.

It is the same distinction between *nature* and *convention* which dominates the medieval view of property. Here again the medieval thinkers inherited a fairly definite tradition. According to the Stoics, in the conditions presupposed by the

Law of Nature, private property did not exist. All things, therefore, ideally belonged to all men and existed for their common use. But, as in the case of slavery, both the philosophers and the lawyers had to face the facts of life, and they admitted that property everywhere existed and was justified by the lower law or convention of States. In Christian times the question became inevitably more acute by reason of the more spiritual character of the new religion, but substantially the same view was carried on and developed. There were certain of the early writers who found in the New Testament a theory of communism, but this was never the dominant teaching of the medieval thinkers. Again, a distinction was made between *nature* and *convention*. By the law of God, these men argued, property is all in the hands of God and given to men for their common use. This corresponds to the State of Nature of the Stoics. But again, the Fall is interposed between this state and actual conditions. Avarice rendered common property impossible, and as its result private property came into existence both as the result of greed and as a check on its unlimited action. Property is thus the result of convention and depends upon human law. It is not one of the divine or natural institutions for man, but as the result and the remedy of sin it is justified by *convention* and must be respected.

Such a view of private property, theoretical as it is, had certain important practical consequences which distinguish the medieval view sharply from those views of private property which have been predominant since the time of Locke. In the first place, according to the medieval theory, private property, as we have seen, depended upon human law. Therefore, what human law could give, human law could take away without injustice. According to an argument developed in the dispute between St. Augustine and the Donatists a man has no right to private property against the temporal government under which he lives. Secondly, private property, being only justified as the result of and the check upon the sin of avarice, is limited by the use to which it is put. A man, remarks St. Augustine, who does not use his property rightly has no real claim upon it.

Finally, there was in consequence for the medieval thinker no such thing as an absolute ownership of property in the modern sense. 'Property', says St. Thomas Aquinas, 'extends to the acquisition and distribution of things.' A man has only the right to those things he needs, all else he should supply for common use. Almsgiving to the medieval mind was justice and not charity. In short, the main distinction between the modern theory of private property and the medieval was that whilst we tend to think of private property as involving the right to un-limited use, in the medieval view it was considered as having merely a *conventional* sanction, and its possession was regarded rather as a trust.

It is in fact with the same general premises in mind that we must approach the more important question of the medieval theory of the secular State. This was a very difficult problem in the early days of this period, for as we have seen there was a real danger that, in the hands of certain of the early Christian apologists, the new religious teaching might be given an anti-social trend. This, as we observed, did not take place but it left its traces in medieval political thought. In particular it made its appearance in a book that had perhaps more influence than any other in the development of medieval political ideas—the Civitas Dei of St. Augustine. The central idea of that very difficult treatise lies in the contrast that is there made between the city of god (*Civitas Dei*)—the blessed company of all faith-ful people—and the earthly city (*civitas terrena*). What exactly was represented by the earthly city, whether it was the Roman Empire or not, must remain a matter of dispute. It certainly represented in a general way what we should now term the civil State, and it is important to note that St. Augustine in many passages seems to hold that this civil State is of its nature and in its character evil. It arises from the lust of man to dominate over his natural equals (*libido dominandi*), and its exis-tence is based upon murder, war, rapine, and force. This phase in his argument may be summed up in one of his most telling phrases: 'Quid sunt regna nisi magna latrocinia?' Moreover, such sentiments are not confined to St. Augustine. Six cen-

turies later much the same theory is expressed in a famous letter of Gregory VII himself: 'Who is ignorant', wrote that Pope, 'that kings and sovereigns had their beginnings from a people ignorant of God, who by almost every crime at the instigation of the devil presumed through blind lust to raise themselves above their equals.' There are again traces of the same sentiment in a letter of Innocent III, and they were to appear later also in a famous bull of Boniface VIII.

Now, such unqualified condemnation of the secular State exercised an influence in medieval political thought, but it cannot be regarded as representing the typical medieval teaching, and even the writers who indulged in it qualified it considerably at other times. Medieval thinkers, generally, would recognize the origin of the State as sinful, but they would not admit that the State itself was wholly so. Once again they used the distinction between Nature and Convention. According to Natural Law, they said, all men are equal before God and no man by nature can claim to rule over his fellow men. But with the Fall, violence and the lust for dominion came into the world and in consequence the rule of some men over their fellows was started. This, however, they would add, is only one side of the question. Once admit the sinful character of the world, and ordered government, though in its origin the result of sin and violence, becomes itself necessary for their restraint, and thus the State and coercive government receive a *conventional* sanction in the conditions of the actual world. The State is 'contrary to the natural law of primitive human innocence but it is proper and useful in the actual conditions of life'.

Coercive government in general has been made necessary through sin, but it is also the divinely appointed remedy for sin, and as such must be respected. This, for example, is developed at length by Dante in his important treatise on *Monarchy*. He takes up the position that coercive government is in its genesis sinful, but he adds that in the actual world if violence is to be restrained and justice administered there must be peace, and peace is impossible without coercive authority. In short, the

dominant medieval teaching on this subject was that the secular State was in its origin the outcome of sinful conditions, for it did not arise in any natural inequality in man. But coercive government was also a remedy for sin. It thus depended upon God and must be reverenced and obeyed as a Christian duty.

The application of these principles reacted upon the whole development of political thought in western Europe. For example, the notion that temporal government, though not natural, had yet a divine sanction led directly to the doctrine of a Divine Right of Kings. Many other forces contributed to the growth of this idea, especially the claim of the imperialists that the Emperor had an immediate grant of authority from God—a view that was easily adopted by the other temporal kings of the West. But the idea was latent in the whole of the medieval theory of the temporal State. The secular ruler is always regarded as God's instrument for the restraint of violence. He holds his office by Divine Right, but it is essential to observe that the medieval doctrine of Divine Right never implied irresponsibility on the part of the ruler. That was a seventeenth-century perversion of a doctrine which was already old.

Indeed, the denial of irresponsibility to the temporal ruler is the second important application that was made of the medieval theory of coercive government. The medieval theorist always contended that monarchy (by which he meant legally constituted temporal government) was an office; it was a trust; and its tenure involved very definite duties. This was perhaps the most important consequence of the medieval theory of the State, for it involved at the last the conclusion that, since the secular State and the ruler thereof were the result and the remedy of sin, they both existed in the last resort for the sake of the individuals within the State and had no unconditional claim upon them. This view, so different from most ancient and many modern theories of the State, was of the very first importance. The relation of governor and governed was one of reciprocal rights and duties. The kingdom, says St. Thomas Aquinas, summing up perhaps the most important phase of medieval

political speculation in an epigram, does not exist for the sake of the king, but the king for the sake of the kingdom. 'Regnum non est propter regem sed rex propter regnum.' 'For', he adds, 'the princes of the earth are set up by God not that they should thereby seek their own gain but that they should procure the common good.' Or again, 'civil law must be enacted for the common welfare and failing this it has no binding force'. In short, according to the medieval view of secular government anything like a theory of irresponsible sovereignty was impossible. The right to government could be forfeited by abuse,[1] and beyond the State lay the appeal to the Natural Law. This is the medieval conception of liberty.

From saying that the authority of the monarch exists for the sake of the people and that they are entitled in the last resort to refuse obedience if the monarch violates those principles for the maintenance of which he holds his office, it is but a short step to a doctrine of the sovereignty of the people. The doctrine that men were naturally equal in the sight of God had very wide democratic implications. That is the meaning of those constant assertions that the monarch is subject to the laws of the group over which he rules. In early times, for instance, St. Ambrose remarks that a king is bound by his own laws. In the twelfth

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[1] It has been wittily observed that political thinkers can be divided for most important purposes according as they approve or condemn Brutus and Cassius. Those of the Middle Ages fall probably into both groups. But it may be remarked how some thinkers did not hesitate to push the view of conditional sovereignty to extreme lengths. John of Salisbury makes the distinction between the monarch and the tyrant. The monarch obeys the law and the tyrant disregards it. Since monarchy is a divine institution, abuse of power is nothing less than treason towards God, and John emphatically recommends the knife as the best solution. Not only, he writes, is it permissible to kill a tyrant but it is both just and right (*aequum et justum*), for, he quaintly adds, it is meet that those who take the sword should perish by the sword. The tyrant was indeed a very definite conception in medieval political thought, and Dante prepared in Hell a special river of boiling blood for his reception and immersion. And whilst tyrannicide was not advocated by many in the extreme manner of John of Salisbury, resistance to the tyrant was always justified. Here there were some confusions among medieval thinkers, and in general their ideas on the extreme cases, when resistance would be justified, were never clearly defined. St. Thomas Aquinas is emphatic in saying that resistance to a tyrant is not only a right but a duty. Such resistance, he adds, cannot be called sedition unless the measures taken are such that they would do more harm than would be done by tolerating the tyranny.

century John of Salisbury distinguished between a king and a tyrant on these grounds, and the great feudal lawyers of the thirteenth century developed the idea. Beaumanoir states that the king of France was bound by the customs of his people. Jean d'Ibhelin emphasized the same notion in his constitution for the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem; whilst that great English lawyer Bracton summed up the matter in a fine phrase: 'The King', he said, 'ought to be under no man, "sed sub Deo et Lege".' It is in its way the essence of the medieval theory of temporal government. Authority is not irresponsible. It is in the last resort a gift of God to the people who delegate it to a monarch whom they must obey so long as he exercises it according to *conventional* sanctions which govern its use.[1]

The notion of the limitation of coercive government by means of an appeal to an external moral law, and the conception of the essential equality of all social groups are probably the two most important ideas bequeathed to posterity by medieval political thought.

III

The evolution of a peculiar and a rich form of literary development is perhaps the most characteristic and the most important aspect of the cultural history of these centuries. By the twelfth century it had produced a renaissance whose most noteworthy characteristic was a humanistic revival of high value. By the end of the thirteenth century it was to create a system of philosophy of permanent importance. There can be no doubt that twelfth-century intelligence was at its strongest in dealing with the problems of philosophy and theology, just as it was probably most productive in humanistic study. When we turn to those branches of mental activity which are now loosely grouped under the name of science—and particularly those which fall under the category of experimental science—we find a far greater gulf fixed between the twelfth century and to-day. We

[1] We may note also that the notion of the Social Contract—that snare for later political thinkers—was developed out of this idea as early as the twelfth century by Mannegold of Lautenbach, in whose work the actual word *pactum* is sometimes used to express the relation of governors and governed.

also are unable to discover either the same progress or the same achievement during these seven centuries which are the subject of our study. In this period much was indeed done that was to be of service to a later scientific movement. But on the whole the contribution of this period to the growth of science seems inconsiderable.

This negative fact requires, however, some explanation. We must ask why it was that the men of the Middle Ages concentrated their attention on other branches of learning to the neglect of that which finds, in some quarters, most favour to-day. It is characteristic of an intellectual provincialism to scoff at habits of thought alien to its own, and to disregard results gained by methods which it is unable to understand or apply. To explain the slight scientific progress during these centuries on the basis of lack of intelligence is critically unsound. There was no lack of intelligence in western Europe during this period. But there undoubtedly did exist, especially in the earlier centuries of this epoch, a mental atmosphere which was unfavourable to that special curiosity which lies at the basis of physical science. It was in this direction that the temper exemplified in Gregory the Great's strictures on secular learning had its greatest influence. In the sphere of physical science Latin Europe before the twelfth century lags behind the Moslem world.

But it would be wrong to regard this as arising from a lack of rationalism. Rather we might almost say (especially in respect of the close of this epoch) that it was an excessive rationalism that was the greatest enemy to the development of a scientific spirit in the West.[1] If, for example, we compare the state of mind of western Europe, say in 1250, with that which prevailed in the seventeenth century (when the modern scientific movement had its beginnings), we shall find that it is the older school of thought which is stressing the importance of reasoning; it is the younger which is emphasizing the necessity of observation. The scholastic philosophers had a

[1] Cf. Whitehead, *Science in the Modern World*, from which the material for this and for the two subsequent paragraphs is derived.

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But it would be wrong to regard this as arising from a lack of rationalism. Rather we might almost say (especially in respect of the close of this epoch) that it was an excessive rationalism that was the greatest enemy to the development of a scientific spirit in the West.[1] If, for example, we compare the state of mind of western Europe, say in 1250, with that which prevailed in the seventeenth century (when the modern scientific movement had its beginnings), we shall find that it is the older school of thought which is stressing the importance of reasoning; it is the younger which is emphasizing the necessity of observation. The scholastic philosophers had a

[1] Cf. Whitehead, *Science in the Modern World*, from which the material for this and for the two subsequent paragraphs is derived.

complete theory as to *why* things happened. They were less interested in *how* they happened. Between the two points of view there is the gulf that is set between an inductive and a deductive approach to the problems of life. It is open to argument that both methods are susceptible of distortion and excess. It might also be urged that a condition of medieval rationalism was the joyful admission of a sphere of knowledge to which reason of itself could not gain admission. But it is not to be contended that the earlier thinkers despised reason because they neglected the practical experiments of a later age.

Another factor which operated towards producing a decline of a scientific spirit in western Europe during this period may also be suggested. The dominating influence on later medieval thought was certainly that of Aristotle. And both by his teleology and by his emphasis on classification it may be contended that this influence tended to inculcate an 'imaginative setting' for nature. Men became more interested in examining the 'end' and the 'purpose', in fitting the part into its place in the perfect whole, than in following an inductive train of thought which should take its beginnings in a minute observation of detailed physical changes. It was an exaggeration of this temper which produced those curious blends of credulity and learning and the fantastic moralization of natural phenomena which are characteristic of certain types of medieval writing. It was the perversion of the same influences which produced that confusion between magic and experimental science which vitiated so much of the scientific work of this period.

For these reasons the production of these centuries in this field was incommensurate with their achievement in other branches of human thought. Nevertheless, this production was itself not inconsiderable, and the intellectual development of this period had its indirect effects upon the scientific movement which was to follow after. That is why the science of these centuries demands some examination. For it may be observed that later there was a tendency unduly to forget the 'unbridled rationalism'[1] of the Middle Ages. It was not always borne in

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[1] Whitehead, op. cit.

mind that science to be of value must consist not only of observation, not only of the collection of 'brute facts', but also of their correlation eventually into generalizations. The whole trend of medieval speculation laid stress upon the view that there *were* such generalizations to be made if only they could be found; that every detailed fact was susceptible of being in its correct place in a settled order; that there was a secret to be discovered. That belief might almost be termed the mainspring of all true scientific research. And in this sense these centuries with their emphasis on intellectual order must be considered as having contributed something of value even to the scientific training of Europe.

It is with some such considerations in mind that we may watch the general scientific development of these centuries before examining some of the special departments of medieval science. And, indeed, the main defects of medieval science made their prominent appearance at the very beginning of this period. The close connexion with the classical past is as noticeable here as elsewhere, but in this case it is the weakest elements in the tradition that appear to be permanently absorbed. A decadence in scientific thought had taken place in the Mediterranean world long before the medieval period began, and its effects were enhanced by the fact that the Middle Ages enjoyed a Latin rather than a Greek inheritance. For the Romans had been slow to absorb the teaching of Greek science and especially after the age of Diocletian the decline had been pronounced. Consequently, whilst the men of the earlier Middle Ages were eager to preserve the scientific wisdom of the past they seem to concentrate on the less worthy features of its teaching. Nor was this entirely their fault. Many of the vices in medieval scientific speculation were directly derived from the Roman world. In particular, the magical interpretation of natural phenomena was already predominant in the late Empire. It was eagerly seized upon by the men of the sixth and seventh centuries, and it persisted. In this way the great names of the past seemed to have been forgotten or at best to be unintelligently quoted at third or fourth hand. It is writers like

Solinus who appear to dominate the future. And the foundations of medieval science are constructed out of the very debris of the ancient knowledge.

Nevertheless, the desire to preserve that knowledge was clearly present in these early centuries though its productions were lamentably weak. The first epoch of medieval scientific literature might indeed most fitly be called the age of the encyclopaedists. Its typical productions were large compendia of miscellaneous information derived from the past. They were composed for the most part of confused, scattered details brought together under no general plan; they were ill arranged and uncritical. They were derived from the method of Solinus, and they thus represented a continuous tradition from antiquity. Martianus Capella, the obscure author known as *Physiologus*, Boethius, Rabanus Maurus, and even Bede himself contributed to this literature. But its most typical and important exponent was Isidore of Seville, in whose work the characteristics of the medieval encyclopaedia may be most conveniently illustrated and summed up.

Isidore of Seville's most important contributions to medieval science were made in his *Etymologies*. These contained chapters on animals, on vegetation, on metals and minerals, and Isidore insists that his aim throughout has been to preserve the work of older authors. His etymological derivations are very frequently wildly fantastic, but even these can mostly boast a lengthy pedigree of error. Similarly, Isidore recorded many of the most bizarre of the ancient contributions to natural science. Cinnabar is produced by the blood which the dragon sheds in his struggles with the elephant, and swallows restore the sight of their young by the application of swallow wort. Words have often a transcendental entity of their own, and there is a mystical significance to be found in perfect numbers. Such is the general character of these sections of Isidore's work.

But it must be emphasized that this habit of mind was not the creation of the medieval age. It, too, was derived from late antiquity. It is, for example, Dr. Thorndike's considered opinion that 'Isidore contains less superstitious matter even

proportionally to his meagre content than Pliny does in connexion with the virtues of animals, plants and stones'. Isidore is not original in his errors, and his credulity has its very definite limits. Cautions such as 'if this is to be believed' are not infrequent in his book. Nevertheless, though not original, Isidore exercised an influence that was profound and that was maleficent to the development of scientific knowledge. He summed up so much of what was unworthy of the past; he wrote concisely and (for the age) attractively; he had an immense popularity. His work became a standard text-book down to the end of the twelfth century. His account of magic, for example, appears with few modifications in the writings of Rabanus Maurus, of Hincmar of Rheims, of Burchard of Worms, surprisingly in the *Decretum* of Gratian, and still more remarkably in the work of the great John of Salisbury. He is, moreover, typical of a whole age of medieval pseudo-scientific literature, and none of the early encyclopaedists in the West surpassed him. Even Bede in the sphere of natural science only shows a slight advance. No progress could be achieved when the chief efforts of the West were devoted to this barren collecting of ancient error.

The most prominent feature in this decline, resulting in a general decadence of science throughout the West, was the neglect of all that was best in the classical knowledge, and in particular of the great contributions which the Greeks had made to the subject. It would of course be possible to over-emphasize this neglect. For example, Cassiodorus could instruct his pupils at Squillace to 'read Hippocrates and Galen' (in Latin translation), and the name of Hippocrates is mentioned also by Alcuin in the ninth century and late in the tenth his *Aphorisms* were taught at Chartres. But these are exceptions to a general rule, and the revival of scientific thought in the West does not really begin until there is a general reintroduction of Greek ideas. The method of this resuscitation was itself peculiar. There was in the later centuries of this period a certain amount of direct translation. But the initial movement came from the Moslem world through Spain.

The beginnings of the revival of scientific knowledge in western Europe in the Middle Ages took on thus from the first a Hellenistic tinge. The new knowledge appears, so to speak, in a Moslem dress, but most of it is Greek. It is outside the more modest scope of this essay to attempt a distinction between what was derived from Greek thought and what came from the Moslem accretions and developments. Certainly the starting-point was that Greek world whose cultural capital might almost be said to be Alexandria rather than Athens, and whose presiding genius was Plotinus rather than Plato. This was the basis of the development, but even here the earlier phases are obscure. It is certain that the process owed very much to heretical movements in the Eastern Church. The Nestorians gave to the Moslem world much of Greek medicine, just as the Jacobites and Monophysites were the chief agents in the transmission of the Neoplatonic speculation. In general it may be said that Syriac-speaking Christian communities played a great part as the media by which Islam became acquainted with Greek science. Nor (as we shall see) did the development end there. There was much further expansion and considerable original speculation and experiment by the Saracenic thinkers. By the beginning of the twelfth century there was thus a considerable body of knowledge current in Islam of which the greater part was founded upon the Greek tradition, but which, nevertheless, had in some cases been developed and expanded (not always advantageously) by independent investigation.

By the time when the lure of Spain began to be felt in western Europe there had already accumulated in Islam a body of knowledge in which Latin Europe had as yet no share. The introduction of Arabic texts into western European scholarship, in short, divides the history of medieval science into two distinct epochs. Before it occurred the Western peoples had to be satisfied with compilations such as that of Isidore of Seville. Afterwards, though the earlier tradition is not broken, it is the great works of antiquity which gradually begin to come into circulation in the West. Greek science begins to exercise a direct influence and it entails wholesale readjustments of values. But

the first labour was inevitably one of translation. And we must first of all investigate this work before attempting to assess the results which it achieved.

At the beginning of the twelfth century the field of adventure for the scientific inquirer in western Europe lay in the Spanish peninsula. To say this is not to assert that all the books which these men were seeking to discover and to translate were written in Spain. Nor was Spain the only field for the inquiries of these scholars. Adelard of Bath, for example, worked perhaps more in Syria than in Spain. Again, the works which were chosen by these men for study were not selected upon a regular plan. They were investigators in an unknown field. With courage and with boldness they held on to what they had sought with eagerness and found with difficulty. They had no general knowledge of Arabic literature which might serve as a criterion for selection. They could not even choose those books which were held in the greatest esteem in the Moslem world. Averroes, for example, exercised a greater influence in Western Christendom than in Islam. But with these qualifications it may be said that Spain remained the chief place from which the new scientific learning was derived, and that in time the translators secured for the West most of the best that the new learning had to give.[1]

This work is characteristic of the twelfth century, and it is only during that century that the new influences become general in western Europe. But the beginnings of the new movement are probably to be found earlier. For example, it is at least possible that that remarkable man, Gerbert of Aurillac (later Sylvester II)—suspected long afterwards of sorcery by William of Malmesbury—was acquainted with Arabic astronomical and astrological work, and at all events there is a treatise of the late tenth century extant on the subject which has traces of Arabic influence. In the eleventh century, Western scholars had become acquainted at least with the Arabic technical

[1] Cf. Haskins, from whose works *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* and *Studies in the history of Medieval Science* this and several subsequent paragraphs are largely derived.

terms of the astrolabe and with their names for the stars. They knew something of Arabic astrology. Similarly, in the eleventh century 'Constantinus Africanus' (of Salerno and later of the monastery of Monte Cassino) was certainly directly and deeply interested in the acquisition and transmission of Arabic medical knowledge.

But it was in the twelfth century that these influences became potent. Among the pioneers one of the earliest and the most illustrious is Adelard of Bath. Wherever he gained his knowledge of Arabic science, he was certainly instrumental in transmitting a large amount of it to the West. He wrote of astronomy, astrology, geometry, mathematics, and chemistry, translating widely from Arabic versions of Greek scientific works. In the same tradition is Plato of Tivoli, who worked at Barcelona and was most important as a translator of Ptolemy and a teacher of Arabic mathematics. He is followed by Herman of Carinthia and Robert of Chester, whose interest included both mathematics and astronomy. Such men are the pioneer figures. But the centre of the work of translation and exposition became fixed about the middle of the twelfth century at Toledo, where Raymond, the bishop from 1125 to 1151, established a veritable college of translators whose most illustrious member was Gerard of Cremona. Gerard was responsible, for example, for translations of Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*, of Euclid's *Elements*, and of numerous medical works. 'More of Arabic science in general', remarked Professor Haskins, 'passed into western Europe at the hands of Gerard of Cremona than in any other way.'

But whilst it was through an Arabic medium and primarily through Spain that the transmission took place it must not be forgotten that the basis of the new knowledge was Greek, and that there were indeed many men who were translating directly from Greek. These operated mainly from Italy, which was the natural meeting-place of Greek and Latin culture. This movement began in the Norman Sicilian kingdom where, under a remarkable line of kings, Greek, Latin, and Arabic civilizations were allowed to exercise their influence. The three languages,

indeed, seem to have been current in this kingdom, and translation was throughout encouraged by the monarchy. Both Roger I and William I were interested in the work, and indeed the royal servants very frequently were themselves the foremost translators. Such a one, for example, was Aristippus, archdeacon of Catalonia, who translated into Latin the *Meno* and the *Phaedo* of Plato and part of Aristotle's *Meteorology*. Another was Eugene, 'the Emir', 'a man most learned in Greek and Arabic and not ignorant of Latin'. Another meeting-place of the West and East was Venice. James of Venice was the most notable worker of this school. Of him a contemporary remarked that 'James, a clerk of Venice, translated from Greek into Latin certain books of Aristotle and commented on them'. This statement has been confirmed and expanded from an independent source, and James of Venice may now, therefore, 'be singled out as the first scholar of the twelfth century who brought the new logic of Aristotle afresh to the attention of Latin Europe'.

Such a brief list of names does no justice to the work of these men. They were pioneers in a new field. They laboured under enormous difficulties. They travelled widely when travelling was dangerous and hazardous. They had no guidance in their studies. Their impetus was solely a love of learning which surmounted the most formidable obstacles. This must indeed explain the deficiencies in their work. They had no means of selection and they often, therefore, translated both the good and the bad indiscriminately. They worked in isolation and they were in consequence liable to perform the same tasks twice over. They were convinced that every word in the languages which they translated had its exact and uniform equivalent in Latin. This often prevented an illuminating rendering of the text and destroyed any pretensions to style on the part of the translator. But the achievement of these men was, nevertheless, immense. Whilst much was lost through neglect and much was preserved that might well have been lost, these men permitted a new flood of knowledge to enter into western Europe. From this time forward a new era began in scientific studies, which, if still

rudimentary and often superstitious and perverse, now began to progress on fresh lines. We may now, therefore, look at some of the features of this advance.

The first quarter in which these results may be sought is in a general modification in the West of some of those influences in western Europe which, as we have seen, were inimical to the formation of a scientific temper. It would be extremely difficult, so far as the period before 1250 is concerned, to be more precise than this, but an illustration may perhaps be taken from the domain of mathematics. Perhaps 'number' may be called the 'language of science', and the origin of a sense of number in mankind is a problem for the pre-historian. But to develop this sense into a mathematical faculty certain abstractions are necessary—'a resolute attempt to go the whole way in the direction of complete analysis so as to separate the elements of mere matter from the purely abstract audit which they exemplify'. The protagonist in this labour had been Pythagoras, and in the domain of mathematics the first great function of Arabic culture was to preserve the theories of Pythagoras. But the Arabic thinkers did more than this. Mathematics were further advanced in the Moslem world in the twelfth century than ever they had been in the Greek.

Speaking generally, this advance may be broadly summarized as having taken place in two directions. In the first place, the Moslem world gave to the West a new arithmetical notation. The figures which appear at the top of these pages are signs derived from Islam and not from the Roman numerals. The importance of this was, moreover, far greater than at first sight might have been conceived. It implied from the start a greater ease in the manipulation of numbers. Before the introduction of the new notation, for example, all multiplication was performed by a series of duplations, and what are to-day simple computations then often required the skill of a specialist. But the importance of the new system stretched farther still. The essential feature of the Arabic notation is the principle of the positional number. The symbol '1', for example, signified different quantities according to its position in the

series. But to operate the system it became clear that some new symbol must be devised to indicate, so to speak, an empty column in the series. This required an effort of abstract thought which was very far from automatic. It was the achievement of the Moslem world acting probably under Hindu influence. With the transformation of a symbol signifying originally merely an empty space in a series of numbers into a symbol signifying the abstract mathematical idea of zero, a new impetus was given to mathematics as a science of abstract speculation. The conception of zero, connected as it is with the system of positional numeration, is one of the chief contributions of Islamic science to the West.

And Arabic influence also contributed towards generalizing mathematical thought. The word algebra is an Arabic word signifying arrangement. How far the world of Islam was original in its algebra must be left to the specialist. But certainly algebra as a generalization of arithmetic capable of immense development came to western Europe from Arabic sources. Both these ideas—that of zero with its complementary system of positional numeration and that of an arithmetic generalized by algebraic symbols—were contained in the works of Al Khwârizmi, one of whose treatises under the title of *Algorithmi de numero Indorum* was translated into Latin as early as the first quarter of the twelfth century.

It would, however, be easy to over-emphasize the immediate influence of Arabian mathematics upon western Europe in the twelfth century. It has been noted that the general advance in mathematics from the time of Pythagoras was mechanical rather than fundamental. Nor was western Europe really ready to take full advantage of the new technique. This was, moreover, not wholly due to a popular lack of interest in exact thought or to intellectual decadence. The influence of Aristotle in the ancient world had been hostile to Pythagorean speculation. The same hostility prevailed in the Middle Ages. In the twelfth century Aristotle was coming into his own as the presiding genius in medieval philosophy. Mathematics was not to make real strides in the West until the seventeenth century,

when the Aristotelian influence was at its lowest. 'If only', exclaims a modern mathematician, 'the schoolmen had measured instead of classifying, how much they might have learnt.'

Mathematics is the least experimental of the pure sciences. Consequently, it was the least unsuited to the medieval mind. Distortion was much more noticeable when other branches of Moslem science were reintroduced into the West. The popular view of Moslem science in the twelfth century connected it mainly with astrology. And certainly the special study of the stars occupied much of Moslem thought. Here again, it is a Greek inheritance which Islam brings to Latin Europe. Ptolemy is the central figure, though the Moslem scientists by no means followed him blindly. They accepted from him, however, the fundamental defect in his work. They contended throughout that the stars have a definite influence on human action. Man is for them the microcosm which is intimately connected with the macrocosm of the universe. But whilst they accepted this doctrine the Moslem astrologers, nevertheless, made a notable contribution to the growth of astronomy. They observed widely and accurately and they applied to astrological problems the principles of spherical astronomy. 'There is little doubt that in the Hellenistic world of the first centuries of the Christian era astrology flourished to the detriment of astronomy, but in the Moslem world astrology was made an ally of astronomical science, particularly in respect of a patient and fruitful observation of the habits of the stars.' These men gave to western Europe the results which they had obtained. But western Europe was still unready to receive them. The whole trend of medieval thought was against any view which did not regard man as the centre of the universe and man's relation to his Maker as the primary problem for human thought. It was thus on the astrological side of Moslem astronomy that western Europe concentrated its attention. This attention, indeed, was sometimes carried to such extreme lengths that it was discouraged by the Church. But elaborate theories, nevertheless, were formed, though we have no space here to examine them. In this direction, for example, the doctrine of the four elements

and the theory of the nine spheres occupied much of the attention of western Europe. In truth, astrology from its very nature implies a geocentric conception of the universe. Until this was overthrown a real astronomy could not advance. But much had, nevertheless, been done. The Arab astronomers had imparted to their pupils in the West the trigonometry which they had founded. They had tested with remarkable results most of the observations of Ptolemy. They had supplied technical terms and technical devices. The astrolabe and the planisphere were both given to Europe by Islam, and the words 'degree', 'minute', 'equation' owe to-day their technical significance to an original literal translation from the Moslem treatises. In short, by the middle of the thirteenth century, western Europe had acquired from its Moslem teachers a mass of information concerning the stars which might serve at some future date as a starting-point for further progress.

The history of medical learning in the West between the fifth century and the middle of the thirteenth might also be used to illustrate the general tendency of science during these centuries. Once again we have to deal with a great inheritance from the Greek world which is almost completely lost, and once more with a partial recovery effected mainly through the agency of Islam. Indeed, before commenting upon the general decadence of this subject in western Europe in the early part of this epoch it is very necessary to remember that medical studies had reached a very high excellence in the ancient world. In the matter of the prognosis of disease and in its general aetiology it is probable that little has been added in modern times to what was taught by the Greek masters. The modern advance in medical knowledge has been mainly in the fields of symptomatology, diagnosis, and in particular pathological anatomy, and the Middle Ages contributed something towards this. The medieval achievement in regard to medicine was thus strictly limited, and for the most part it was confined to an incomplete resuscitation of knowledge that had been known and taught by the Greeks, cherished and enlarged by the Islamic doctors.

In respect of medicine, perhaps more noticeably than in any other department of knowledge, the Latin and particularly the medieval world seemed to preserve at first only what was of least value in the Greek teaching. It was Galen and not Hippocrates who presided over medieval medicine, and the teaching of Galen became distorted almost beyond recognition during the first centuries of our period. The metaphysical element in the theories of Galen laid the way open to abuse and to superstition, and many of the extreme forms of early Christian ascetical teaching had the strange effect of inculcating a mental atmosphere which despised and discouraged any attention that might be paid to the reparation and improvement of the 'miserable tenement of clay'. At the same time, the medieval fate of Aristotle's scientific work was something of a tragedy. His finely conceived biological conceptions seem to have been forgotten. His fallacious doctrine of the constitution of matter, on the other hand, was embraced and given a new turn by astrological theory, so that we hear very much throughout the Middle Ages of the four elements and their relation to the four humours and qualities of man. For these reasons rational medicine suffered an almost complete eclipse, and its place was taken by magical or at least irrational practices whose pagan origins were sometimes, even as late as the twelfth century, very imperfectly concealed. Indeed, this general decadence deserves to be highly emphasized, for whilst we shall see that before this period had closed a considerable advance in medical knowledge was started, nevertheless, the superstitious atmosphere of early medicine persists until the end. Indeed, the depths to which medieval medicine could sink might only be realized by abundant quotations from such collections as the tenth-century Anglo-Saxon leechdoms where magic charms and incantations play a predominant part.[1] Such things continue in all medieval

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[1] For, example 'in a prescription "for flying venom and every venomous swelling" butter is to be churned on a Friday from the milk of a "neat or hind all of one colour", and a litany, paternoster, and incantation of strange words are to be repeated nine times each.' 'Against a woman's chatter: taste at night fasting a root of radish; that day the chatter then cannot harm thee.' A rash is to be treated by means of the incantation: 'I adjure thee, spots, that you go away and be destroyed

medical treatises before 1250 and make their appearance even in the superior Salernitan writings of the twelfth century. There is a danger that, in observing the beginnings of revival, the essential darkness of medieval medical science may be forgotten.

The Greek medical inheritance was preserved for the West mainly by Moslem hands. It has been suggested that Islamic medicine was only a half-remembered version of the Greek teaching. This would, however, be an exaggeration, though here as elsewhere the basis and the most valuable portion of the legacy was Greek. Nevertheless, the Moslems also performed original work and made important contribution in the sphere of hygiene and dietetics. They developed pharmacology, though their work was here empirical; and by elaborate experiments on animals they vastly extended the range in which drugs such as opium could be usefully applied. There were great Moslem doctors who were to make their mark upon the West. Notable among these was 'Rhazes' who, for example, was the first man to isolate measles and to distinguish it adequately from small-pox. Avicenna, at the beginning of the eleventh century, comprised in a large work known as the *Canon* all the medical knowledge of his day, whilst 'Albucasis' wrote an elaborate treatise on surgery. These works were all translated into Latin. The *Canon* became the medical text-book of the later Middle Ages, and the revival of the then despised art of surgery may be dated from translations of 'Albucasis'.

The influence of Islamic medicine upon the West was, however, only gradual. And it is by no means easy to assess its scope. The first signs of a Western medical revival are to be seen in southern Italy, and in particular at Salerno, where a definite medical school in time grew up. This school may have been of very early origin, but it was already flourishing in the eleventh century. After the time of Constantine 'Africanus' the Moslem medicine here began to exercise a considerable influence. For the last two centuries of this period the doctors

from the eye of the servant of God.' Sometimes the primitive pagan origins of these charms are revealed when incantations begin with such phrases as 'O Lady Moon free me . . .'. The practice of binding round the affected part an amulet, with magical or mystic words written on it, is common.

of Salerno were producing a fairly extensive medical literature which marked the beginnings of a more enlightened treatment of the subject in western Europe. For example, in the eleventh century, one 'Gariopontus' developed some of the teaching of Galen. About 1100 another Salernitan doctor, Archimathoeus, wrote a treatise of a certain value on clinical medicine. Even the lady doctor was possibly known at Salerno,[1] and many members of the school specialized in gynaecology. But the most notable work produced at Salerno during this period was a didactic poem known by the various names of *Regimen Sanitatis*, *Flos Medicinae*, *Regimen Virile*, and *Schola Salernitana*. The importance of this text has possibly been exaggerated, but it does undoubtedly contain many elements of rational medicine. It was, moreover, extremely popular, and two hundred and forty editions of it were issued between 1474 and 1846. Up to the end of the twelfth century medical teaching centred at Salerno, and it was only later that Montpellier, following the same tradition, took the lead. It was also from Salerno that the West began to regain something of the medical knowledge which had been possessed by the Greeks, lost by the West, and only partially preserved in the Moslem world.

It cannot, however, be denied that the medical advance was very slight in the West before 1250. The prevailing habit of mind in the West and the material conditions under which men lived continued to be hostile to progress in this direction. Dissection was not practised and only developed later as a method of proof in legal actions. Hygiene was not understood, and the results were disastrous. However, the prevalence of leprosy[2] and plague was to lead in time to special methods of dealing with infection. The isolation of the leper and the later institution of the 'trentina' and the 'quarentina' mark the beginnings of a new movement. We may in fact say that 'it was reserved for the Middle Ages to conceive serious official measures

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[1] The famous 'Trotula' who passed into fable as 'Dame Trot' was, however, probably a man.

[2] Leprosy was terribly common throughout western Europe during this period. But it must be remembered that at a time when diagnosis depended upon external manifestations many other diseases were also grouped under the name of 'lepra'.

against the spread of epidemics. These measures were consciously derived from the leper ritual of the Bible with its fundamental concept of isolation.' And a similar advance was made in the development of the hospital. The hospital was a Roman institution, but the growth of a system was the work of the Middle Ages and in particular of the monastic orders. In the earlier centuries of this period there had been numerous *hospitalia* or guest-houses of pilgrims and, later, similar institutions under the same name were developed for the sick and infirm. The later hospital system was improved in very many ways, but it was, nevertheless, institutionally 'a direct outgrowth' of that of the Middle Ages. Whilst stressing, therefore, the unhygienic, superstitious, and magical character of most of medieval medicine it is necessary also to bear in mind the advances made during the period, which prepared the way for later progress in medical theory and practice.

Mathematics, astronomy, and medicine are branches of learning confined inevitably to the few. If we turn to the simpler forms of 'popular science' prevalent during this age we shall meet in a cruder form the characteristics of medieval science. Medieval literature abounds, for example, in popular works on minerals and on beasts; and in some ways the medieval *bestiary* may be regarded as the typical example of popular scientific work of the period. The bestiary was a unique production. It combined, it has been said, 'the characteristics of a natural history text-book with Aesop's fables'. It contained information supposed to be derived from nature; it included a mass of fable and moralization connected with that information; and in later days it was embellished by some of the best pictorial art that the age produced. The foundation of the medieval bestiary is to be found in a work of the late classical period known as the *Physiologus*, whose origin and authorship we do not propose to discuss. The original Greek text of this work (if it ever existed) is now lost, but there are extant early versions in Greek, Aramaic, Syriac, Ethiopian, Coptic, and Arabic. The explanation of the peculiar form of the medieval bestiary would seem to lie just in that anthropocentric

view of the universe which colours so much of medieval science. The nature of animals was held to be patient of an allegorical interpretation of ethical value to man, just as, for example, the 'deaf adder that stoppeth her ears' had been used in Hebraic literature. Similarly, just as the four elements had been connected with the four human qualities so also were the properties of stones and gems connected with those of the stars. The result was the production of treatises of great romantic and literary interest, but scientifically as fantastic as they were widely read.

The medieval bestiary and lapidary exercised their influence in many directions. The descriptions of nature in their simpler forms may have had some effect in increasing popular knowledge. The moralization of the description became so influential as to institute a popular lore on these matters. The fantastic results that were often obtained gave an opportunity to imaginative artists.[1] Many of the animals (such as the ant-lion, the result of the union of the ant and the lion) were quite unnatural, and the performances of real animals were often unbelievably strange. As an introduction to natural history these treatises were indeed of little value. The amount of observation contained therein is negligible. Even as regards domestic animals the bestiary is frequently inaccurate. Nevertheless, the existence and the popularity of these books testified at least to a naïve and rather charming interest in the subject. We may, indeed, assume that the men of the period read of the beasts with interest and wonder. They did not do so primarily for the allegories which the moralists might draw from them, nor for the use that artists might subsequently make of them. They read and they marvelled because of a child-like interest in the mysteries of the beasts themselves. No conception of the strange features of the medieval bestiary would be possible without an elaborate illustration which is here impossible. The part played by the unicorn in medieval literature and thought would alone serve

[1] The influence of the bestiaries on medieval art may, however, have been over-emphasized. 'We are of opinion', says Mâle, 'that the bestiaries of which we hear so much from the archaeologists had no real influence on art until their substance passed in Honorius of Autun's book *Speculum Ecclesiae*, 1090–1120.'

to illustrate the vast ramifications of this branch of literature.[1] But the popularity and influence of the medieval bestiary may at least be gauged by the legacy which it has left to modern popular speech. From it we get the conception of the swan's dying song and of the crocodile's tears. We talk of the nobility of the lion and of the cunning of the fox. And when we lapse into referring to some one who has been 'licked into shape' we are (perhaps unconsciously) enlarging upon the bestiary's account of the cubs of the bear, who are born without form and only subsequently fashioned into animal shape by the tongue of their mother.

The briefest survey of some of the characteristics of a few of the branches of medieval science serves at least to indicate its general character. These centuries are, for various reasons of which we have made note, a period of decadence, but largely owing to the beginning of a recovery of Greek science through Moslem translations in the twelfth century there are to be found signs of a revival at the close of this period. But the older tradition still remains at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Magic still exercises its influence. Michael Scot is as typical a medieval scientist as is Roger Bacon. Nevertheless, even in this department of human activity the age is not negligible. The Latin West in the twelfth century made a conscious effort to recover Hellenic and Oriental science and in so doing it placed posterity under a lasting debt. From that time onwards, in spite of difficulties, both mental and physical, we may trace in the West a continuous and an increasing curiosity as to the secrets of nature.

One department of scientific development in these centuries deserves a special notice—that of geography. It is true that the men of the earlier Middle Ages lived in a world that to our modern ideas seems to have been physically restricted. It is true also that, in the sphere of geographical knowledge, a contrast is strikingly to be drawn between the intellectual habits of the men of these centuries and our own. Whilst the contributions

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[1] No better introduction to this literature could be found than Mr. Odell Sheppard's learned and fascinating book *The Lore of the Unicorn*, where its astonishing transformations and influence are extensively illustrated.

of the ancients to geography had been very great, they had not greatly extended the known world; and the Romans themselves had been slow to absorb Greek geography. Particularly after the time of Diocletian there is a continuous decline of geographical knowledge to be observed. The twelfth century here as elsewhere was to achieve much; but for the earlier centuries of our era it is not unjust to say that 'Ptolemy and Strabo, Herodotus and Hipparchus passed almost wholly away from Christian memory.'

Yet if we have to start with a period of decadence in men's knowledge of the physical world, the geographical work that was done between the years A.D. 500 and 1250 was not without permanent value.[1] On the one hand, there was a continuous advance. On the other, though geographical studies were at a low ebb, they contained great possibilities and they formed the origins of a stream which grew and expanded without interruption until it contained the knowledge of a later day.

At the start it must be remembered that the men of this period laboured under special difficulties in this field of study. For all its smallness in comparison with the world as we now know it, the Roman Empire had been of vast size. It had also provided safe travel within its boundaries and a lavish interchange of ideas which militated continuously against local ignorance. With the breakdown of the imperial system local differences at once became accentuated and the outlook of the individual was in the West inevitably restricted. At the same time, the safety of travel passed away in the breakdown of any central coercive authority strong enough to maintain order. Then came the attack of Islam, and this exercised at first a terribly restricting effect. The Spanish Caliphate, the North African Islamic provinces, the Saracen domination of Palestine tended to encompass Christendom with a barrier through which it was extremely hard to break. Within that barrier, it is true, the mental atmosphere of the time was not (as we shall see) sympathetic to geographical curiosity. But practical conditions

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[1] The subject of medieval geography could not be better studied than in Sir Raymond Beazley's great work: *The Dawn of Modern Geography*.

also played their part in producing the phenomenon that geographical studies tended to be concentrated for some centuries in the Saracenic belt rather than in the Christian centre. It was only in the twelfth century that western Christendom really began to take advantage of what Islam had done in this direction and to add its own particular contribution.

The decline of interest in geographical study is not only to be attributed to physical causes. The prevailing mood of the West at the time tended to make men less interested in the physical world around them than in their place in eternity. The concentration upon theological learning made geographical studies of secondary importance, and these latter were sometimes called in primarily to serve as the basis of Biblical interpretation. These causes also contributed to a decline which, while it has often been exaggerated, was nevertheless real.

The characteristics of geographical study at the beginning of this period may be illustrated by the fact that the earliest important geographical works with which we have to deal were the result of pilgrim and missionary travel. Before ever our period started the Holy Land had become an object of pilgrimage. The famous visit to Palestine of the Empress Helena and the writings of St. Jerome were stimulating influences in this respect. And the *Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem*, written in the fourth century, is the earliest existing work of Christian travel. By the time of Justinian pilgrim travel was flourishing, and, in addition to this, the encouragement given by the Emperor to missionary enterprise gave a great impetus to exploration, which was maintained after his death. It should be remembered that, between the fourth century and the seventh, Christian missionaries, largely the members of heretical sects, penetrated very widely. They reached Nubia and Abyssinia. On the other side of the Red Sea they traversed the Yemen. They crossed Persia and reached India. They travelled northward into unknown Russia. The geographical results of such journeys were, it is true, out of all proportion small compared with their extent and their heroism. But such travel deserves an emphatic mention in any account of the growth of our knowledge of the world.

It cannot be denied that from the point of view of the extension of physical knowledge these pilgrim travels are something of a tragedy. These men could have told their contemporaries so much; they could have anticipated so many later discoveries. But they were for the most part not interested in these things. Generally speaking, they left no written records behind them, and those that have survived concentrate rather on what was the main object of their journeyings. We have stories of conversions, of miracles and the like. It is the fantastic and the bizarre coloured by imaginative fervour which interests them, and practical descriptions of countries, folks, and customs they leave aside. They therefore pass. A Christian community like that of Abyssinia is founded, but western Europe knows nothing of it save legend and exaggerated marvel. The world of Latin Europe remains restricted as before, except that in an imaginative *hinterland* there are found wonders so great that even by the men of that time they are hardly to be believed.

Such travel as marked the earlier centuries of this era was not wholly confined to the pilgrims and the missionaries, though these gave the example. There is also a certain amount of merchant travel of which the astonishing Cosmas Indicopleustes is the most notable example. The theories of Cosmas were so perversely grotesque that there is some danger that the achievement of the journeys which inspired them might be overlooked. It is somewhat remarkable to find a trader of the age of Justinian familiar with both shores of the Red Sea, voyaging to Abyssinia, visiting western India and probably Ceylon. The explorations of Cosmas, however, yielded small results. Nor was it wholly his own fault that this was so. This eastern imperial travel already so full of promise was soon to be stopped by the expansion of Islam, and from the eighth century onwards it is a remarkable fact that the most important permanent contributions to geographical knowledge are made by the West. 'It may be said, speaking broadly, that the only travels which need be attended to in those centuries which coincide with the first six hundred years of the Byzantine Empire, is Latin, is from the lands west of the Adriatic, from the Christendom which is conveniently called Roman.'

For these reasons it is not surprising that the last department of travel which we have to observe in the early centuries of this epoch is that occupied by missionaries in the still unknown parts of western Europe. The immense efflux of the Keltic Church produced very extensive voyaging. Sometimes this extended to the East, and the Irish traveller, Fidelis (*circa* 750), has, for example, left us a description of the Pyramids which is of considerable interest. Sometimes it penetrated to the far northward, and there is strong evidence to suggest a small Irish settlement of Iceland during this period. Irish and Frankish missionaries penetrated into the undiscovered parts of central Germany. And these journeys were in time to link up with those of the Byzantine missionaries who, in the eleventh century, were to be responsible for the conversion of western Russia.

The scope of some of this exploring travel was at times very extensive; the heroism which accompanied it was of the highest order. But the geographical theory which resulted therefrom between the age of Justinian and the tenth century was rudimentary in the extreme. Here possibly more than in any other direction the prevailing theological temper of the West was responsible for a real decadence. The decline of classical geography which had marked the late Roman Empire was continued and intensified, and it is the least valuable writers of the classical period that seem to be taken as the authoritative guides for the future. It is Solinus and not Ptolemy who seems to control the geographical theory of this age. Partly this was due, as we have seen, to a lack of interest in the subject, partly (it might almost be suspected) to a real perversity. The *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes might, indeed, be taken as an example of this temper. It represents a fatal attempt on the part of an ingenious perversity to fit the universe into a narrow and circumscribed religious fanaticism. In the interests of generalizations which he wrongly considered to be essential to religious orthodoxy, Cosmas violently denied all the discoveries made by his predecessors. He had almost a genius for asserting indefensible propositions. The sun, he irritably contends, must be much smaller than the earth and they are fools who think

otherwise. Equally foolish are those who persist in contending that the earth is a sphere. The universe, of course, 'was a flat parallelogram, its length exactly double its breadth. In the centre of the universe lay our world surrounded by the ocean. Beyond the ocean was another earth where men lived before the flood. To the north of our world was a great hill round which sun and moon revolved, causing day and night.' The whole conception was then developed with an elaboration of detail, supported by texts taken haphazard from Scripture, and sustained with an enthusiastic self-righteousness.

The work of Cosmas is in a sense a literary curiosity, but it deserves attention in that it exemplifies a spirit which was to no small degree responsible for the decline in men's knowledge of the physical world during these centuries. The preoccupation of Cosmas, for example, with such subjects as the exact centre of the world (which he ascribed to Jerusalem) and with the exact physical position of the earthly Paradise, was shared by many of his contemporaries and successors. But it would be easy to misconceive his place in history. He was *not* the 'chief authority' of the Middle Ages in geography, and alongside of him we may place men whose knowledge, though rudimentary, was by no means so confident and so led to considerable advance. The work, for example, of the seventh-century 'Geographer of Ravenna', though almost entirely statistical, contained much useful matter. In the ninth century, again, the Irish geographer Dicuil wrote extensively and to good purpose. Whilst his *Book of Measurements* contains many of the prevalent errors of the time, it is frequently marked by a notably critical spirit. Dicuil was a great traveller himself and throughout he sets a high value on first-hand experience, both his own and that of other explorers with whom he came into contact.

As an example of contemporary notions of the physical world during this period, we may take the fate of the theory of a spherical earth. That the world was a sphere was known to the Greeks, though not unanimously held by the Hellenic world. The Romans carried on a knowledge which was, however, apparently only dimly conceived. Ptolemy made the centre

of the universe the earth, but it was a globular earth and it is to a globular earth that, for example, Strabo, Ovid, and Pliny the Elder refer. This view was, nevertheless, by no means universally accepted, and Cosmas, in asserting the spherical world to be not only scientifically incorrect but morally indefensible, could cite, with justice, in his support as great an authority as Lactantius, whilst Augustine had been carefully sceptical on the subject. On the other hand, the older and correct view was not allowed to die. The earth as a sphere appears definitely in the work of Cassiodorus, and it was clearly, though somewhat surprisingly, sustained by St. Isidore. Finally, with his usual instinct for truth, Bede emphatically adhered to the correct theory. In the ninth century the same view was held by Rabanus Maurus. The whole question of the sphericity of the earth was during these centuries complicated by a theological controversy (whose implications are still a matter of dispute) concerning antipodean men. But it may be noted that throughout the 'Dark Ages' there were always some men who thought of the earth as a sphere.

The tenth century marks the end of the first period in geographical study during our epoch. We have now to watch the beginnings of a renaissance which immensely extended the physical world and prepared the way for a revolution in geographical theory. Many reasons serve to account for this, but the first and in many ways the most important of the agents which prepared the change was, strangely, those Scandinavian peoples who had launched the 'third attack' upon Europe. The voyaging instinct of these peoples, especially after contact with civilization, could be turned into channels which led to the most important discoveries. It must be remembered that the ring of Islam still surrounded southern and eastern Europe. The new thrust outwards of Europe, therefore, came fairly naturally to the north and west.

The vigorous expansion of the Scandinavian peoples rapidly involved, as we know, the whole of north-western Europe, and after the preliminary raiding we have concentrated Scandinavian settlements established in Normandy, in eastern England,

in western Scotland and in Ireland. But parallel to this movement another expansion was taking place in the East. In the latter half of the ninth century Swedish rovers established a kingdom in west Russia whose centre was Novgorod (Holmgarðr) and another farther to the south whose capital was Kiev (Kernigarðr). In this way the Scandinavian thrust penetrated in time right through from the Baltic to the Mediterranean itself. It was a party of such Swedish travellers who carved the runic inscription upon the lion at Athens.

The most notable figure in this department of Scandinavian expansion is Harold Hardrada, whose career illustrates very well the manner in which the boundaries of the medieval world were becoming better known. Harold Hardrada came down the Russian route southward, entered the service of the Empress Zoe, and fought for the Eastern Empire in the Black Sea and Greek archipelago. He was always, however, difficult to control, and we soon find him on his own account conducting raids along the coast of North Africa. Later still he and his followers are in Palestine. 'Then came he to the land of Jerusalem and all towns and castles, aye, and all the country came unburnt and unwasted into the power of Harold. And he went to Jordan and bathed him there as is the way of pilgrims and bestowed a great wealth on the Grave of the Lord and on the Holy Cross and on the other relics of the land of Jerusalem. Moreover, he made safe the way to Jordan and slew folk who plundered and wasted there.' Harold Hardrada belongs to the transitional period of Scandinavian history. The barbarian raider is still strong in him. But in him, too, we can see the beginning of the transformation which shall enlist this genius for travel into the service of Christendom, and his voyagings illustrate an epoch in the development in the medieval knowledge of the world.

A still more notable exploration was being conducted in the north-east. As early as the ninth century there took place a remarkable voyage by one Ottar (Othere), who most fortunately told his adventures to King Alfred of Wessex so that that king was able to record them. This remarkable man

may be regarded as the first true Arctic explorer since Pytheas. He started from the mouth of the Dvina, sailed round the North Cape, right along the Lapland coast and entered into the White Sea itself. Ottar was a trader, but he professedly made his intrepid voyage primarily from a desire for knowledge. He is thus in every sense a pioneer. And he had numerous followers; until at last, in the twelfth century, Scandinavian explorers reached Spitzbergen itself and thereby added a whole new region to the medieval world.

But it is in the north-west that the Scandinavian exploration was the most remarkable and the most valuable. About 860, Garðarr Svavarsson, blown out of his course on a voyage from Denmark, discovered Iceland; and in 874 a Scandinavian settlement began in the island. This proceeded apace, and by the end of the tenth century it has been calculated that there were about 50,000 Norse settlers in Iceland. Moreover, this Icelandic society was to prove the most vigorous section of the Norse world for many generations. More than half the literary production of the Norse peoples in the Middle Ages came from Iceland, and its peoples were conspicuous for the explorations and voyages which they undertook. The Spitzbergen expedition (itself, under the circumstances, one of the most astonishing voyages of history) came from Iceland. And there is considerable food for thought in the fact that 'when King Sigurð of Norway made his crusade to the Holy Land, Icelanders went with him and made Norse verses on the banks of the Jordan'.

The most notable immediate success of the travellers from Iceland was the discovery and settlement of Greenland. This was begun by Eric the Red in the closing years of the tenth century, and was continued during the next fifty years. The Greenland colonies were small—they probably never numbered more than five thousand people—and they were divided. The 'Eastern Settlement' was in the extreme south and west of Cape Farewell. The 'Western Settlement' was farther to the north on the west coast. It is probable that further explorations northwards were made. But these Greenland settlements were

not only small; they were also very precarious. They depended too much on direct support from Iceland and Norway, and such support was not always available at so great a distance. Conditions of life in Greenland were very hard, and the lack of cereals caused scurvy to be a terrible menace. Nevertheless, the Greenland colonies lasted till the fourteenth century and produced their own literature, and their own explorations.

These vigorous colonies in Iceland and Greenland formed the basis for further discoveries. The character of Icelandic society was favourable to adventure and the circumscribed nature of the island ensured that such adventure should take the form of sea voyages. These voyages, however, are none the less astonishing. The average Viking ship was not large. A few of them had a small cabin at either end but most had no decks and no shelter. A prolonged journey in northern seas must have been attended by every sort of hardship. Yet Norse navigation was in advance of anything else at the time, for these voyagers were the first men to sail consistently through the open sea. The seafaring of the ancient world had been almost exclusively coasting. When Leif, the son of Eric the Red, therefore, 'sailed from Greenland across the Atlantic to Scotland on his way to Norway, he was making the first trans-oceanic voyage known to history'.

It was from Greenland that took place the most notable medieval voyages of exploration—voyages whose collective achievement may be summed up in the title, The Norse Discovery of America. The accounts of these voyages are only preserved in Sagas of several centuries later date; they have been subjected to the most searching criticisms, and have been the object of the most violent controversy.[1] From an early date, it is true, we hear mention of a land called 'Wineland the Good'; and the untrustworthy Adam of Bremen in the eleventh century recorded a most interesting interview which he had with King

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[1] This is not the place to enter into such controversies, and the curious reader may be referred to Nansen, *In Northern Mists*, vol. i, pp. 312–83, vol. ii, pp. 1–66; and to Gaythorne Hardy, *The Norse Discoveries of America*. Most of the modern theories are summarized and discussed in Professor Gordon's *Introduction to Old Norse*, to which book this account of the Norse voyages is primarily indebted.

THE SCANDINAVIAN EXPANSION

THE SCANDINAVIAN EXPANSION

Approximate area of Scandinavian settlement or rule
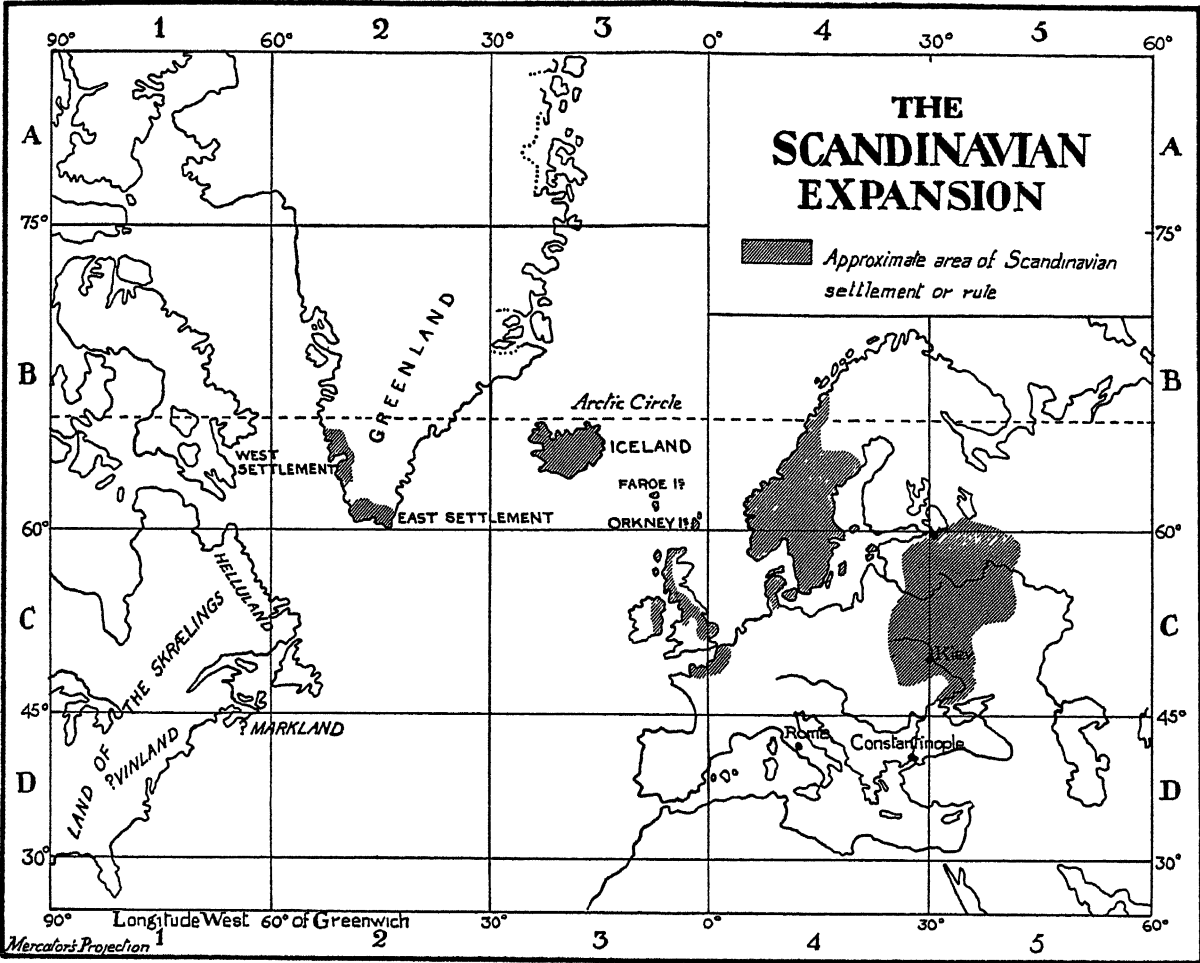
Swein Estriðson: 'He told me of another island, too, discovered by many in that ocean. It is called "Wineland" from the fact that vines grow there naturally, producing the best wine. Moreover, that corn abounds there without sowing we have ascertained not from fabulous conjecture, but from the reliable report of the Danes.' But the main account of these Western voyages is contained in two documents, the first the *Hauksbok* (*circa* 1310) containing the *Saga of Thorfinn*; the other the *Flateyjarbok* (*circa* 1375) containing the *Saga of Eric the Red*. These, moreover, are not in harmony with each other and, whilst opinion is still divided, informed criticism is coming to rely more upon the *Flateyjarbok* in spite of its later date.

From these two sources we get the account of three or possibly four voyages. The first of these is the voyage of Bjarni, the son of Herolf. Bjarni started to sail from Iceland to Greenland, but was deflected from his course, and after several days' sailing arrived at another land which he considered to be different from Greenland in appearance. He did not land, however, but sailed northward and came yet again upon land which was once more different from Greenland. Again he did not land in spite of the protests of his men, but putting out to sea after three more days' sailing reached Greenland in safety. The second of the voyages is that of Leif, the son of Eric the Red. Leif started westward from Greenland and came upon land which he called Helluland (Slab Land) and which was probably Labrador. He landed; and later sailed on southward and touched land which he called Markland (Woodland). Again he landed and later put out to sea, and sailing before a north-east wind found land which the Saga calls 'Wineland the Good', on account of the fact that there grew wild both vines and wheat. The party had many astonishing adventures, which are narrated with a wealth of picturesque detail, and finally returned safely to Greenland. The third of these voyages was made by Leif's brother Thorvald, who revisited 'Wineland the Good' and discovered traces of his brother's expedition, but coming into conflict with the natives (Skraelings) was killed. The survivors among his followers spent a summer in the country

and then returned to Greenland. Finally, we have an account of a fourth voyage undertaken by Thorfinn Karlsefni.[1] Once again 'Wineland the Good' is reached. Again we have the tales of the wild vines and the extreme fertility of the country, and there are highly coloured stories of amazing adventures. Once again also there were fights with the natives. Finally, there were dissensions among the settlers themselves so that the expedition abandoned the settlement and returned to Greenland.

No proper criticism of these accounts could be undertaken without a meticulous examination of the detailed events described therein. We may, however, note certain general points. The Sagas, as we have seen, come from a date long after the events they purport to describe, and they *are* Sagas, and do not claim to be strictly accurate historical works. Moreover, the two Sagas are often at variance with each other. Certainly, too, they contain (it is part of their charm) highly picturesque accounts of happenings which in some cases are undoubtedly fictitious. The Skraelings, for example, are so vaguely described that they can hardly be related with certainty to any race, and they do contain points of similarity with the Brownies or Troll-folk of Scandinavian mythology. More significantly still, the idea of 'Wineland the Good' has itself a long history. Even among the Greeks we have myths of fortunate islands in the western Ocean, and the two features of the wine and the wheat are prominent in them. Isidore reproduces these with variations, and Irish legend before the eleventh century was current of happy islands in the West, fruitful in wild vines. When Adam of Bremen, therefore, linked up 'Wineland the Good' with Norse discovery he may not have been adding anything really new to an earlier tradition. Finally, the zeal of many commentators of last century who, with an uncritical enthusiasm, tried to substantiate the details of the Sagas, unintentionally brought them into disrepute. It may be bluntly said that the most zealous efforts to bring the detailed physical

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[1] One account does not distinguish between the voyages of Thorvald and Thorfinn Karlsefni, but treats them together in a single story.

features of the American coast-line into relation with the particular events of the Sagas have completely failed.

But when all this has been said it still seems certain that whilst many of the details of the Sagas are open to criticism they are, nevertheless, correct in respect of the central fact. They must not be held to prove too much. But there seems to be no doubt that 'the Greenlanders reached America; no one who is acquainted with the value of Norse tradition can doubt it'. It may be regarded as uncertain whether the land which Bjarni saw was really America; but Leif certainly can claim the credit for being the first to land on the American continent. It seems probable also that the Greenlanders for some time frequently sailed to Newfoundland for the timber of which they were always sorely in need. With such general conclusions even the most sceptical of modern writers, Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, would not be in disagreement. Whilst he remarks that 'the tales of the wine and everything connected with it are later inventions', he adds 'there can be no doubt about the Norsemen having discovered a part of North America'. That being so, the failure of Thorfinn and his followers to establish a settlement must be regarded as a most important historical fact. It meant that the discoveries of the eleventh century were not to be used until the fifteenth. There are, it is true, traditions of later voyages. Erik, bishop of Greenland, is supposed to have sailed for 'Wineland' in 1121. There is another voyage, doubtfully described as having taken place in 1341, and a reference to yet a third voyage is, it is suggested, to be found in a runic description found on the island of Kingiktorsoak. But the verdict on all these later voyages must at present be 'Not proven'. And the knowledge of the western world so hardly gained by the Norse explorers of the eleventh century was not utilized until Columbus, trying to find a new way to the Indies, discovered a new continent lying across his path.

The expansion of the Scandinavian peoples and the revolution which they effected had an immense effect in transforming the medieval knowledge of the world. New routes became known and used. From Labrador to Spitzbergen, from

Greenland to Palestine these men travelled, and the physical world became, in consequence, inevitably more intelligible for Europe. But the Saracenic belt remained virtually untouched by this endeavour. The next developments which we have to watch, therefore, took place in two directions. On the one hand, through the Crusades western Europe attempted to break through the belt. On the other hand, in so doing, western Europe began to acquire for itself some of the geographical knowledge which Islam had accumulated when it held the position of advantage.

In both these respects, however, the results were at first somewhat disappointing. The Crusades produced no sudden revolution in geographical science, and western Europe was very slow to take to itself the accumulated geographical knowledge of the Saracen world. But in many directions during the last two centuries of this period we can see signs of a coming change. The Crusades, as was inevitable, gave an impulse to foreign travel, and the return of numbers of men who had taken the long journey, of itself, tended to widen the horizon of the average man in the West. Pilgrims normally accompanied the Crusading hosts, and later were sometimes, like Daniel of Kiev, entertained as honoured guests by the governors of the Latin kingdoms in Syria. As an example of this type of travel at an early date, we may cite the exploits of an Englishman, Sæwulf of Worcester, who in the early years of the twelfth century made extensive journeys to the East, and left a record of his adventures. He took the sea route wherever possible, and sailed from south Italy to Greece, visited many of the islands in the archipelago, and finally travelled extensively in Syria. Sæwulf's account was marred by credulity, and many of the prevalent fallacies are allowed to distort his first-hand experience, but his work is interesting in that it illustrates a new form of travel and is marked throughout by a lively curiosity. He is typical of the pilgrim traveller of the new age; and his journeys form part of a series of personal voyages of which, in many respects, the most notable was that of the Jew, Benjamin of Tudela, who travelled in the second half of the twelfth century, visited Egypt and Syria, and penetrated as far east as Bagdad.

More significant than this development of individual travel
was the growth of a far flung commercial activity during this
period. The Crusades involved journeys of great magnitude
and peril. The land route to Syria used in the First Crusade was
inconvenient and terribly hazardous. The later Crusaders
made their journey by sea, and the transport of the Crusading
hosts stimulated the trading activities of the Italian seaports.
The leaders in this movement were Amalfi and Venice, though
the former speedily declined. The rivals, Pisa and Genoa, then
came to the front, and though they never achieved the greatness
of Venice, it is these three cities that have primarily to be
considered in estimating the commercial contributions to
geographical knowledge during the Crusading epoch. The rise
to political importance of Venice[1] has its counterpart in an
immense commercial activity which was the ultimate cause of the
intense rivalry between the republic and the eastern Empire.
The renewed prohibition of trade with the Saracens by the
Lateran Council of 1179 gave some advantage to Constantinople,
but the trading balance shifted after the disastrous events of
1204; and though the abandonment by Venice of the Crusading
cause undoubtedly hampered the Syrian trade, the connexion
between the republic and the Moslem world continued through-
out this period and produced some remarkable mercantile
travel. Genoa, too, sent merchants throughout the East and,
by conducting a vigorous trade both with Egypt and with
the West, the Genoese activity during this epoch helped to
bind the known world together into a closer unity. Finally,
though declining, Pisa maintained an extensive and constant
mercantile contact with the Saracen East.

As a result of this, the Latin states of the East came to con-
stitute an outpost of western trade through which merchants
penetrated to the frontier stations of the Moslem world—to
Damascus and Aleppo and occasionally even to Bagdad and
Basra. Certainly, in this way, Latin Europe acquired a closer
acquaintance with the East, but here it is very necessary
to avoid exaggeration. It is doubtful, for example, whether

[1] See above, pp. 183, 184.

the Venetian merchants ever regularly penetrated beyond the frontiers of the Latin states before the great discoveries of the latter half of the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, the knowledge of the existence of vast territories from which rich merchandise was brought was of considerable educational value, and men also began to learn that the Far Eastern world could be reached not only by the overland route and by the Persian Gulf, but by the more convenient (and modern) route of Egypt and the Red Sea.

It was, indeed, rather by the practical influence of Moslem trading than by the theoretical teaching of Moslem science that the geographical knowledge of the West benefited during this period. The Crusades, it is true, in time brought about a closer contact between the two civilizations, but their results in this sphere were slow in making their appearance. To the twelfth century belongs, for example, the work of Edrisi, whose breadth of view and clear scientific reasoning place him far above any contemporary geographer in western Europe. Since he was in touch with many of them, it is remarkable that he exercised so little influence upon them. For the twelfth century the most that can be said concerning the West is that in men like Adelard of Bath and Plato of Tivoli we find appearing a type of mind which is ready, and indeed eager, to profit in this direction by the teaching of Moslem science, and that in time men such as these will extend their studies to the sphere of geography and knowledge of the physical world.

The twelfth-century renaissance was indeed probably weaker in this respect than in any other, and the next great era of geographical discovery came after our period had closed. It is then, and not till then, that the great journeys of the Polos introduce a new epoch, that the magnetic compass comes into general use, that in the *portolani* (travellers' maps) we have a great advance in medieval cartography. It is between 1260 and 1420· that was surely prepared the revolution whose central figure was Henry the Navigator. The twelfth century, so remarkable in other respects, here seems somewhat to lose its

opportunities. In spite of the efforts of men like Adam of Bremen, the results of the magnificent explorations of the Scandinavian peoples never seem really to penetrate into the common consciousness of Latin Europe, and although there are many individual achievements, the knowledge of the physical world possessed by the twelfth century shows surprisingly little advance from that of the eleventh.

Yet we must not altogether deny to this century some credit for the rapid changes which were to follow its close. The mental climate of the twelfth century was itself an incentive to fresh discovery. The first-hand topographical descriptions which are to be found in the works of Giraldus Cambrensis are, for instance, indicative of a temper which was in time to produce great results. And if the world of the twelfth century was still very restricted, we must also add that within its limits men were beginning to know it better. This world indeed was falling into fairly clearly marked zones. There was the West itself—all Europe west of the Elbe and Hungary—and men were beginning to be generally well acquainted with this, its conditions and its varying features. A first-hand and a detailed knowledge was also extending to the land routes to Constantinople and to Syria. The Scandinavians had taught Europe of Iceland and of the Baltic coasts. Secondly, beyond these boundaries, the men of western Europe pictured a *hinterland* of which they had information from legends, often fantastic, and from travellers' tales which were seldom trustworthy. Knowledge varied from individual to individual; but men at least had some ideas of western Asia as far as India, of north Africa, of south Egypt and even of Greenland. Finally (and it is an important point), before the twelfth century had closed, men in general no longer placed boundaries to this world. They were fast beginning to be conscious of lands even beyond the countries of which they had but vague knowledge. These new territories were as yet entirely beyond their ken. But they were already coming to be regarded as a proper sphere in which new discoveries may be made whereby the field of vision of western Europe may be much extended.

IV

The development of medieval scholarship, the slow approximation to an advance in scientific thought, which are characteristic of this period, had also their effects upon education. The organization of education in the West during these centuries is an obscure subject, but its salient features deserve emphasis. Education, like scholarship, reflects the political history of the age. We begin with a fairly flourishing classical system. This was nearly destroyed, but it survived, and its tradition was maintained in the centuries which follow. But it was now the Church which undertook the business of education. Here, too, as in the political history of the period, the crisis of 850–950 was more serious than that of the fifth century, but we shall find the monasteries ensuring that education proceeds. Finally, the twelfth century was once more remarkable. It produced what was perhaps the most notable educational experiment which western Europe has ever seen. In the closing years of the twelfth century there arose the great universities.

The starting-point in the development in medieval schools was the rhetoric schools of the Roman Empire. They taught a well-defined scheme of study of which the men of the Middle Ages were, to make full use. They were partially supported by the State, and they were open to all who could pay the fees. At the beginning of the fifth century these schools may be said to have been flourishing. The shock of the invasions was, however, fatal to most of them. In Britain they disappeared, leaving but a faint tradition behind them which the monasteries of the Keltic Church developed. In Gaul they slowly declined, and may be said to have been virtually extinct by the end of the sixth century. It must have seemed at this time that the whole educational system of the ancient world was to perish. Gregory of Tours, indeed, loudly voiced this fear. But fortunately for western Europe it proved possible to maintain the continuity in Italy. This achievement was partially due to the enlightened policy of Theodoric and to the men who surrounded him. The influence of Cassiodorus was

particularly potent in this respect. Even the Lombard invasions were unable to disturb this continuous development. Between 500 and 800, in consequence, Italy supplied the rest of the West with teachers of grammar. Moreover, the educational system which was maintained in Italy took on a more secular character than that elsewhere. As Miss Deansley has pointed out, this must be taken into account in explaining the fact that whilst Italy later 'took the lead in the secular studies of law and medicine', Paris was to be the mistress of theology.

But whilst this continuity was maintained in Italy, the typical medieval school in western Europe was of a different type. It was the bishop's school. Its centre was the *familia* of the bishop. It nucleus was the bishop, surrounded by his lectors, who, after the seventh century, are placed under the control of a definite official styled the *magister scholarum*, but sometimes, as in Paris, the chancellor. A whole series of ordinances refer to these schools in which clerks were trained, the earliest being one promulgated by the council of Voisin in 529; and by the end of the eighth century these schools may be regarded as a normal feature of the ecclesiastical organization of western Europe. With Charlemagne a great additional impetus was given to education. 'Educational activities which had been partial and sporadic before Charlemagne became normal and compulsory through the renaissance he inspired.' And, indeed, an important palace school was established by him. At this school a large number of future bishops and abbots were trained, and even some of the young lay nobles received instruction therein. The ability and the fame of the teachers attracted great attention to this palace school, but it was an exceptional production. The ordinary bishop's school continued to be the main medium of instruction during the reign of Charlemagne as it had been during the previous period.

The crisis entailed in the decline of Charles's Empire, in the Viking raids and in the ensuing civil wars, was nearly fatal to medieval education. And there is plenty of evidence to show the difficulties which the great ecclesiastics had to face in their effort to maintain the system at all. In this crisis much

was done by the monasteries. Education had not been a prominent feature of early Benedictinism, and before the ninth century monastic schools were usually concerned only with the training of children who were in due course to become monks. But later, the monasteries extended their instruction to others, though never in the same way as was done by the episcopal schools. It was really by supplying learned teachers rather than well-equipped pupils that the monasteries served education during this period. Between 800 and 1100 these monastic schools produced the greatest scholars in western Europe, but it is the episcopal schools which still take the lead in education. Afterwards, the episcopal schools began to take the lead in scholarship also. We have such flourishing schools as those of Chartres and Paris until, at last, the rise of the Universities puts both these types of school into the shade.

It should be noted that these schools supplied an education which, with few exceptions, was confined wholly to clerics or to those who would later be clerics. There was no organized educational system for the laity and, though a few of the children of the nobility occasionally received individual instruction from priests or monks, the bulk of the lay population of western Europe during these centuries was illiterate. Nevertheless, it would be easy to underrate the education which these schools supplied. They performed an immense service in keeping alive a tradition which might easily have been utterly lost. And they were unique in the performance of this service to civilization. For the medieval parish grammar schools which were afterwards to become famous really belong to a later period than that with which this essay deals, though a few of them had an early origin.[1] In the episcopal and monastic schools an education was supplied which, rudimentary though it might be, nevertheless represented the main elements in the tradition which guided medieval history. Its practical aim was to enable the priest or monk to read and comment upon the Church services and the Scriptures. And this education was also Latin in its essence. Its whole organiza-

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[1] As early as the *Decretals* of Gregory IX, however, the parish priest is instructed to have a clerk who shall keep school.

tion was based upon the curriculum that had been current in the last century of the Empire. It is true that at first the anti-secular trend in some official Christian teaching proved here, as elsewhere, for a time hostile to profane letters. But as Latin triumphed in scholarship, so did Rome also have its victory in education, and the basis of instruction in the early medieval schools was just those 'Seven Liberal Arts' which had formed the subject-matter of education in the Rhetoric Schools of the Roman Empire. Boethius retains the old classification. Isidore of Seville commends it. It is never allowed to die.

The 'Seven Liberal Arts' were divided into two sections: the *Trivium*, consisting of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic; and the *Quadrivium*, comprising arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. This archaic phraseology might well obscure the real value of such a course. It conceals a concentration upon those subjects which many might still hold to be the essentials of education—a familiarity with language, with form, and with number. Rabanus Maurus, in the ninth century, for example, spoke of grammar as 'the knowledge which interprets poets and historians'. Rhetoric might be widely defined as the art which governs literary expression. Dialectic was, after all, the basis upon which the whole medieval philosophical system was to be built up. This educational method might, indeed, at times be carried to a very high degree of perfection, as we have seen at Chartres; and whilst the universities must be regarded as the climax of the medieval educational achievement, the university learning was originally based upon the system which preceded it, and its further development was, in some cases, fatal to an educational progress which had already been made.[1]

The great renaissance of the twelfth century was to revolutionize medieval education. A medieval writer once remarked

[1] We have seen how in the thirteenth century theological studies began to dwarf the humanism of the twelfth. This may not be unrelated to the decline of the episcopal schools of northern France before the rising University of Paris. As Mr. Adamson has pointed out, 'the teaching at Chartres followed, in main, the model of rhetorical instruction which Quintilian had described in the first century; had it prevailed generally, the revival of classical learning might have been advanced by two or three centuries. But Paris and its teachers of dialectic and theology overshadowed Chartres and made these the staple higher studies.'

that the university was one of the three powers which ruled Christendom, the other two being the *Sacerdotium* and the *Imperium*. A modern historian has observed that 'the greatest medieval achievement was the medieval University'. Both these statements are exaggerations, but they do forcibly call attention to a development which was as important as it was extraordinary. The university was a typical product of medieval civilization. And it is well to know at once what the men of the time meant by the term. The medieval university was known by the name of *studium generale*, and the right to the title depended upon the fulfilment of certain definite conditions, which were sanctioned by custom, if not by authority. The first was that students should come to the school from all parts, irrespective of race; the second was that at least one of the higher faculties—theology, law, or medicine—should be taught there; the third was that these subjects should be taught in the main by masters in the university; and the fourth was that the mastership of the university should have a general validity. At first, the sanction of these qualities came by general recognition. It was not until the end of the thirteenth century that the right to create a *studium generale* was held to be vested in the Pope and the Emperor. The term *universitas* had, at first, quite a different meaning. It designated not the university itself, but a guild of masters or students within the *studium*. As time went on, one or other of these guilds in nearly every case became powerful enough to control the *studium* itself.

By the end of the twelfth century there were but three places which were generally recognized throughout western Europe as *Studia Generalia*. These were Salerno, with its school of medicine, Bologna, with its school of law, and Paris, notable above all else for its philosophy and theology. Salerno faded out of importance fairly early. Bologna was responsible for the great revival which brought Roman law into use in western Europe. But it was Paris that by rapidly growing in importance gave the intellectual leadership of Europe permanently to France for the remainder of the Middle Ages. Bologna and Paris are really the origin of all other universities, many of which in the

Middle Ages were formed by secessions therefrom, and all of which were organized on the model either of the one or of the other.

The prevalent fallacy that elaboration of organization or perfection of equipment can, of itself, produce scholarship or education can be well exposed by reference to the development of the medieval university. It was the study of medicine which created the University of Salerno in the eleventh century, just as the revival of law in the twelfth, associated with Irnerius, produced in time the University of Bologna. The philosophic ferment which was connected with the career of Abélard preceded the growth of the University of Paris. We know very little, for example, of the institutional origins of the University of Salerno, but it was certainly very closely connected with the prosecution of Salernitan medicine, and for the greater part of its history it remained a *Studium* of medicine only. We may say definitely that about 1100, something like an organized School or College of Doctors existed at Salerno. But this never developed a clear-cut organization which was capable of inspiring imitations elsewhere; and whilst it may be regarded as foreshadowing the later medieval university, Salerno remained 'a completely isolated factor in the academic polity of the Middle Ages'.

Very different was the case of Bologna, which was to serve as one of the two sources from which the whole academic growth of the Middle Ages took place. Throughout the twelfth century, Bologna had been the centre of that legal revival which we have had occasion to note, and the presence in the city of large numbers of eminent jurists attracted to Bologna a mass of legal students. As early as 1158 a charter of Frederick I suggests that already a society of law doctors existed in the town. But before the end of the twelfth century the starting-point of the institutional growth of Bologna University may clearly be seen in the guilds of foreign students which tended in time to coalesce under the governorship of a rector, and to take control of the *studium* proper. These student guilds at Bologna were composed of men who were, for the most part, of greater age and

loftier social position than were the younger arts students of other universities. This may partially explain why, at Bologna, they were able to exercise, almost from the first, a control over the professoriate by means of the constant corporate threat to withdraw from the lectures of any particular man. As at first the whole livelihood of the doctor depended upon the fees he could exact from individual students, his economic position depended upon his compliance with the regulations of the student guilds, and the students' rector became, in time the virtual head of the university. We have no need to follow the complicated institutional developments which marked the growth of the University of Bologna. The general trend only need be emphasized. It is in the direction of an absorption of the *studium* by the students' guild and a subjection of the teaching staff to student-made regulations. Many of the customs which originated in this type of university organization may still be seen in existing institutions in universities which were modelled on the pattern of Bologna.

The development of the other archetypal university was in a different direction. It would be impossible to assign a definite date to the foundation of the University of Paris. The most famous of the medieval universities grew out of the cathedral school, and the head of that school, the chancellor, was for a long time to be the most important functionary in the university. The fame of the Paris cathedral school came late, but the lectures of William of Champeaux, and later of Abélard, brought students from all over the west to the city. As yet, however, there was no university, the beginnings of which may be found in the formation of a guild of masters which took shape in the later part of the twelfth century. The chancellor, in a sense, remained outside this guild, but his permission had to be obtained (though it was given gratuitously) before any doctor could be permitted to teach. 'The control of the Chancellor on the one hand', says Rashdall, 'and the right of the competent teacher to a gratuitous license on the other, formed the basis of the French educational system. The control of the Chancellor distinguished it from the early Italian system: without the corresponding right, a Univer-

sity of Masters could never have grown up at all.' The first traces of this guild of masters at Paris may be discovered about 1170, and from that time forward this guild began to absorb the *studium*. In time, for example, it was made to include teachers not only in arts but in the superior faculties also. It became elaborately organized[1], and the successful prosecution of the claims of its rector against the chancellor to be the real head of the university is the dominant theme in the early academic history of Paris.

But the masters' guild in Paris had to struggle against another enemy also before it could effectively control the whole university organization. At Paris, the growth of the university became intimately connected with that of the great Mendicant Orders. As early as 1221 the Dominicans established a house of studies in Paris and speedily developed into a 'separate and exclusive school of rigid orthodox theology'. The Franciscans followed their rivals, and four years before the death of St. Francis, the erudite master, Alexander of Hales, was lecturing with great distinction in the university. This intrusion of the friars precipitated in later years a crisis in the internal government of the university, which was reflected also elsewhere. A long struggle ensued between the seculars and the Mendicants for control of the university organization, and it was not until 1255 that peace was restored, by which the friars undertook to observe the oath of teaching masters and to abide by the university statutes. From this time forward the friars produced the greatest scholars in the universities themselves. Alexander of Hales, Bonaventura, and Roger Bacon were Franciscans, whilst in Albertus Magnus

[1] Rashdall summarized this elaborate organization in the following table:

Superior Faculty of   Theology (Dean) ⎫
    ,,   ,,   ,,   Canon Law (Dean) ⎪
    ,,   ,,   ,,   Medicine (Dean) ⎪
Inferior Faculty of Arts divided into ⎬ RECTOR
                    Nations ⎪
                France (Proctor) ⎫ ⎪
NATIONS ⎨ Normandy (Proctor) ⎬
                Picardy (Proctor) ⎪ ⎪
                England (Proctor) ⎭

and Thomas Aquinas, the Dominicans, we find the completed form of medieval scholarly production.

The studies in the medieval universities were based originally upon the system of the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium* of which we have made mention. But upon this substructure was erected an edifice which comprised all the learning of the day. For example, it was the new Aristotle which was the mainspring of the learning of Paris, and from the thirteenth century onwards, scholastic philosophy is the main interest in Parisian teaching. The influence of the university both intellectually and politically also was to be immense. After 1200 Paris becomes the Mecca of scholars, and France begins to assume the intellectual leadership of Europe. There is scarcely a name notable among the thinkers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries which is not connected in some way with Paris. And whilst Paris prosecuted philosophy and theology, Bologna concentrated upon law, and later upon medicine also. This last branch of study, indeed, was in Italy to have very widespread ramifications. Not only was it the medium through which science began to be taught, but in the peninsula the study of medicine was made the method by which the student became acquainted with Aristotle. It may be noted, for example, that Galileo graduated in medicine, and it may be doubted whether Dante could have acquired in Italy his profound knowledge of Aristotle if he had not started life as a medical student. The medieval universities, in short, inspired a very wide range of educational endeavour. Their influence was, moreover, throughout, liberal and civilizing. The ideals which they embodied are not without value to-day, for the whole theory of a medieval university was that education did not consist of an accumulation of technical instruction. The purpose of a medieval university was not to supply an examining board; it was to supply a society in which a cultured leisure could be enjoyed for a period, or for life, by men who were willing to develop their intellectual gifts for the benefit of the world around them. With such an end in view, the medieval university sought, as the sole means by which it could be attained, to bring together in a vital, social, and intellectual intercourse teacher

and teacher, teacher and student, student and student. 'When all allowances have been made', wrote Rashdall, 'for the mixed motives which drew men to the universities . . . when we have admitted to the fullest extent the intellectual deficiencies of their most brilliant products, the very existence of the universities is evidence of a side of the Middle Ages to which scant justice has been done—their enormous intellectual enthusiasm.'

By the close of the period which is the subject of this essay, the university had become an integral part of the intellectual life of the West. Upon the model of Bologna on the one hand, and of Paris on the other, numerous other foundations had been erected. Before the twelfth century was completed, Oxford had started its career as a university modelled upon Paris and per-haps owing its origin to a migration from that city. In the thirteenth century universities arose at Cambridge, Angers, Orleans, Toulouse, Vercelli, Vicenza, Padua, Siena, Naples, Lerida, Valladolid, Valencia, Seville, and Lisbon, whilst the fourteenth century was to see the extension of the movement into Germany and the multiplication of universities throughout the West. At the larger of these universities a multitude of students collected. In the late thirteenth century there were probably to be found some five thousand students at Paris, and some two thousand five hundred at Oxford. The housing and management of these unruly communities presented a problem of especial difficulty, and from its attempted solution, a characteristic feature of certain universities made its appear-ance. The attempt of students to obtain lodgings for themselves was frequently detrimental both to their pockets and their morals, and the reputed morality of the students at the medieval universities was very low. In time, organized hostels were founded to meet this need. In Paris, and later at Oxford, this contributed to the growth of a college system which in the two older English universities was to go far towards absorbing the university itself.

The universities were a reflection of medieval civilization itself. They were oecumenical and non-national. To them came scholars from all parts, and the learning that was taught there

was in the common stream of European development. It was a common thing for a brilliant scholar to move easily from one to another, choosing as his place of study that university which had the teacher of the time who most attracted him. The presence of a number of great schoolmen in Paris gave the leadership to France, but such leadership in no way marked off the scholarship of France from that of the rest of Christian Europe. Western Europe was, as never before or since, a cultural unit under Innocent III and his immediate successors. These men taught and thought in a language which was common to Europe, the Latin which represented the tradition from the Roman past. They devoted themselves to studies which were of common interest to the whole of Christian Europe. Some may regret that the infinite variety of the twelfth-century studies with their humane and liberal trend gave way to the more exclusive concentration on theology in the thirteenth century. But to do so would not be to minimize the permanent contribution which scholastic thought made to European culture. The renaissance of the twelfth century marks an epoch in the history of the European mind. But it, too, as we have seen, links up with an uninterrupted growth from Roman times. Never was the political and social development of an epoch more closely reflected in its intellectual history than in Europe between the fifth and the thirteenth centuries.

V

A survey of medieval culture in its most general forms cannot fail to emphasize the historical continuity which it is one of the purposes of this essay to stress. The culture of western Europe in the period between the fifth century and the twelfth is Latin. Here, as in political and social history, we have to deal with the development of an inheritance bequeathed from the Roman past. The scholarship of these centuries is at its strongest in just those departments of knowledge where the Romans had themselves excelled. Where the Latin world had failed, there, too, the men of these centuries found themselves incompetent. The essential transformation, the statement of the tradition in an

ecclesiastical form, had itself been effected before this period began. The marriage of the ecclesiastical and the Latin culture had already been consummated before A.D. 500. In the seven centuries which followed, it was productive of a notable progeny.

Such suggestions could indeed be reinforced by reference to other spheres of cultural activity during this period—spheres of which this essay can take no detailed cognizance. Not the least interesting of these for the historian would be found in the growth of handwriting during this age. It used to be thought that the various and beautiful scripts which are embodied in the manuscripts of this age were the independent products of various localities and of the time in which they were written. The labours of Traube, Lowe, and others have now shown that there is a steady development to be traced from the scripts of the late Empire down to the fifteenth century. We start with the capital, the rustic capital, and the uncial scripts of Rome which existed alongside of the cursive scripts of more popular usage. The capital scripts gradually die out; a modified version of one of them, the half uncial, alone continues to be used. But it is the minuscule cursive which really has a future before it. Out of this, in the period between Gregory the Great and Charlemagne, there grew up many different varieties of writing in Ireland, in Spain (the Visigothic), in south Italy (the Beneventan), and in Gaul. It was a Gaulish example which indeed was to survive, and to be the parent of future handwriting in western Europe—the Caroline minuscule—perhaps the most beautiful type of handwriting that western Europe has ever seen. That, too, served as the model from which the later Gothic scripts were formed by accretion. When the anti-Gothic movement took place, it was to a revived Caroline minuscule that the humanists turned, and it is in a modified form of Caroline minuscule that this present page is printed. In the sphere of handwriting, says one of our foremost palaeographers, 'the legacy of the Middle Ages is the legacy of Rome with modifications developed in the course of transmission'.

The same is true also of architecture, the most characteristic medieval art. The growth of medieval architecture is a subject

in itself and one with which this essay is not concerned, but it is probable that the same formula could with success be applied to its development. Here again, we start from the Latin past. The great Roman achievement in architecture lay in the use made of the arch. Not only did the Romans realize that the arch is the most suitable method for constructing buildings in stone, but they found that 'an arch can safely bear any weight upon it so long as a greater weight is opposed to its thrust'. It was thus that they utilized one arch to oppose the thrust of another, and from these devices there was evolved the whole system of medieval architecture.

In particular was this true in ecclesiastical building. The typical Roman church was the basilica, a rectangular building ending in a circular apse and flanked by aisles, usually of lower height than the nave. The roof was nearly always of wood, and supported by lintels. Throughout the rest of the building the arch was used and even sometimes in the roofing of the lower aisles. The architects of the earlier Middle Ages followed on this plan; and a special type of architecture, the romanesque, prevailed in Europe down to the beginning of the twelfth century.

The development was constant, and in particular, the romanesque architects had one great problem to face and to solve. It became increasingly obvious that it was highly desirable, if possible, to roof the churches with stone, and to apply the arch here as elsewhere in the building. It was thus that the vault was of slow development, for the vault, in its completion, was nothing less than 'a structure composed of four intersecting arches with the intervening spaces filled up and supported by them'. This was slow in being perfected, and right down to the end of the twelfth century, while the vault was employed in smaller cases, the vast span over the nave of the greater romanesque churches was nearly always bridged by wooden beams. The merit of the romanesque architects can be appreciated in no better way than by a study of the 'Norman' churches in England, where we can still see the massive Roman arch as the very centre of architectural construction.

Between this style of building and that which we loosely call 'Gothic' there seems a great gulf fixed, but it has recently been shown by competent authorities that here, too, there can be discerned a continuous development. The same principles are still employed, but they are used in a new manner. In particular, the partially solved problem of the roof still needed attention. And it was in this connexion that the most distinguished feature of 'Gothic' architecture made its appearance—the pointed arch—which was far more suitable for bridging the wide spaces of the naves of the churches than the round arch which had preceded it. And with the pointed arch there came also the buttress. No longer was it necessary to ensure stability merely by means of massive weight. Less solid arches were constructed and buttressed from outside. And the buttress became in time a characteristic feature of 'Gothic' architecture.

The purpose of these observations is merely to illustrate afresh the essential character of the culture of western Europe during these centuries. Any study of that culture would have to begin by watching the general process of the transmission and adaptation of the Roman heritage modified by ecclesiastical influence. Such a process is continued to the end of this period, but between 1100 and 1250 new influences are brought to bear upon the West. These are primarily Hellenistic, though they reach western Europe in a Moslem dress. They are responsible for the reintroduction of Aristotle into the West. This proves fatal to the earlier humanism, but is the prime cause of the growth of scholastic philosophy. At the same time, the recovery of much of Greek and Moslem scientific thought begins to produce its results on the West. Before this period has closed, the career of Roger Bacon had shown the lines that future progress is to take. But the main development always persists; and the great achievement of this age is in literature and scholarship, just as in the subsequent period the great theologians of the Middle Ages were to dominate the scene.

The insistence upon such a formula to explain the general growth of medieval culture may, however, obscure the great variety in the literature of western Europe during these centuries.

Though it may be broadly said that this literature was Latin and ecclesiastical, nevertheless such a generalization must not be applied too rigorously. For example, the medieval Latin Lyric has become deservedly famous, and particularly in the sphere of religious poetry. But it also took on secular and sometimes even anti-ecclesiastical forms. In the latter case, this was often clearly due to a direct derivation by reaction from the ecclesiastical literature itself. It would indeed be very easy to misconceive the spirit which animated many of the medieval parodies which are shocking to modern ears. The documents and the services of the Church were the special materials for burlesque treatment. But usually it may be said that such parodies were not (especially before the thirteenth century) inspired by any animus against the Church as an institution. They sprang rather from light-heartedness and from an unquestioning familiarity with the texts upon which they were based. Such texts, as the *Missa de Potatoribus* for example, may best be regarded as 'an instance of the same bent of the human mind which has made very learned and conscientious lawyers burlesque law, and which induces schoolboys and undergraduates to parody the classics, not at all because they hate them, but because they are their most familiar literature'.

The haunting cadences of the rhymed Latin verse of this period are beginning once again to exercise a widespread charm. Western Europe, indeed, seems to have become familiar with rhyme for the first time during this epoch, and the medieval contributions to its literature were immense and various. At the one end of the scale we have productions such as the *Dies Irae* and the *Stabat Mater*; at the other, the famous stanza beginning *Meum est propositum in taberna mori* which many would hold to be the finest drinking-song in the world. This poetry was indeed very widely diversified and it was capable of great heights of feeling and great facility of expression. Its achievement, it must be repeated, was by no means wholly religious, and the exquisite lyric *Dum Dianae Vitrea* is worthy of inclusion in any anthology of erotic verse. Often a depth of emotion, always a lack of sentimentality, and frequently, as in the

Carmina Burana, a virile and boisterous humour are the characteristics of this poetry whose productions are not the least charming or important legacy of the earlier Middle Ages.

A word may be said about the men who were responsible for this verse. Most of them have failed to leave even their names behind them. Even the greatest of them, known as *Golias*, or simply as *archipoeta*, is a most obscure figure. Long before the end of this period, the wandering 'clerk', facile in Latin, and unbeneficed, is a feature of western European society. He was often welcomed for his talents and for the entertainment which he supplied, and he lived a 'hand-to-mouth' existence. His mode of life and his activities became, in fact, a matter of grave concern to the ecclesiastical authorities, and a regular policy of suppression was gradually developed. This was not wholly due to an inability to appreciate his productions. The *vagus* could, and did often, become an unsettling influence in society. The 'desire to be for ever sleeping in a strange bed' was viewed with suspicion by those who were responsible for the order of Europe, and they not unjustly contended that the function of the 'clerk' was to attend to the welfare of the souls of men, and not to cater solely for their amusements, that those who 'lived by the altar' should devote their lives to its service. At the same time, the propensity to bitter satire against well-placed officials on the part of clever, disillusioned men possessed of none of this world's goods did not induce harmony. And on occasion, both the verse and the morals of the *vagus* were open to criticism. By the middle of the thirteenth century the wandering poet is ceasing, in fact, to fulfil his former function, and there were many who imitated the traditional looseness of his morals and his claim to a constant hospitality without producing the verse which was his justification. Innocent III legislated vigorously against the *vagus*, and by the fourteenth century the very name *Golias* has degenerated into merely the description of an evil liver. But in the earlier centuries these men had placed Europe under a lasting literary debt.

The fact that this light and secular verse was written in Latin is, itself, a further illustration of the essential character of

medieval culture. Before our period has ended, however, we may begin to see the growth of several vernacular literatures. About the year 1100, for example, vernacular literature in western Europe is nearly dead. The Anglo-Saxon tradition in England is moribund. French and German literature has not yet arisen. By the end of the twelfth century all this has been changed. In France a whole movement of *chansons de geste* which centres round the *Chanson de Roland* has begun. In England the Arthur cycle has been started. In Provence a special type of secular literature has flourished, and the strange 'theory of courtly love' has been enunciated and reduced to verse. These movements, however, lie outside the scope of this essay. They are symptomatic of the next epoch of European history, wherein the great states of the West arise and the unity of the Latin West becomes at last broken up.

The general trend of western European culture during these centuries is, in fact, apparent. We have a steady growth from the Roman past combined with ceaseless adaptation and variety, and the creative energy is devoted throughout primarily to ecclesiastical purposes. Within the general stream, however, there are many eddies, and the age can boast much individual originality. All medieval cathedrals are, for example, alike, but no two of them are really the same. The starting-point of growth is everywhere the Latin past, and there is no break between that past and the Christian future. Everywhere the same tradition seems to preside over the history of these centuries, but in spite of the uniformity, there is also an infinite variety of growth. Just as within the political unity of Christendom there was room for the spontaneous growth of numerous small groups—manors, guilds, towns, universities, and the like—so also in the intellectual sphere it was possible for the individual to find a very large measure of independence even without transgressing those bonds which the majority of the men of the time thought to be necessary to the preservation of social order. The intellectual independence of the Middle Ages should not be judged by men like Peter Valdes, or the Albigenses, or the heretics of the court of Frederick II, when there is a world of

difference to be seen between, for example, the love poems of the *vagi*, the robust and virile conviviality of the *Carmina Burana* and the *Hymns* of St. Bernard. There is, particularly from the middle of the eleventh century onwards, a continual intellectual fermental work in Europe. There is infinite variety. But, on the other hand, the uniformity always in the end asserts itself. Never was there an age when men's thoughts and ideas flowed more spontaneously in a single broad channel. Just as (for good or ill) it was the Church which presided over the political formation of Europe during these centuries, so also it was the Church which inspired the best in men's scholarship and art. It was, for instance, natural that the best of medieval architecture should be found in the cathedrals, and that the scholarship of the time should reach its climax in theology. The aesthetic and intellectual growth during these centuries in short is but the counterpart of the political development of Europe during this age. The scholarship and art of the period seems to be the inevitable product of a civilization which has grown up according to a definite plan—a civilization which is at once Latin and Christian.

THE BEGINNINGS OF TRANSFORMATION

I

IT would be very difficult in the case of any social order to name a definite point of time at which growth ceased and decline began. It is no uncommon thing for the mental growth of a man to proceed after his body has become enfeebled with age. And a civilization may show, on occasion, a similar diversity of development. Whilst the social order whose formation we have watched in these pages may be said to have reached its completion by the end of the twelfth century, in certain respects it continued further to develop. The same political and social ideas continued to dominate men's thoughts and action. Latin Christendom was still held to be the political society *par excellence*. Monarchy was still theoretically vested with the same sanctions as before. The general background to men's intellectual and moral speculations was the same. But already in the half century which ended in 1250 we may see at work forces which were very slowly to transform the social structure of Europe in later times. These forces will be discussed in detail elsewhere in this book. Here we have merely, very briefly, to allude, by way of conclusion, to some early manifestations of them.

II

The beginnings of a transformation were nowhere more clearly shown than in the career of Frederick II, the Emperor, and the changed character which he gave to the long struggle between the Papacy and the Empire. The true nature of the government of that remarkable young man from Sicily who had proved instrumental in furthering the schemes of Innocent III only became apparent after the death of that masterful Pontiff. Almost at once he showed the world a theory of autocracy the like of which the Middle Ages had never seen, and which was later to be fatal to the medieval system.

Frederick found himself ruler of Germany as Emperor, and of Sicily as king. His rule differed widely on each side of the Alps. In Germany, his government was not remarkable, nor was it particularly successful. In the main it was a government by regency, since most of the time of the Emperor was spent in his Sicilian kingdom. Germany was thus left in charge first of St. Engelbert, archbishop of Cologne, and later of the Emperor's two unworthy sons, Henry and Conrad. The weakness of the rule of Frederick in his German dominions was shown under these latter. The policy of the absentee Emperor involved nothing less than a complete recognition of the power of the great feudatories. From the Diet of Worms, for example, there proceeded the following edict: 'Let every prince enjoy in his peace according to the custom of his land his immunities and jurisdictions, both those which belong to him in full right, and those which have been granted to him in fief.' This struck at the privileges both of the smaller feudatories and of the rising towns. It is a reversal of the policy of the great Emperors since the death of Otto III. It marked a final recognition of the disintegration of political power. 'It legalized anarchy and called it a constitution.' 'Frederick's German policy', it has been justly observed, 'strikes at the root of the Emperor's claims to the higher statesmanship.'

It was in his Sicilian kingdom that Frederick's interests were really centred, and it was there that he developed the ideas which give to him his special historical significance. It was there that he set up an absolutism which completely disregarded the limits and the sanctions which had been imposed upon medieval royalty. The person of the monarch was regarded as the sole source of power, and every subordinate authority was ruthlessly swept away. It was a despotism responsible only to itself. The application of such a theory to practical politics had very far reaching results. It was symptomatic of the future. No longer could this self-sufficient state be regarded as but a part of the larger European society. 'In place of a theory of temporal power dependent upon moral sanctions, an unlimited autocracy came into being.' And no longer was it admitted that there was

a certain sphere of government with which the temporal power had no right to interfere. Frederick came to regard himself in Sicily as the supreme arbiter in spiritual as well as in temporal matters.

Such a view of political society was alien to the spirit of all medieval political thought. As we know (in the words of Lord Acton), the chief political product of the Middle Ages was 'a system of states in which authority was restricted by the representation of powerful classes, by privileged associations, and by the acknowledgement of duties superior to those which are imposed by man'. With Frederick this was denied. The State becomes an end in itself. The duty of the ruler is dictated simply by what conduces to the power and prestige of the State. No other society within the State has any rights against it, and the State's government is limited by no moral restrictions. We seem to hear already a phrase or two from *Il Principe*, and to catch a proleptic echo of the sonorities of Blackstone.

It was clear that such a ruler as Frederick would bring to the long standing quarrel with the Papacy a very different character from anything that had hitherto attached to it. The dreary details of that warfare differ little from those which had preceded them. But the reality of the quarrel was different, as contemporaries were quick to see. It was no longer a struggle between two rival exponents of the medieval political system; it was a conflict between those who clung to the medieval view of political society and those who wished to destroy it. The bitter attacks on Frederick were not only inspired by the disrepute of his private character; they were also excited by what seemed to be his completely pagan and anti-Christian theory of politics. The new conception of the omni-competent secular state, the complete secularization of the civilization of Sicily made Frederick seem as the champion of a new political order in which neither Papacy nor Empire would have a place.

The supreme issues only gradually emerged in the opening stages of the quarrel. It must not be forgotten that Frederick started his career as the protégé of Innocent III. The death of that Pontiff, and the accession of the weak Honorius first

enabled Frederick to display his real political aims. All the old issues began to appear. There was the question of the Tuscan inheritance of the Countess Matilda, the union of the Empire and Sicily, and the imperial obligations to undertake a crusade. On all these the two potentates differed. The open quarrel was inevitable before the death of Honorius. It came immediately with the accession of Gregory. After a new series of demands Gregory excommunicated the Emperor and placed under an interdict every town which he visited.

The contest immediately concentrated round the question of the Crusade. Once excommunicated, Frederick took the project seriously, though in a very different spirit from any of his predecessors. Now it was the Papacy who forbade the Crusade, and in 1228 Frederick started for the East under the Papal ban. He was strikingly successful, and only the un-flinching hostility of the western Church prevented him from obtaining very good terms for the Christians in the Holy Land. On the Emperor's return, a temporary truce was patched up at St. Germano (1230). This recognized the Papal rights in Sicily and kept a judicious silence over all the other disputed points.

But the quarrel between the Emperor and the Papacy before 1230 was but a slight foretaste of the far more bitter struggle that was to come. It began with a renewed contest between the Emperor and the Lombard cities. In 1237 the Emperor won a decisive victory over the Lombard League at Cortenuova. Two years later the Papacy declared itself on the side of the cities, and once more the Emperor was declared excommunicate. It was the beginning of the supreme struggle. Both sides tried ·hard to gain over public opinion to their side, and the Papacy gained considerably by the accession of that great lawyer, Innocent IV, to the Papal throne. In 1245 Innocent convoked a general council at Lyons, pronounced there again the excommunication and ordered a fresh imperial election. ·From that time forward there was civil war throughout the Empire, and anti-Caesars, Henry Raspe, and William of Holland, were set up. In Italy, Frederick ravaged the Papal states. No decisive

result had been obtained by either side on Frederick's death in 1250. Germany remained for the most part loyal to the Emperor, and even in Italy, Frederick, despite disasters, seemed to have held his own.

Frederick was the most dangerous enemy which the medieval Papacy had to encounter. He was the apostle of a new political theory which was later to wreck the medieval system. But as the champion of the Empire against the Papacy he was strikingly unsuccessful. The Empire itself never survived the disasters which fell upon it as the result of his rule, and the downfall of the Hohenstaufen followed close on the death of Frederick. Manfred, the illegitimate son of Frederick, and Conradin, the great Emperor's grandson, for a while kept up the imperial cause in Italy. But the battles of Grandella and Tagliacozzo showed that the dynasty could no longer withstand the Papal cause as represented by Charles of Anjou, the brother of the King of France.

The downfall of the Hohenstaufen meant more than merely another Papal victory. Such indeed it was, but the Empire itself as a live political society never recovered from the blow. Its decline was shown in several ways. In the first place the fictitious union of Germany and Italy became itself in practice dissolved. Henceforth, though an occasional Emperor like Henry VII might cross the Alps, the countries pursued a separate and disconnected development. Both were given over to an anarchy which it took centuries to remedy. The imperial realm, sundered by the Alps, degenerated into whirling chaos. In Germany, the feudatories became freed from any political check. The old duchies themselves split up. The only hope of any settled conditions lay with the leagues of towns which came into existence. In Italy, the divisions were even more serious. The Guelf and the Ghibelline factions lost their original significance. The unit of government became the city, and the city was guided in its external policy by purely selfish motives. Within the cities the civic constitutions everywhere save at Venice decayed, and tyrant dynasties were set up. There was no central government in Italy at all. And the Empire

became more and more an anachronism. From being the political embodiment of a sublime dream, it became a fiction to which man paid ever less and less reverence—in the words of Voltaire 'neither Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire'.

And the long struggle had been very damaging to the political position of the Papacy in Europe. Its identification with the Guelf faction in Italy made men more ready to forget its claim to universal authority. The downfall of the Empire robbed it of its natural protector. The political power of the Papacy in Europe henceforth diminishes. In two generations a Pope was to be captured and insulted by a French king. Within three, the Papacy was to be led captive to Avignon.

From many points of view, therefore, the reign of Frederick II may be said to mark the beginnings of a transition, away from the medieval theocratic polity. In western Europe many of the conditions which had rendered its existence possible were passing away. The kingdom of Frederick in Sicily had been an extreme and rapid example of a process which was also taking place elsewhere. The rise of the centralized temporal state, recognizing no rival authority within or without itself, and no moral restrictions to its power, is the key to the future development of Europe. And that rise had already begun in the West.

III

The downfall of the Empire ensured that the leadership of Europe would pass to France. That, indeed, had become clear long before the death of Frederick himself. The struggling principality over which Hugh Capet had once presided has now become a mighty state which dominates the West. In 1226 it passes under the rule of Louis IX, who won for himself the honour of canonization, and was held in after years to have represented in himself all the best virtues of medieval kingship. Never was there a monarch who took more seriously the sanctions with which he held his office to be vested. His personal life was simple and often resembled that of a monk. He thought of monarchy as implying the obligations of a religious duty. But this did not, as in other cases, lead him to

a weak or vacillating policy. He knew the place of ritual and pomp, and when occasion required, he would deck himself in the garments of royalty. Nor did it imply a weakness in dealing either with the enemies of his kingdom, with ecclesiastics, or with rebellious subjects. The foreign policy of Louis was firm and successful. He was also a strong and just master within his realm and permitted no disrespect to his royal office. It is the rule of what is soon to be the most powerful medieval kingdom by him who was afterwards held to be the perfect medieval king.

The crisis in the history of Capetian monarchy came undoubtedly with the rise and fall of the Angevin Empire. After Bouvines the greatness of that monarchy was assured. But the prestige it acquired from the long reign of St. Louis (1222–70) was immense. In many respects, however, Louis merely reaped the harvest from the successful sowing of his predecessors. And Louis was well qualified to let no opportunity slip in this matter. Thus to this reign must be dated the settlement of Provence and also the final settlement of the Angevin question. Henry III of England strove (without John's ability) to win back the Empire of his ancestors. There were many campaigns, but these were without result; and the final defeat of the English troops at Saintes in 1242 made it quite clear that the English cause in France was now hopeless. A treaty was finally made at Paris in 1259. All the former Angevin dominions were given up except a small block of territory in Gascony, consisting of 'Saintonge, south of the Charente, the Angenais and Lower Quercy'. Louis was undisputed master in France.

The main interest of the reign of Saint Louis, for the historian, lies probably in the administrative system by which he held together this vast Empire, for that administrative system was to have a great future importance.[1] It was here that Louis developed to the full the prerogatives of medieval royalty, and appeared not only as the chief feudal lord in France, but as the king, who himself stood above all feudal rights. The palace of the king still remains the centre of the administration, but the royal palace has now thrown off specialized departments. The

[1] See below.

ABBEVILLE	B 1	CHARTRES	B 1	NANTES	A 2
AIX	C 3	CHÂTEAUROUX	B 2	NARBONNE	B 3
ALAIS	C 2	CHERBOURG	A 1	NAVARRE, Kingdom of	A 3
AMBERT	B 2	COMINGE, County of	B 3	NEVERS	B 2
AMIENS	B 1	CORSICA	D 3	„ County of	B 2
ANGERS	A 2	COUCY	B 1	NÎMES	B 3
ANGOULÊME	B 2			NORMANDY, Duchy of	A 1, B 1
„ County of	B 2	DIJON	C 2		
ANJOU, County of	A 2, B 2	DREUX	B 1	ORLEANS	B 2
ARAGON, Kingdom of	A 3, B 3				
ARLES	C 3	EMPIRE, The	C 1-D 2	PARIS	B 1
ARRAS	B 1	ENGLAND, Kingdom of	A 1	POITIERS	B 2
ARTOIS, County of	B 2	EU	B 1	„ County of	A 2, B 2
AUVERGNE, County of	B 2			PROVINS	B 1
„ Territory of	B 2	FLANDERS, County of	B 1		
AUXERRE	B 2	FOREZ, County of	B 2, C 2	REIMS	C 1
AVIGNON	C 3	FOIX	B 3	RENNES	A 1
		„ County of	B 3	RIOM	B 2
BARCELONA	B 3	FRONSAC	A 2	RODEZ	B 2
„ County of	B 3			ROUEN	B 1
BAYONNE	A 3	GEVAUDAN, County of	B 2		
BEAUJEU	C 2	GOURDON	B 2	SAINT BRIEUC	A 1
BEAUMONT	B 1	GRENOBLE	C 2	SAINTES	A 2
BEAUVAIS	B 1	GUYENNE, Duchy of		SANCERRE	B 2
BLOIS	B 2		A 2, B 2, B 3	SENS	B 1
„ County of	B 1, B 2	GUISE	B 1	SOISSONS	B 1
BORDEAUX	A 2				
BOULOGNE	B 1	LANGRES	C 2	THIERS	B 2
BOURBON	B 2	LAON	B 1	TINCHEBRAI	A 1
BOURGES	B 2	LAVAL	A 1	TONNERRE	B 2
BOUVINES	B 1	LE MANS	B 1	„ County of	B 2, C 2
BRITTANY, County of	A 1, A 2	LIÈGE	C 1	TOULON	C 3
BRUGES	B 1	LILLE	B 1	TOULOUSE	B 3
BURGUNDY, Duchy of	C 2	LIMOGES	B 2	„ County of	B 2, B 3
		LOUDON	A 2	TOURNON	C 2
CAEN	A 1	LYONS	C 2	TROYES	C 1
CAHORS	B 2				
CARCASSONNE	B 3	MÂCON	C 2	UZÈS	C 3
CASTILLON	A 2	MARSEILLES	C 3		
CASTRES	B 3	MILAN	D 2	VERMANDOIS, County of	B 1
CHÂLON	C 2	MIREPOIX	B 3	VIE	B 2
CHÂLONS	C 1	MONTLAU	B 2	VIVIERS	C 2
CHAMPAGNE, County of		MONTPELLIER	B 3		
	B 1, C 1				

FRANCE at the accession of Henry II of England (1154)

Demesne of the King of France
Other crown fiefs

FRANCE at the death of Philip Augustus (1223)

Demesne of the King of France
Other crown fiefs

FRANCE under Louis the Saint (Treaty of Paris 1259)

Demesne of the King of France
Appanages of members of the Royal House
Other crown fiefs
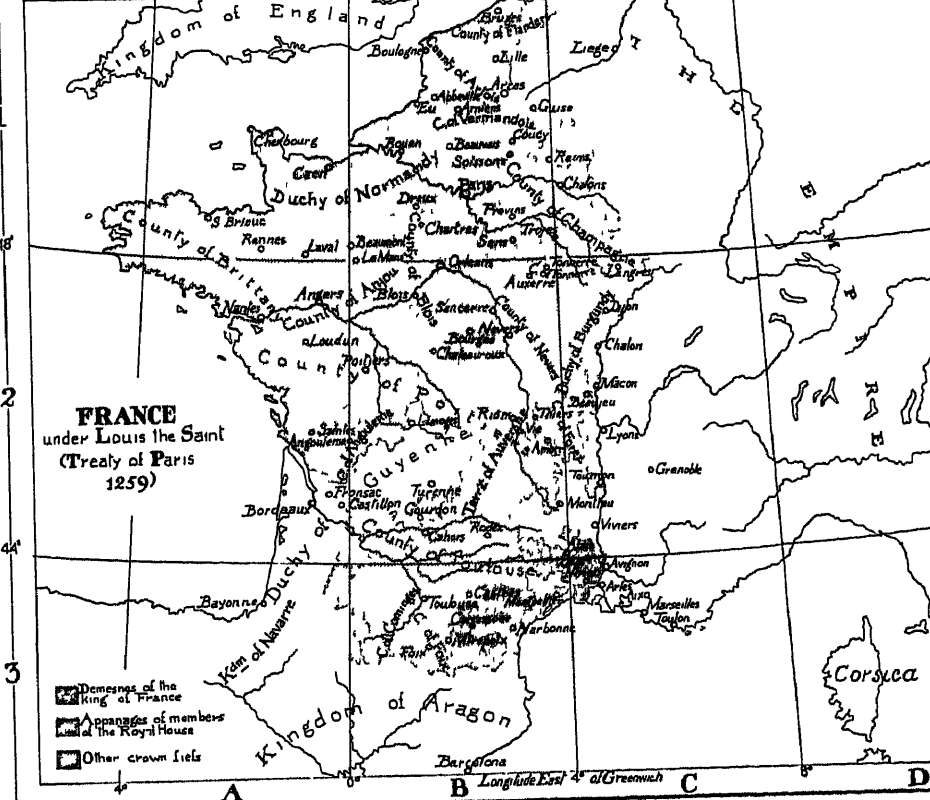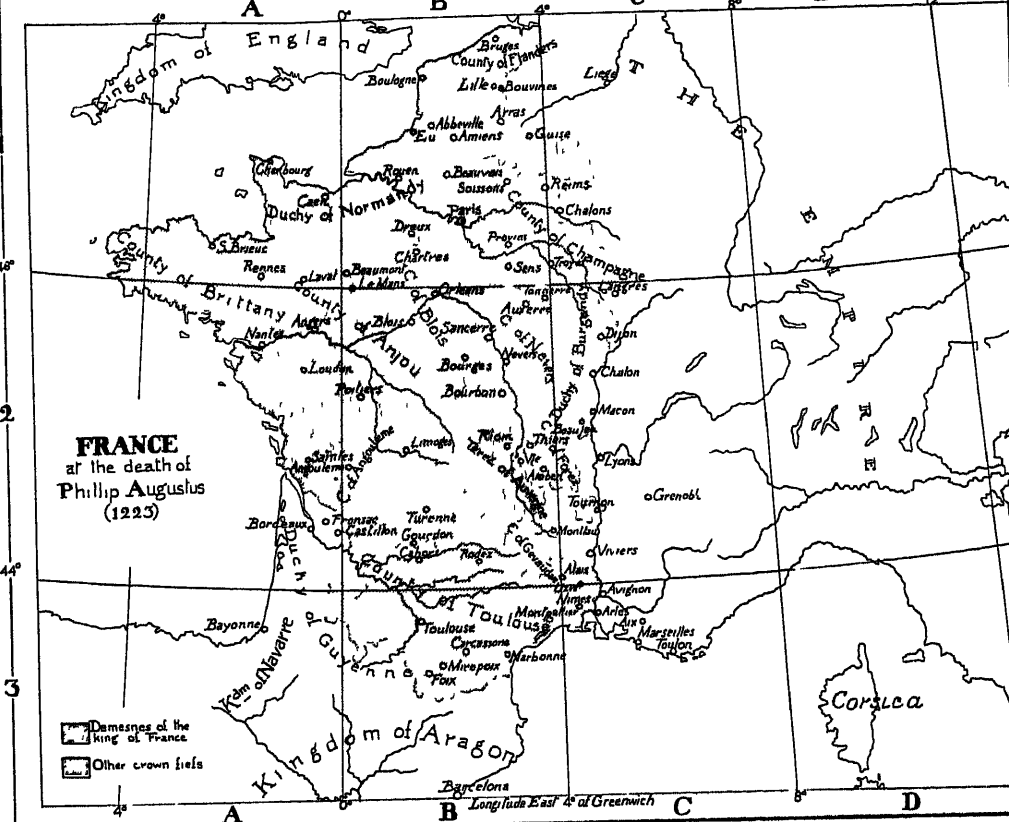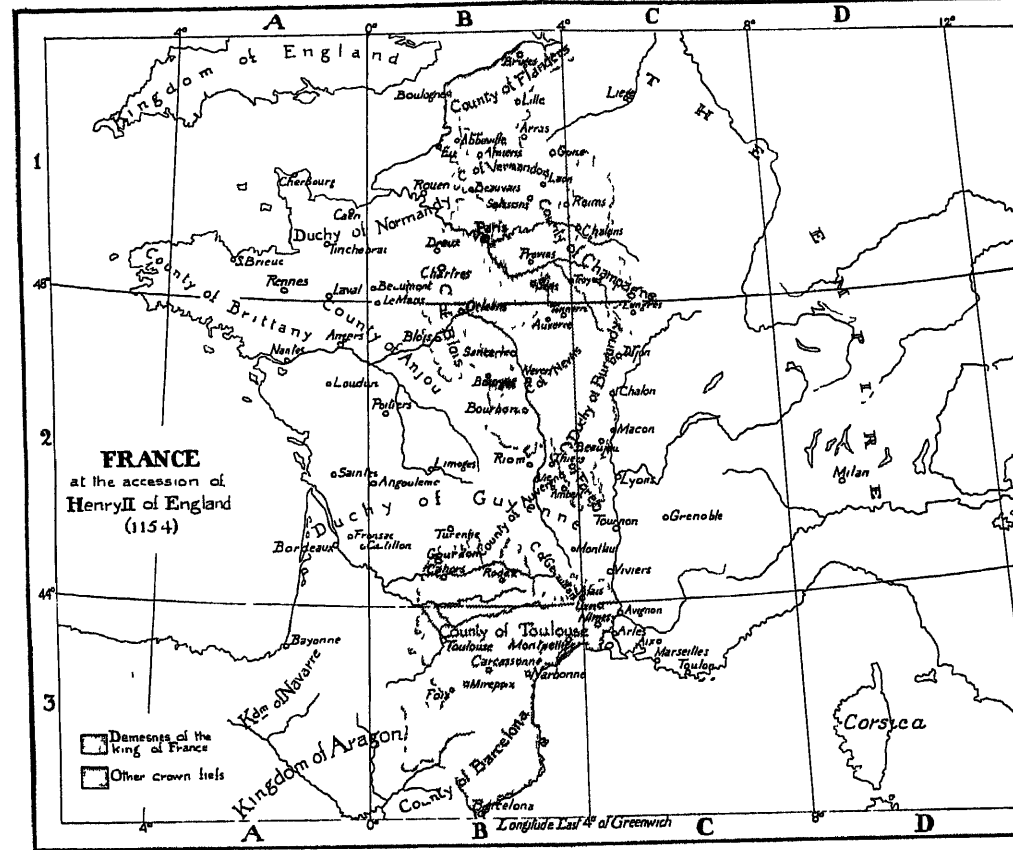
council of the king now supplies a *Parlement* which is speedily becoming the supreme judicial court of the land, to which appeals are taken from the feudal courts. More and more cases become reserved for the royal jurisdiction. At the same time, the king's court sent throughout the land judicial officers not unlike the *missi dominici* of Carolingian usage who overhauled the whole local judicial and administrative system. These *enquêteurs*, as they were locally called, were a powerful force in bringing the whole of the country under the direct rule of the royal government.

The royal administration underwent at this time also a rapid development in the sphere of finance. A specialized finance bureau, *Curia in Compotis*, was evolved in Paris from the royal court, and the whole of France was divided in the north into *baillages*, and in the south into *sénéchaussées*, over which there presided royal officials trained in the court of the king. This royal service was in France to have an immense future importance, for it cut right across the earlier feudal arrangements. The *bailli* was first and foremost a royal official. He did not, as a rule, belong to the feudal aristocracy. He paid an annual visit to the royal court, where he received his instructions, and in his province his power was vast. It is easy to see how such a system might lead to widespread extortion, and that is indeed exactly what happened in later years. Even under Louis himself the royal *bailli* in France is becoming a hated official, and an elaborate royal ordinance in 1254 regulated his actions. On the other hand, it is hard to over-emphasize the importance of this administrative scheme in bringing the whole country under the control of the king. France is becoming a highly unified state. The regulations concerning money during this reign symbolized the change. Henceforth, by an ordinance of 1263, it is ordered that where there is no seignorial money, the coins of the royal mint shall circulate exclusively and everywhere. Elsewhere in France, the royal coins shall run concurrently with those of the local lords which shall, in turn, be confined to their local areas.

There can be no doubt, that under St. Louis, medieval

monarchy reached its height. Nor would it be just to his government to see in it the distortions which were soon afterward to appear. But nevertheless, this centralized absolutism which is making its appearance in France is beginning to resemble the irresponsible despotism which Frederick II had founded in Sicily. And the greatest exponent of that theory of government in the next two centuries was, in fact, to be the French monarchy. Within half a century of the death of the sainted king, Philip IV was to attack the Papacy at the most vital point in its political position in Europe. The Pope was to be insulted in his residence by the agents of the French king, and Philip IV was to show completed to the world the first of the centralized modern kingdoms which had nothing in common with the medieval system.

The reign of Frederick II with its momentous consequences and the administrative system evolved in France under Louis IX indicate those forces which were afterwards to wreck the political system whose origins and growth we have watched in these pages. The essential idea which underlay that system, and the long development which created it was the notion of the political and religious unity of Christendom—a unity derived from the Roman past and defended throughout these centuries from internal decay and external attack. The Church has proved during this epoch the cohesive force in Europe, and it has conditioned the sanctions under which temporal authority was to be exercised. The beginnings of the secularized and irresponsible state may, therefore, be aptly taken as symptomatic of the growth of a new order. It would be unwise to antedate the operation of these new forces. But it may be said that from this time forwards, the main direction of European development is away from those ideals which we have indicated as the formative influence in the history of Europe from the fifth to the twelfth century, away from the ideal of a Europe unified in politics and religion, and from a social order which strives to be identical with Christendom.

THE RELIGIOUS CRISIS IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

By JEAN GUIRAUD, *Ancien professeur d'histoire à l'Université de Besançon*

CONTENTS

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A a

THE ALBIGENSIAN HERESY

IN the first half of the twelfth century the Catholic Church went through a crisis certainly as severe as that which three centuries later was to involve her in the loss of part of Europe. She was confronted in the south of France and many other countries with a heresy, or more precisely a complete religious system, which was the negation of Christianity. It derived its name of *Albigensianism* from the district of Albi, where it had attained its highest degree of development. It was also called *Catharism* after its promoters, who named themselves the Cathari or the Pure and Undefiled.

Catharism differed from the heresies of the past, with the possible exception of Donatism and Arianism, in being not merely a heterodox doctrine taught or combated within the walls of divinity schools; it penetrated every class in society, even the Catholic clergy, and by its individual and social morality no less than the support it received from every party banded against the Church, associated the masses in powerful organizations against Catholicism. The struggle against it became a question of life and death for the Church over wide areas.

It was a product through many centuries of more or less dormant life of the ancient Manicheism and was inspired by a pessimism which in some of its exponents was radical, in others less profound. It taught that the world was a mere pawn in the game between two contending forces, Spirit, which, being of God, was therefore good, and Matter, which, being of Satan, was therefore fundamentally bad and the realm of Evil. Some professed that the struggle between the two principles was of eternal duration; others, less extreme, admitted the eventual triumph in a more or less remote future of the principle of Good.

The battle between Good and Evil was waged most desperately in the heart of the human race, because man, being both spirit and matter, partakes alike of the purity of the one and the impurity of

the other. Unfortunately, in the case of man the spiritual principle, the soul, has been imprisoned in the body by the genius of evil which created man and has been striving for centuries without any measure of success to wrench itself free. Before the coming of Christ, it did not even make the attempt because it was unaware of its own condition, the spirit being clouded over by the flesh. Christ, the emanation of the good God, revealed its nature to it, revealed to it that its salvation lay in its return to pure spirituality through an abrupt or progressive extrication from matter, that is to say, the body.

This was the sole significance of the Redemption; it was the revelation of the one essential truth, in no wise an expiatory sacrifice, a Passion suffered by a God to redeem a guilty, fallen humanity. A God made man, the conception of a divine spirit assuming our flesh, was diametrically opposed to the doctrine of the Catharists; for, assuming our flesh, such a Person would have become a man like ourselves under the domination of the very Satan from whom He claimed to set us free. The Cathari, therefore, denied the whole Christian doctrine, foreshadowed in the Old Testament and realized by the Incarnation, of Redemption by a Man-God, the Passion, and the Resurrection. They taught the opposite, that the life of our Lord as described to us in the Gospels was a mere appearance, a phantasmagoria, and that the Old Testament inspired by Jehovah, the wicked God, so far from preparing the way for the liberation of humanity, was the kingdom of Satan and that the patriarchs and prophets, including St. John the Baptist, were his ministers. The New Testament, therefore, so far from being in continuity with the Old, was in radical opposition.

The Catholic Church, moreover, they considered, demonstrated the falsity of her doctrine and divine institution by preaching salvation through the expiatory sacrifice of a crucified God; they therefore rejected all the dogma and institutions of the Church. And as the Church proclaimed that she continued the Old Testament, which was the kingdom of Satan, so she thereby admitted that she was the work of Evil, created by Evil to keep men in ignorance of their condition and con-

sequently in servitude to Satan; hence the necessity of combating the Church unceasingly by unremitting preaching and activity.

The conflict between Catharist and Catholic theology and metaphysics was reflected in the moral teaching of both.

Albigensianism was not content with rejecting all the sacraments of the Church, the alleged means of a fictitious sanctification and an illusory salvation, including the Holy Eucharist and all the ritual pertaining thereto, including the Mass, the whole of Christian asceticism and mysticism, and, finally, the hierarchy of the Church from the simple priest up to the Pope, the custodians of a doctrine declared to be false. It went further. It set up conceptions of morals and conduct alike in private and in social life which were diametrically opposed to Catholicism.

Catholic doctrine teaches that in spite of its miseries, its temptations, and the heavy drag which matter imposes upon the aspirations of the soul, life is good because every trial endured in a spirit of resignation and every temptation overcome with the help of God is a purification of the soul, a deliverance from the tyranny of matter and a step forward on the way to eternal happiness of which the happiness enjoyed by a pure soul even in this material world is a foretaste.

The uncompromising Cathari held an entirely opposite view. This world being the kingdom of Satan and the soul being bound through the body to a matter which is fundamentally impure and bad, human life cannot be other than an evil. The only act, therefore, by which the Pure could give perfect expression to their faith was that which cut at a blow the tie binding the soul to the body and imprisoning it in nature; that act was suicide. The Church teaches the faithful that life and the useful employment of life are a duty; the Cathari taught their disciples that it was a duty to destroy life by self-inflicted death. Hence the practice of suicide, to the frequency of which among the votaries of Catharism attention is drawn by the Inquisitors. 'There were some who had their veins opened or committed suicide in their baths; others drank poisoned potions,

others again stabbed themselves.'[1] One of the most popular of the various methods of committing suicide was the Endura, or self-starvation.[2] A document published by Dollinger relates how one Guillaume Sabatier, immediately after his initiation as a Catharist and his reception of the *Consolamentum*, shut himself up in his country house and there died of hunger after a seven weeks' fast.[3] Such suicides were sometimes not entirely voluntary: the directors of the sect, the Perfect, after initiating their sick adherents, would sentence them to a rigorous fast to send them with the greater dispatch to death and prevent them being restored to health and so falling again under the yoke of matter.

Others of the Perfect, less uncompromising, drew distinction between the various forms of matter and considered that to be less impure which had less life: cold-blooded animals were less material than warm-blooded animals, vegetables less material than animals, and minerals less material than vegetables. Some admitted that the human soul could purify itself progressively by migrating into beings of less active material life, and so they adopted the system of metempsychosis. Pierre de Mazeroles declared that he had heard a number of them say 'that the soul migrated from body to body until it was saved'. 'When the soul leaves the body of a man,' said one of the Perfect, 'it passes into the bodies of donkeys to seek salvation there.' Another declared that St. Paul had so passed through thirty-two bodies before returning to Heaven.

Others again believed that the soul had no need to pass through a number of bodies for its progressive purification; it was sufficient for it to co-operate as little as possible with its own body by withdrawing into itself in inactivity and interior contemplation. The *nirvāna* of the Hindu which destroys every sensation of material existence, the mystic state in which the soul loses consciousness of its union with the body, were the practices most highly recommended to such as did not have recourse to suicide.

[1] Douais, *Les Albigeois*, p. 253.
[2] Cf. the essay by C. Molinier, *L'Endura, coutume religieux des derniers sectaires albigeois*, Bordeaux, 1881.
[3] Guiraud, *L'Albigéisme languedocien au XIIème siècle*, i, pp. lxii et seq.

It was a duty of strict obligation for every initiate to take food which was the least material according to the table of the degradation of matter mentioned above. They were, therefore, forbidden any food which came from warm-blooded animals: meat, eggs, chicken, milk, and cheese. Their food consisted of fruit, vegetables, cakes of flour and honey; and they were allowed fish, being cold-blooded creatures.

On the other hand, to reduce the material element in the body, they restricted their diet considerably, and voluntarily underwent numerous rigorous fasts. They kept three Lents, the first corresponding to Advent, the second to the Christian Lent, and the third lasting from Whitsunday to the Feast of St. Peter.

Inasmuch as human life was essentially bad and the propagation of it had for consequence the confinement of a soul in the corrupt prison of a body and its debasement to a state of servitude to Satan, procreation was one of the most heinous offences which could be committed. The Cathari, therefore, condemned marriage so rigorously that every initiate on his inauguration was pledged to celibacy, and if he were married for ever to abandon his spouse. It was a maxim of the sect that salvation was impossible in marriage, *in matrimonio non est salus*. The Cathari avoided whatever might excite or stimulate the procreative sense, 'when the Perfect performed on a woman the initiatory rite of the *Consolamentum* they had to raise their hands above her head without touching her'. To keep themselves from carnal desire they weakened their bodies by fasts and even by blood letting, therein following the example of certain Catholic convents of men and women.

Such a moral system logically led to the abolition of the family which perpetuates itself by marriage and the begetting of children, and such indeed was their intention. They abhorred the act which they held to be the most material of all, the union of husband and wife, but it was less hateful to them when it was not followed by a birth; they therefore showed infinitely greater indulgence to sexual relations outside marriage and tolerated abortive practices; hence the charge frequently brought against Perfects of the strictest personal purity of conniving at excesses

in others which kept them from contracting marriage and at measures calculated to prevent births. They stigmatized maternity as disgraceful and deemed it a duty to leave their parents, teaching that 'a man cannot save himself, if he remains with his father and mother'.[1] .

Considering that material force is the source of all temporal power, Albigensianism bore an unmistakably anarchical character. The tables of their aberrations drawn up by the Inquisitors entrusted with the task of suppressing them show that they denied society the right of repression or of punishment, *quod vindicta non debet fieri, quod justitia non debet fieri per hominem*, and refused princes the right of requiring oaths of allegiance from their subjects or testimony in legal proceedings on the faith of an oath. The Cathari pledged themselves on the day of their initiation to take no oaths, declaring that 'any oath, true or false, is unlawful'. It would serve no purpose to point out at any length how such a social code of morals undermined society which, in the Middle Ages especially, was based upon the oath and at the same time strangled it at birth by the radical condemnation of the family and all family relations. So the Church, by the denial of its dogmas, sacraments, ritual, and hierarchy, and the State, by the denial of the family, the condemnation of human activity, and the teaching of anarchy, alike found their existence threatened by such doctrines and were bound sooner or later to take steps in concert against them which were absolutely necessary for their common protection.

Those doctrines became more and more dangerous as they came to be more and more openly propagated in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries by increasing numbers of heretics with the support of an increasingly powerful organization. When the count of Toulouse was exhorted in the latter half of the twelfth century to suppress the heresy in his widespread territories and more particularly in the district of Albi, he declared that it was beyond his power to do so because, he averred, 'the most important personages in my country have allowed themselves to be corrupted and the populace has followed their example and

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[1] *Somme des autorités*, p. 132.

abandoned the faith, so that I neither can nor dare suppress the evil'.[1] The Catharist rite was publicly performed in many towns and boroughs belonging to the count of Toulouse, while Catholic worship was at times disturbed by hoots of derision and its celebrants insulted. A parish priest declared in 1220 that four persons only out of his whole congregation had remained faithful. Throughout the whole district of the Montagne Noire, the high ground on the borders of the dioceses of Toulouse, Carcassonne, and Albi, the heretics sang their hymns in the public squares, in the streets, and even in the Catholic churches. The great majority of the nobles favoured them either from active sympathy or because their power and influence were not to be challenged with impunity. Esclarmonde, sister of the count of Foix, was initiated into Catharism in 1205 and had the audacity to defy St. Dominic in the presence of her brother. Parish priests in the country told the preachers of orthodoxy that there was nothing to be done because all their people had gone over to the heresy; they even petitioned the heretics to grant toleration to the orthodox, and there were some who established familiar relations with heretic lords and even accompanied their followers to Catharist sermons delivered openly in the public squares. Prelates, bishops, and abbots compromised with the heresy for the sake of peace or because of family associations with great nobles who sided with the Cathari; among such were Berenger, archbishop of Narbonne and metropolitan of Languedoc, Bernard Raymond of Roquefort, bishop of Carcassonne, Bosin, abbot of Alet, and the abbot of Saint Volusien at Foix.

At the same time, permeating, as they did, every class in society, the Albigenses were a strongly organized body, divided like the early Christian Church into two groups.

The Believers (*Credentes*) were the more important numerically. They had not received the initiation of the *Consolamentum* and did not, therefore, practise Catharist morals: they lived in society and in the bonds of matrimony, begat children, exercised all administrative, judicial, and political functions and even pretended to be Catholics, but they showed a quite exceptional

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[1] Luchaire, *Innocent III et la croisade des Albigeois*, p. 8.

regard for initiated heretics and all their hierarchy, assembled to receive their instruction and blessing, were utterly devoted to their service, and promised to receive the *Consolamentum* on their death-beds. They were called Believers. They recalled the proselytes at the door in the early days of Christianity and those Christians by desire who lived in the pagan world and received on their death-bed Baptism which guaranteed them the remission of all their sins, although they had never been obliged to submit themselves during their lives to the moral and disciplinary requirements of the Church. It was through the Believers that the influence of the Cathari penetrated everywhere and the more easily because those who propagated it were frequently not suspected of Catharism. The Inquisition discovered such Believers even in the ranks of the Catholic clergy and sometimes in high places in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

The second group consisted of the Perfect, otherwise known as Cathari, the Pure and Undefiled, the Good Fellows (*Bonshommes*). They were the real heretics because, having received the *Consolamentum*, they professed the complete doctrine of the sect and faithfully obeyed all the injunctions of its moral system and discipline. They lived a life of absolute simplicity and austerity, whereas the Believers did not refrain from the worst excesses; they were distinguished by a peculiar dress and were, therefore, sometimes called the 'vested heretics', lived as a rule in community, and travelled in pairs. They were much less numerous than the Believers but inspired and directed them, receiving in return the veneration of unfeigned devotion. They were related to each other by a hierarchy recalling the constitution but not the spirit of the Catholic hierarchy.

The question has been raised if they had a supreme head, if there was a Catharist Pope. It would appear not, because such Inquisitors as have left the best account of the heresy, having at one time adhered to it themselves, such as Sacchoni, make no mention of him. Some of their bishops, however, bore the name of *Papa*. A Gregorius *Papa* was discovered among the Cathari of Trier in 1231 and a *Papa* Johannes Beneventi among the Cathari of Viterbo in 1235. The Cathari were assembled in churches or

dioceses, of which the best known are those of Toulouse, Albi, Carcassonne, and Limoux in southern France. There were six in Italy, of which the most important was that of Concorreso in Lombardy which counted 1,500 Perfect: six others were in the East. A bishop, sometimes even several bishops, presided over each. The chief bishop, whose coadjutors the others doubtless were, was assisted by two vicars, the elder and the younger son. Every important centre had its deacons whose function was preaching and propaganda: they traversed town and country unceasingly, each attended by his *socius*, to instruct the Perfect and the Believers, dealt with all business concerning the sect, passed on orders received and presided over public and private meetings.

It is difficult to say precisely what difference divided the Perfect and the deacons, the deacons and the bishops: that there was a difference is clear from the existence of an *ordinatio episcopi* and a *creatio diaconorum* which conferred a distinctive character and authority on bishop and deacons.

There were women and deaconesses among the Perfect who exercised their ministry among women.

Men and women of the Perfect lived in community but in separate associations, for cohabitation between the sexes was strictly prohibited. There were, therefore, houses or convents for the Perfect of each sex described indifferently as *domus hereticorum*. The Registers of the Inquisition record the names of many Perfect of both sexes, of deacons and bishops, on the occasion of ceremonies and assemblies at which they presided, for Catharism had its forms of religious worship.

The principal ceremony, corresponding to baptism, confirmation, penance, and ordination, was the *Consolamentum* which conferred complete initiation by making the Believer into a Pure One and empowering him to preach and administer the *Consolamentum* to others, at the same time effacing the stains of his past life. The rite is familiar to us from an account contained in a manuscript of Catharist origin preserved in the Municipal Library at Lyons,[1] and the details recorded by the Inquisitors

[1] For this ritual cf. Appendix VI to Mr. Conybeare's *Key of Truth* (1898), the

who to help in the pursuit of heretics composed the manuals entitled *Practica Inquisitionis Haereticae Pravitatis* or Directories.

The heretics, both Perfect and Believers, assembled also for meals which began with the blessing of a loaf, a portion of which was distributed to every participant and forthwith eaten: this was their method of commemorating, if not the Eucharist which the sect utterly denied, at any rate the *agape* of the early Church. The Catharist ritual also describes a ceremony called *melioramentum* or adoration which is also frequently mentioned in the proceedings of the Inquisition. 'The Believer', writes Bernard Gui, the Inquisitor, 'bowed his knees and made a profound reverence to the Perfect; he held his hands clasped and made his reverence thrice before rising again', requesting the blessing which the first among the Perfect bestowed on him. That was in fact the act of adoration. In the formula of adoration the Believer confessed himself a sinner and expressed his desire for a 'happy end', that is to say, the *Consolamentum* at his last moments, and that was more particularly the *Melioramentum*. The Believers performed a monthly *Apparellamentum*. They appeared before the deacon and made an examination in common of all the sins they had committed from the day of their birth, and received a penance; on the other hand, before the *Consolamentum*, the confession of sins committed against the discipline of the sect was made 'in confidence'. Throughout these various ceremonies Believers and Cathari used a ritual not unlike that of the Catholic Church; they genuflected, placed the Gospel on the head of the 'consoled' one, gave the kiss of peace to one another, men and women, on the cheek, but they kissed the Gospel instead when both sexes took part in the same ceremony, and the Gospel so became an 'instrument of peace'.

Despite the essential differences dividing Christian and Catharist doctrines, it is impossible not to notice many analogies between the Catharist and Catholic forms of worship. They may be explained by the theory that the features common to both went back to the early ages before a separation had been effected

Armenian text with an English translation of the (ninth-century) book of the Paulicians of Thonrak in Armenia.

between Christian orthodoxy and the Gnostic sects permeated with Manichean dualism which Christianity soon expelled from its unity. Christians and neo-Manicheans, thenceforth divided, retained, it is assumed, ritual characteristics which had once been common to both but which now bore an absolutely different interpretation and symbolism. It may also be admitted that Catharism, living in the midst of a Catholic society, may have quite naturally or to avert suspicion adopted certain practices of the Church while perverting their significance. The Church herself had adopted practices of pagan or Jewish origin, reinterpreting them in accordance with Christian teaching. Certain of these ritual practices which we believe to be Catharist must perhaps also be attributed to the Waldensian sectaries, because Catharism and Waldensianism were easily confused owing to the fact that the Inquisition prosecuted both simultaneously. In reality, however, considerable differences divided the two sects; they made common cause against Catholicism but fought each other when they were left alone.

The Waldensian would appear to have been not so much an anti-Christian system like the Catharist dualism as a Christian heresy. 'The Waldensian doctrine', writes M. Jean Marx in his *Étude sur l'inquisition en Dauphiné*, 'makes few doctrinal innovations: it is first and foremost a denial of the authority of the Church and the value of her works.' The Waldenses were primarily obsessed with the desire to revert to evangelical poverty and condemned anything in the Church which deviated from such an ideal: the riches of the clergy, their principalities, their temporal power. They refused to admit any sanctifying force in the Catholic hierarchy; sanctity they held was an individual affair and not to be acquired by sacraments or ritual practices, but by personal works. They believed in the divinity of Christ and His teaching and, while admitting the Eucharist and Confession, considered that every just man could continue the work of Christ among his brethren, preach the Gospel, preside at prayer meetings, grant absolution from sin and even consecrate the Host. Men enjoying high reputation among them and surnamed *Beards* discharged such functions, much like the Perfect

among the Cathari. They give the historian the impression of having been Protestant Puritans before their time rather than Gnostics or Manicheans who were the distant successors in the Christian world of the Persian votaries of Ormuz, the good god, and Ahriman, the wicked god.

The relative proportion of Cathari and Waldenses in the mass of Albigenses would seem to be impossible to ascertain, as they were so closely united in one same offensive against the Church and one same suppression by the Inquisition.

It must not be thought that the powerful anti-Catholic movement which goes by the name of Albigensianism, because it was specially strong in the district of Albi, was peculiar to the south of France. Catharist doctrines were preached in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in northern France and attracted many adherents. Roger, Bishop of Châlons, was informed in 1043 that many Catharist meetings were held in his diocese; in 1112 the diocese of Utrecht suffered an upheaval through similar preachings by one Tanchelin (Tanchelin of Antwerp); about 1144 numerous communities were formed in the diocese of Liége consisting of Believers, who had been completely initiated in the heresy, and Disciples, who placed themselves under their direction. Doctrines were taught which, like the organization itself, recall the Cathari, for they denied the validity of baptism and the necessity of marriage. The progress of the sect was so rapid throughout all the north of France that King Louis VII in 1162 denounced it to Pope Alexander III in the following terms: 'Our brother, the Archbishop of Rheims, in the course of a recent journey through Flanders, found men there perverted by the most pernicious doctrines and addicted to the Manichean heresy. Experience has shown that they are very much worse than they appear. If their sect continues to expand, it will be a great evil for the faith.' This letter found an echo in the following year in the Council of Tours which assembled 12 cardinals, 124 bishops, 314 abbots, and a great multitude of clergy and laity under the presidency of Alexander III: it declared in fact that the Manichean heresy had spread like a cancer throughout the whole of Gascony and other provinces.

These doctrines were imported into England by heretics from Flanders; at the meeting of the Council held in Oxford and by Article 21 of the Assize of Clarendon in 1166 Henry II ordered proceedings to be taken against them, and the suppression was carried out with such vigour that the progress of the evil was arrested. Henry II pursued it in his continental possessions of Gascony and Aquitaine, which he held from his wife Eleanor, and made an agreement with his former rival the king of France to fight them in what he considered to be their stronghold, the county of Toulouse. 'Henry II', relates the English chronicler, Benedict of Peterborough in 1179, 'would not cross the sea and return to England before coming to an understanding with the king of France to unite with him in sending to the county of Toulouse churchmen and laymen to bring the heretics back to the true faith by preaching or else to suppress them by force of arms.'

The oecumenical council which was held in 1139 at the Lateran under the presidency of Pope Innocent II drew attention to numerous heretics in Italy 'who repudiated the sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord, infant baptism, the priesthood, and other orders, and condemned marriage'. They formed the main body of the recruits who answered the appeal of Arnold of Brescia to the citizens of Rome to revolt against the temporal power of the Popes to which Cathari and Waldenses alike offered unceasing opposition. The evil became so rife towards the end of the twelfth century that at Verona, in 1184, Pope Lucius III, in the presence of 'his very dear son' the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and in common council with his brethren and a concourse of patriarchs and bishops and princes assembled from all parts of Italy and the Empire, published a decree of perpetual anathema 'against the Cathari and the Patarina and such as falsely call themselves Humiliati or Poor Men of Lyons, and against Passagini, Josephini and Arnaldistae'. The civil wars between Guelf and Ghibelline which pitted one city against another, and in the same city one faction against another, helped the spread of the Catharist and Waldensian heresies, for they received the same protection from the adversaries of the party of the nobles who favoured the Church as

they received in the south of France from the lay landowners who were opposed to the ecclesiastical landowners and envied the property of the Church; so whole cities succumbed through political rivalries to the influence of the sects.

Neo-Manicheism spread throughout the West from eastern Europe, and for this reason the Christian populations called the Cathari *Bulgars*, from the name of the tribe which, originally sprung from Mongol countries, had, after a long sojourn in the steppes of the West and the basin of the Volga, finally settled in the tenth century in the Byzantine Empire not far from Constantinople. It is not therefore suprising to find many Catharist churches in the Danube valley and the Balkan peninsula.

It may then be confidently declared that the greater part of Europe was permeated by the Catharist and Waldensian heresies in the twelfth century, and that the Church ran a grave risk of losing its dominion there over the souls of men. To restore her so gravely shaken authority she had recourse successively and sometimes even simultaneously to preaching and suppression by a Crusade and an Inquisition.

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PREACHING AND THE CRUSADE AGAINST THE ALBIGENSES

As early as the first half of the twelfth century the Church felt herself exposed to such danger that she inaugurated a campaign of preaching, and even started missions against the heretics. About the year 1140 Evervin, provost of Steinfeld, employed St. Bernard, the abbot of Clairvaux, whose reputation as a theologian and orator was already established, to refute heretics who had recently been discovered in the provinces of Rheims and Cologne. This was the first of the written and oral controversies in which the Saint engaged against the various heresies which soon received the collective name of Albigensianism. It would appear that St. Bernard was not very successful in the north of France if we may judge from the following words of discouragement in one of his sermons:

They are not to be convinced by arguments, for arguments they are incapable of understanding: they are not to be corrected by authority, for authority they refuse to accept: they are not to be moved by persuasion, for they are absolutely callous. The experiment has been attempted—and failed; they would rather die than be converted. All that remains for them is the stake.

Some years later the abbot of Clairvaux was summoned to the south on more than one occasion to preach against the heretics. His own opinion was that the cause was wellnigh lost:

In this country [he wrote in one of his letters], the churches are empty of congregations, the faithful are without priests, priests are held in no esteem and in a word there are only Christians without Christ. The churches are regarded as so many synagogues, the sacraments are despised, the festivals are no longer kept. Men die in their sins: souls appear before the dread tribunal without having been reconciled by penance and fortified by Holy Communion. Even the children of Christians are deprived of the life of Christ by being denied the grace of baptism!

In spite of his depression and the poor state of his health, St. Bernard answered the appeal which had been made to him by

Alberic, cardinal-bishop of Ostia and legate of the Holy See. He traversed the dioceses of Poitiers, Angoulême, and Limoges, and at Bordeaux concerted along with Henry, the legate of the Holy See, Geoffroy de Lèves, bishop of Chartres, and Raymond, bishop of Agen, the plan of his mission against the heresiarch, Henry of Lausanne, who was carrying all before him in the south. The Saint preached at Bergerac, Périgueux, Sarlat, and Cahors and, lastly, in Toulouse, where he lodged with the canons regular of St. Sernin, and made many conversions.

On his way to Albi he stopped at Verfeil, a stronghold of heretics, four leagues distant from Toulouse: the inhabitants refused to listen to him, and making a play on the name of the town (*Viride folium,* the green leaf) St. Bernard cursed it as he took his departure: *Viride folium, desiccet te Deus!* 'Green leaf, may God wither thee!' At Albi, where the heretics were numerous, although his preaching compelled their admiration it does not appear to have had much success in converting the people who almost to a man adhered to the heresy. He was recalled to his convent and left the south, having traversed it too rapidly to leave any lasting impression.[1]

Forty years later the heresy, having made alarming progress in Languedoc, Alexander III, at the instance of the kings, Henry II of England and Louis VII of France, entrusted a general mission in the south to Cardinal Peter of San Crysogone, with whom were associated Garin, archbishop of Bourges and former abbot of the Cistercian monastery at Pontigny, Reymald, abbot of Bath in England, Jean de Belles Mains, bishop of Poitiers, and Henry, abbot of Clairvaux. A number of nobles of the south, more particularly Raymond V, count of Toulouse, Raymond of Castelnau, and the count of Turenne, had promised their support to the mission: the abbot of Clairvaux solicited that of Roger II, viscount of Béziers and Carcassonne. A campaign of preaching was begun which resulted in some conversions; Roger II, however, refused his support and was excommunicated. The missionaries lost heart and one result only followed the undertaking, an anathema delivered at the Lateran Council

[1] Vacandard, *Vie de St. Bernard,* ii, chap. 25.

of 1179 by Alexander III against the Cathari and other heretics and their sympathizers.

The abbot of Clairvaux received a fresh mission from the Pope, both military and apostolic, in 1180, and was at the same time appointed cardinal bishop of Albano. At the head of an army he seized Lavour and forced Roger II to withdraw his support from the heretics. He then dispatched a number of missionaries who had answered his summons to various districts. The most notable among them was the abbot of Ste. Geneviève in Paris. He deposed a number of ecclesiastical dignitaries for lack of zeal in the defence of orthodoxy, more particularly Pons d'Arsac, archbishop of Narbonne and metropolitan of the province: finally, in 1180, he presided over several provincial councils for the reform of the Church.

Less than twenty years later, everything had to be begun again. In 1195 Raymond V, count of Toulouse, was succeeded by his son Raymond VI who was more favourably disposed than his father to the Perfect, being popularly believed to be a Believer, while the viscounties of Carcassonne and Béziers were governed during the minority of the young viscount by Bertrand de Saissac, a fanatical foe of the Church. On the other hand, there had succeeded to the throne of St. Peter in 1198 a youthful, energetic deacon of the Sacred College, Lotario of the Conti family, lords of Segni, 37 years of age and fired with an ardent zeal for souls. He took the name of Innocent III and lived to be one of the Popes who raised highest the prestige of the Papacy in the Middle Ages. He was consecrated on the 23rd February, and on the following 1st April wrote to the archbishop of Auch to kindle his ardour and on the 21st April to every metropolitan in the south of France and the north of Spain, the archbishops of Aix, Arles, Embrun, Vienne, Narbonne, Auch, and Tarragona, to every suffragan and prince in their provinces to acquaint them of yet another Cistercian mission under the direction of two monks from Cîteaux, Friar Raynier and Friar Guy.

They were not only to place themselves at the disposal of these two monks but also to take up arms, if they should be ordered to, against the heretics.

Raynier fell ill, and the Pope sent him Master Pierre de Castelnau, archdeacon of Maguelonne, who almost immediately made his profession in the Cistercian monastery of Fontfroide, near Narbonne, and a little later John of St. Paul, cardinal priest of San Prisco, a legate of the Holy See, was appointed head of the mission. The cardinal withdrew in 1203 and the direction of the mission was entrusted to Pierre de Castelnau and another monk of Fontfroide, Friar Raoul; finally, to show that the undertaking was entrusted to the whole Cistercian Order, the Pope conferred the dignity and authority of legate on Arnaud Almaric (Amaury), the abbot-general of Cîteaux.

Arnaud thenceforth played a considerable part, first as head of the mission and afterwards, when the crusade was set on foot under the military leadership of Simon de Montfort, as religious director of the expedition, dealing with Simon and the Crusaders as with the nobles of the south with the full authority he had received from the Holy See.

They began by attacking the heresy in Toulouse, one of its strongholds. On the 13th December 1203 Pierre de Castelnau and Raoul made a full assembly of the councils and chief citizens of the town take an oath of allegiance to the Church. They next proceeded to crush the resistance offered by a number of prelates to an activity which gave them offence: proceedings for his deposition were instituted against Berenger, archbishop of Narbonne; the bishop of Béziers was suspended: the bishop of Viviers was deposed like his brother of Toulouse, Raymond de Rabasteins, whose place was taken by a Cistercian monk, Folques of Marseilles, former abbot of Toronet, who as a young man had acquired a reputation as troubadour but was henceforth to prosecute the heresy with vigour. At the same time they drew the attention of the princes, notably Raymond VI, count of Toulouse, Pedro, king of Arragon, who had vast possessions north of the Pyrenees, the viscount of Béziers and Carcassonne and Guillaume VIII, lord of Montpellier, to the papal decrees and bulls which, ranging from the edict of Verona of Lucius III down to the letters of Innocent III, made it their duty to place their civil power at the disposal of the ecclesiastical authority

and to pursue the heretics under penalty of being considered their accomplices and having the same treatment meted out to them.

Some of these nobles gave the Cistercian mission armed support, as, for instance, Guillaume VIII of Montpellier, to whom Master Alain de Lisle dedicated in 1201 a work in four parts against the heretics 'because of all the princes of his time he in particular had donned the armour of the Faith, whose son and protector he was'. They executed the judgements passed against the heretics by the legates and their associates and so began the first material suppressions which, systematized a quarter of a century later, gave birth to the Inquisition.

The majority, however, being disinclined actively to oppose either heresy or orthodoxy, preserved a neutrality which left the Cathari and the Waldenses absolute liberty; the missionaries, therefore, could rely only on the success attending their preaching to combat them. The sermons continued for several years, and the heretics defied them with orators whose success was sometimes remarkable; the Catharist bishop, Bernard de Simorre, especially distinguished himself by the eloquence of his preaching.

The Cistercian missionaries continued to employ the methods which had been adopted by St. Bernard: 'to urge the nobles of Languedoc to give armed support to the Church and intimidate the unbelievers; to reform the morals of the bishops, to stimulate their religious ardour, and compel them to put in force the laws against heresy; finally, to inaugurate and unceasingly to carry on a campaign of preaching so as to win back by simple eloquence all who had strayed'.[1]

That little success attended the effort of the religious may be inferred from the fact that Pierre de Castelnau besought the Pope in 1204 to relieve him of his duties and allow him to return to his cherished solitude of Fontfroide. He was not given such permission but received new assistants instead, a bishop from over the mountains, Diego, of the diocese of Osma, and his companion, one, Dominic, a canon of the cathedral. Traversing

[1] Luchaire, *Innocent III: la Croisade des Albigeois*, p. 70.

Languedoc on their return from an embassy to distant countries, they had been distressed to see the sorry plight of orthodoxy in that country and had combined to help the Cistercians, but in spite of this reinforcement the results fell far short of their expectation. Étienne de Bourbon, one of the earliest Dominicans, tells us the reason:

It was related to me by my brethren of that time [he declares], that legates and abbots were followed by trains bearing their wardrobes and their necessaries of life, and such was the manner in which they preached against the heretics and their errors. The heretics, however, denounced in their sermons the bad example and insolent demeanour of the Catholics. The depravity of clergy and monks was their usual subject of discourse. The heretics said: 'They go on horseback and preach to you Christ their Lord Who went on foot; they are wealthy, whereas He was poor; they are greatly respected, He was lowly and despised.' A bishop (it may have been Diego d'Osma himself) having preached with a sumptuous escort in a town of the south, the Perfect denounced him in the same terms to the people: 'How can you put your faith in such a man and his like? They preach you the gospel of a poor and humble Christ with a wealthy train of followers and sumpter beasts. We preach to you in humility, poverty and abstinence. What we exhort you to do, we ourselves practise.' The bishop was confounded and abandoned his wealthy train. Poor and barefooted and attended by the Blessed Dominic, he began preaching in that land and such was the origin of the foundation of our Order.

Thus the Order which was destined to play so great a part in the Church, the Dominicans or Preaching Friars, was founded to combat the Albigensian heretics by preaching and penance: it sprang from humble beginnings, for it numbered in its early days only St. Dominic and the Bishop of Osma who before long left his canon and a few companions to bear the burden of supporting its establishment. They scarcely numbered twelve when, ten years later, at the Lateran Council held in 1215, Pope Innocent III attached them to the Augustinian Order for missionary work in the diocese of Toulouse. They established themselves at Prouille beside the convent of New Cloistered Converts, a community of women founded by St. Dominic in

1206 and the convent for men which he had recently established in Toulouse.

St. Dominic matched himself in the course of his preaching against a Waldensian, Durand de Huesca, who became converted along with several other heretics, all of whom continued in orthodoxy to lead their life of austerity under the name of Poor Catholics. This congregation retained Durand de Huesca at its head and received the approval of Pope Innocent III: if it passed unnoticed, the reason apparently is that it finally became one, or was confused, with the two mendicant orders which were established at the same time, the Preaching Friars of St. Dominic and the Friars Minor of St. Francis of Assisi. Pope Innocent III approved such preaching by example, for in a letter dated the 19th November 1206, and addressed to his Cistercian legates, he described the preachers whose help they were to require as follows: 'We order you to select men of experienced virtue whom you consider capable of succeeding in this apostolate. Let them take the poverty of Christ for their model and go humbly clad but full of ardour for their cause, and discover the heretics and endeavour by the example of their own lives no less than their teaching to wrest them from error by the grace of God.'

This was an accurate description of the preaching which St. Dominic was to undertake and zealously carry out in the dioceses of the south of France. Its chief feature was the holding of public debates in the open squares at which orthodox preachers and heretical champions held forth and which concluded with the passing of a sort of resolution of the day approving the speeches of one or other party. A detailed account of the apostolic activity of St. Dominic in the course of which he narrowly escaped being killed by the heretics on several occasions would be out of place here. At Servian, he engaged an apostate priest, one Thierry, a former dean of the chapter of Nevers who had become a Perfect: at Carcassonne, his discussions with the heretics lasted a whole week; at Verfeil, St. Dominic and Diego were defied by two Cathari, Pons Jourda and Arnaud Arrufat, who enjoyed a prodigious reputation, and

they called the curse of St. Bernard down again on the population; at Montréal, near Carcassonne, Diego and St. Dominic and the Cistercians Raoul and Pierre de Castelnau debated for a fortnight with distinguished heretics such as Pons Jourda and Arnaud Arrufat, Benedict of Termes, deacon of the Carcassès, Guilabert de Castres, 'elder son' of the Catharist church of Toulouse, who had flocked into this stronghold of their sect, while at Pamiers occurred the first meeting with Durand de Huesca and his Waldenses before their conversion.

Many nobles, while pretending to hold the scales evenly between Catholic and heretic, in fact inclined to favour the latter. At one time it was the count of Foix whose sister Esclarmonde was a Perfect. At another the orthodoxy of Raymond VI, count of Toulouse, came under the gravest suspicion of the Church. The latter had been excommunicated immediately upon his accession in 1195 by Pope Celestine III for having plundered the property of the abbey of St.-Gilles but had received absolution from Innocent III in 1198. The legates of the Holy See were unable to secure his co-operation against the heresy until 1204. They ordered him that year to carry out the sentence of Innocent III, itself a confirmation of the decree of Verona, ordering the nobles to banish (*exterminare*) the heretics.[1] Raymond VI took an oath to do so in May 1205, and so acquiesced in the deposition of the bishop of Toulouse, his capital. But when Pierre de Castelnau, after traversing Provence and Languedoc with a view to reconciling enemy nobles and then launching them against the heretics, invited him to join the league which he had made them form, he refused. The legate thereupon attempted to turn the league against him: 'the man of God', relates Pierre de Vaux, the French historian of the Crusade, 'then instigated the nobles of Provence to rebel against him, their overlord'. At the same time he hurled a ban of excommunication against him and laid an interdict upon his lands.

On the 29th May 1207 Innocent III confirmed these measures

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[1] '*quod de terris suae jurisdictioni subjectis universos haereticos ab ecclesia desolatos bona fide pro viribus exterminare studebunt*'. Cf. cap. Excommunicamus 13, X, V tit. 7. apud Friedberg, col. 788.

against the man whom he described as 'pestilential', and, re-
calling all the crimes he had committed against the Church
since his accession, threatened first to confiscate all the terri-
tories he held of the Church and afterwards depose him. 'If the
first punishment does not make you return to your senses,' the
Pope wrote to him, 'we will order all the princes, your neigh-
bours, to rise against you as an enemy of Jesus Christ and grant
every one permission to retain whatever estates he may win from
you, to the end that the country be no longer infested with
heresy under your domination.' Raymond was intimidated by
such threats, surrendered and received absolution, but before
long reverted to his former practices. The Pope, despairing of
bringing him back to a more sensible state of mind, looked about
for a prince willing to come and keep order in the south with
the help of the count of Toulouse or against him, and on the
17th November 1207, renewed the urgent entreaties he had
addressed on the 23rd May 1204 and the 7th February 1205 to
Philip Augustus, king of France and feudal suzerain of Ray-
mond VI. He promised him and every noble who would accom-
pany him, more especially the counts of Troyes, Vermandois,
and Blois, the counts of Nevers and Dreux and Guillaume de
Dampierre, the indulgences usually granted to such as went to
the succour of the Holy Land; it was therefore a real crusade
against the heretics of the south and the nobles supporting them
which the Pope intended.

Although Philip Augustus had rigorously suppressed the
heresy in his own domains, he returned but a frigid answer to
the Pope because he was absorbed in his struggle with the king
of England and the desire to secure the acquisitions he had made
consequent upon the murder by John Lackland of Arthur of
Brittany. The lack of ardour displayed by Philip Augustus and
the at least apparent submission of Raymond VI might have
postponed the crusade indefinitely if an unexpected incident
had not occurred to precipitate it: on the 15th January 1208,
as he was about to cross the Rhône, near Arles, after a stormy
interview on the preceding day with Raymond VI at St.-Gilles,
Pierre de Castelnau was assassinated by an unknown hand.

Public opinion attributed the murder to the count and with the more certainty as soon as it was ascertained that the murderer was of his court: Arnaud Amaury, abbot of Cîteaux, and himself a legate of the Holy See, denounced him to the Pope as suspect. The Pope learned of the murder with grief and anger: 'Such was his distress', says *The Song of the Albigenses*, 'that he held his jaw upon his hand and invoked St. James of Compostella and St. Peter of Rome.' He promptly excommunicated Raymond VI, freed his vassals and subjects of their oath of allegiance, had the Crusade preached to all the nobles of France, and ordered all Christians to occupy his lands. Eager to secure the help of Philip Augustus, he sent a special mission headed by Guala di Beccaria, cardinal deacon of Santa Maria in Portico, to solicit it. Despite the entreaties of the papal legate, backed by the abbot of Cîteaux in a full court held at Villeneuve near Sens, the king was not to be moved: 'I have two lions gnawing my flanks,' he retorted, 'the Emperor Otto and John, king of England. Each is doing his utmost to bring confusion to the realm of France. It is impossible for me to leave it myself or to dispense with the help of my son. It is enough to allow my barons to go to the Narbonnaise and fight the enemies of the faith.' The Crusade against the Albigenses was, like the First Crusade and that which had just come to an end at Constantinople (1204), a series of expeditions undertaken by the nobles: the kings of France only took a hand in it later to gather the fruit.

The count of Toulouse became alarmed at such elaborate preparations: to be absolved from the ban of excommunication he submitted to all the conditions imposed by the Holy See. At Valence and St.-Gilles he promised the legate to prosecute the heretics, to give the Church seven strongholds in pledge and to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Holy See over the county of Melgueile, near Montpellier. On the 18th June 1209 he did public penance in the church of St.-Gilles: stripped to the waist, he received in the presence of his people, the symbolic strokes of the birch from a new legate, the Apostolic Notary, Milo, and was then absolved.

There was no time left in which to stop the armies of crusaders which had massed in the north of France under the supreme command of Arnaud Amaury and a baron of the Île-de-France who was the direct vassal of the king of France, Simon, count of Montfort. The first army which had assembled at Lyons marched down the Rhône valley through Valence and Montélimar, then crossed the Rhône and reached Montpellier unopposed. The town of Béziers, which belonged to the heretical family of Trancavet, offered some resistance, but was taken by storm on the 22nd July 1209. The entry of the crusaders was followed by a wholesale massacre in the course of which the legate, it is alleged, refused to make any distinction among conquerors and conquered, orthodox and heretic: 'Kill them all,' he is said to have declared, 'God will recognize his own.' [1] In narratives of the kind passion is naturally prone to exaggerate what actually occurred, but the facts in this case were nevertheless sufficiently serious. The words attributed to the legate are first recorded in the prose chronicle, *Dialogi Miraculorum* of Caesar von Heisterbach, a German historian, who wrote more than a hundred years after the event. Responsibility for the slaughter, on the other hand, should be attributed not to the leaders of the army, but to the needy rabble who followed in the train of the army, as they followed every army throughout the Middle Ages to pillage and plunder with equal cupidity friend and foe alike. *The Song of the Crusade*, a work inspired by hostility to the crusaders, explicitly states as much: it is also declared that the canons of the Cathedral of St.-Nazaire strove their utmost to put an end to the slaughter which took place in the church of the Madeleine. The importance of the massacre has also been exaggerated out of all proportion according to the degree of anti-clerical prejudice animating those who have described it: the victims are reckoned in thousands: now the church still stands and is capable of holding 2,000 persons at most. It

[1] Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. i, p. 28, note, 11th ed. 1856, quoting this observation refers to Vaissette and Sismondi, vol. i, p. 201. He attributes it to a Cistercian monk. In the fourteenth-century prose chronicle referred to, the words are attributed to Arnaud and qualified with an 'ut fertur'. Cf. also Acton's *History of Freedom*, London, 1907, at p. 567.

is scarcely conceivable that everybody who happened to be there was destroyed. Reduced to its proper proportions, the episode is tragic enough without being needlessly exaggerated.

The Vicomte of Béziers, Raymond Roger, had fled for refuge to the fortress of Carcassonne. The Crusaders occupied Narbonne without striking a blow and proceeded to invest him there on the 1st August. Drought came to the help of the besiegers and the inhabitants were forced to surrender on the 15th August: Trancavet was taken prisoner and died in captivity on the 10th November, while Simon de Montfort continued his march on Toulouse, capturing in succession Montréal, Fanjeaux, Limoux, Morepoix, Saverdun, and the two fortresses, Cabaret and Termes, the former commanding the Montagne Noire and the latter the Corbières Massif.

The struggle grew more and more exasperated and intense with the reinforcements which flocked to the crusaders from the north of France. Fresh armies were brought by the bishops of Lisieux and Bayeux and the counts of Auxerre and Courtenay. At Toulouse, Foulques, the bishop, assembled volunteers for the defence of orthodoxy in a White Brotherhood which soon numbered 5,000 recruits. The nobles of the south, on the other hand, stripped of their possessions by the victory of the nobles of the north, banded together still more closely and made despairing appeals to the most powerful among them, the counts of Toulouse and Foix and the king of Aragon, all of whom owned many fees in Languedoc. Meanwhile, Toulouse heretics also organized themselves and drove out their bishop. In 1211 the struggle was concentrated round the fortified town of Lavaur, which was besieged by the crusaders and defended for several months with heroic energy by a heretic lady, Guirande, the sister of Aymeri, lord of Laurac and Montréal. The capture of Lavaur, immediately followed by the taking of Puylaurens, was signalized by acts of cruelty: many of the defending garrison were executed and Guirande herself was thrown into a well which was filled up with stones, while some of the Perfect were burned. The crusaders were not engaged in fighting for the Church alone but also for their own hand, and the reason why they prosecuted so

vigorously the struggle against the nobles of the south, nominally the suppression of heresy, was in reality the desire to oust the heretic and occupy their principalities and territories. Their appetite grew with what it fed on, and the political motive came to predominate more and more over the religious, even in the minds of such pious nobles as Simon de Montfort and certain prelates. As early as August 1209, on the morrow of the capture of Carcassonne, the conquerors proceeded to distribute among themselves the spoil of the conquered. The duke of Burgundy and the counts of Nevers and St. Pol having refused to accept it, the command of the army was entrusted to Simon de Montfort, who besought the Pope to confirm his appointment and at the same time appropriated the viscounty of Béziers and Carcassonne and the lordship of Razir: the lord of Lévis secured the territory of Mirepoix; other companions in arms of Simon de Montfort expropriated the owners and established themselves at Montréal, Puivert, Saissac, and Lavaur. Arnaud de Cîteaux, the legate, became archbishop of Narbonne in place of Bérenger, who was compelled to resign his see and died some years later in 1213. Another Cistercian abbot, Guy de Vaux Cernay, who had given the cross to Simon de Montfort, became bishop of Carcassonne in place of Bernard Raymond de Roquefort, who either resigned or was deposed.

These transfers from the conquered to the conquerors of lordships big and little, of ecclesiastical dignities and Church property were ratified in the general parliament which Simon de Montfort held at Pamiers in November 1212. A *droit coutumier* or code of customary law was drawn up in forty-nine articles organizing on a permanent legal basis confiscation of the conquered territories. All the nobles of the south who had resisted the nobles of the north or shown their sympathy in public or private with the Perfect were declared to be in rebellion (*faidits*), and on that score dispossessed and their wives also even if they were Catholic. Other clauses defined the rights of the Church and prescribed the means to be taken for the suppression of the heresy.

At the beginning of the expedition, Raymond VI had not only offered no opposition to the crusaders but had even made

common cause with them in accordance with the promise he had given at St.-Gilles. But as the selfish ambitions of the northern nobles emboldened by their success became the more clearly manifest, Raymond VI more and more came to believe that his deposition and the confiscation of his property were to be the ultimate end of the expedition. The military and spiritual leaders of the Crusade, on the other hand, required the territories of the count of Toulouse to satisfy the increasing appetites of their companions in arms and add to their own conquests, and for a protest to seize them denounced Raymond to the Pope as a suspect and by their own exorbitant demands compelled him to fight. After conferences which lasted for two years with legates who grew increasingly difficult to deal with, and with the spectacle before his eyes of a number of his vassals stripped and his own territories invaded, Raymond VI, reckoning upon the support of the count of Foix, whose sympathy for the Cathari was well known, and the king of Aragon, took up arms. In 1211, he cut to pieces a body of 6,000 Germans, allies of Simon, at Montgey between the Tarn and the Garonne. Taking advantage of a certain number of crusaders and of reinforcements brought to him by the counts of Foix and Comminges and the lord of Mauléon, the seneschal of Aquitaine, in the name of the king of England, he compelled Simon de Montfort to raise the siege of Toulouse, and assuming the offensive in his turn besieged Simon in Castelnaudary. Although compelled to raise the siege, he had recovered within a few months the greater part of the province of Albi and a number of fortresses in the Lauraguais and the district around Toulouse. In the following year, 1212, Simon de Montfort, reinforced by fresh contingents from Germany, Italy, and the Auvergne, gained the upper hand once more and in three weeks recovered the castles of the Albigeois and invaded the Agenais which surrendered, once Penne and Marmande, after an arduous siege, had fallen into the hands of the crusaders. Morsac, Castelsarrasin, Murêt, Verdun, and St.-Gaudens soon submitted to the northern armies which arrived at the foot of the Pyrenees: all that remained to the count of Toulouse early in 1213 was his capital and Montauban.

Then came the intervention of King Pedro of Aragon. He had not the slightest sympathy for the heresy, which he prosecuted in his own kingdom with the utmost severity, and the inference may be drawn that he at any rate did not consider Simon de Montfort's expedition in the light of a crusade. He was moved in the end by political considerations, anxiety engendered by the arrival at his frontiers of northern Frenchmen behind whom he perceived the mighty power of the king of France: the spoliation of neighbouring princes who were his relatives or allies, the counts of Foix, of Comminges, of Béarn, and Toulouse through whom his influence extended over the northern side of the Pyrenees: the refusal of Simon to pay the feudal dues accustomed to be paid by the viscount of Béziers and Carcassonne. After having vainly addressed his complaints to the bishops of the south of France assembled in council at Lavaur and to Philip Augustus, and having assured himself of the approval of the clergy of his States assembled at Perpignan under the presidency of the archbishop of Tarragona, Pedro of Aragon, who, since the 27th January 1213, had formed alliances with the majority of the nobles of the south of France, declared war on Simon de Montfort. It did not formally begin until some months had been spent by both sides in diplomatic negotiations with Philip Augustus and Innocent III and in assembling an imposing array of forces. While Simon de Montfort made a fresh attempt to besiege Toulouse, Pedro had marched down the Garonne and was threatening Murêt, 'and the clash of arms was so violent', says Guillaume de Puylaurens, 'that the din of arms was such as an army of woodcutters makes in attempting with lusty hatchet strokes to fell the trees in a forest'. Pedro of Aragon fell in the fray, and his army of 2,000 horse and 40,000 foot was routed on 12th September 1213. Simon de Montfort had no opposition now to encounter and completed the conquest of the south: he captured Casseneuil, Marmande, Montauban, and Toulouse, overran Quercy and all Rouergue, and invaded Périgord. All that Raymond VI could do was to appeal to the Pope.

Innocent III was more and more convinced that the crusade

against the Albigenses had degenerated simply into a war of conquest: and Simon de Montfort gave him fresh evidence by occupying the duchy of Narbonne, which gave him certain rights even over the former legate, Arnaud of Cîteaux, who had become archbishop of that town, by creating seneschalships in the south directly subject to himself and by rounding off the conquest of what still remained to the count of Toulouse, the towns in the Rhône valley forming the marquisate of Provence.

So the Pope received Raymond VI and his son Raymond the Young in the council which they attended to protest against being deprived of their kingdom. Simon de Montfort, hearing the news, dispatched his brother Guy and a number of bishops, the devoted servants of the cause, more particularly Foulques, bishop of Toulouse, and the archbishop of Auch: the legates whom the Pope had successively sent to Languedoc and who confirmed the utter defeat of the count of Toulouse joined their efforts to Simon's envoys to ask the Council and the Pope to maintain the excommunication of Raymond and the confiscation of his estates.

The Pope refused to listen to such uncompromising suggestions and pronounced a decree of conciliation. Simon de Montfort was to retain for the time being all his conquests with the exception of the territories on the farther bank of the Rhône which were to remain the property of young Raymond. 'If this son proves his devotion to God and the Church,' added Innocent III, 'if he is submissive in their regard and loyal, God will give him back Toulouse and Agen and Beaucaire,' that is to say half of what Simon had conquered on this side of the Rhône. Historians least disposed to sympathize with Catholicism have commended the moderation shown by Innocent III in the hour of his triumph.

Simon de Montfort disobeyed the Pope, like the French nobles and the Venetians whose high ambitions had diverted the Crusade to Constantinople in 1204, and paid no attention to the award of Innocent III, who died in 1216, a few months after the Council. On Raymond VI and his son attempting to take back the marquisate of Provence which had been allotted

to the latter, Simon resisted and the war was continued in the region of the Rhône. Raymond the Young occupied Tarascon and Isle-sur-Sorgue and in July 1216 forced Simon to surrender in Beaucaire. Raymond VI meanwhile, at the head of troops which he had raised in Aragon, marched on Toulouse which at his approach revolted against Simon. Simon returned in haste from Beaucaire and besieged the city for several months when, on the 25th June 1218, a stone hurled by a machine worked by women 'went direct to the right place', in the words of the *Song of the Crusade*, 'and so straightly smote the count de Montfort that it smashed his eyes, his brain, his forehead, his jaw to little pieces: and the count fell to the ground all bloody and black'.

The death of Simon de Montfort introduced a new phase into the war against the Albigenses. Amaury de Montfort was his father's inferior in every respect and incapable of conducting it. The two Raymonds gained the upper hand everywhere after Simon's death: their victories in the Toulousian and Comminges were signalized by fearful massacres of the French so that towards the end of 1218 Pope Honorius III invited the assistance of Philip Augustus.

The king of France had patiently waited for the opportunity then afforded him. He had taken no part in the expedition but had carefully watched the progress of events and in 1215 had allowed his son Louis to engage in it in order to acquire a right over the spoil of the vanquished. He answered the Pope's summons and once more sent his son to the south. Louis captured Marmande, and there ordered a savage massacre as a reprisal for the slaughter of the French. Unsuccessful before Toulouse, he went back to his father towards the end of 1219, while Amaury steadily continued to lose ground (1219–21).

The pressure of circumstance no less than insistence of Conrad, cardinal bishop of Porto and legate of the Holy See, and the bishops of the south compelled Amaury de Montfort to withdraw entirely before the king of France who, determined not to act precipitately nor yet to refuse any offer made to him, dispatched a force of 200 horse and 10,000 foot to the south under the leadership of the archbishop of Bourges and the count de la

Marche (1222). The king's illness prevented the new army from prosecuting the campaign with energy, and the king died on the 14th July 1223 at Nantes.

Louis, while still only heir to the throne, had evinced the desire on several occasions to fight the Albigenses, but his father had always restrained him. On his accession to the throne as Louis VIII, he made the conquest of the south the chief preoccupation of his reign. He began by defining his conditions: 'the Church was to preach the Crusade and bear the greater part of the expense: the King was to lead it and keep for his own all the estates of the Count of Toulouse and such heretic lords or sympathizers with heretics as should be conquered.' Pope Honorius III was unwilling to fall in with the French plan to that extent and suggested a possible compromise with Raymond VII, the son and successor of Raymond VI. Louis declared in May 1224 that the affair was no concern of his, and the Pope finally gave way before the fresh advance made by the count of Toulouse and the heretic nobility. In May 1226 he dispatched Robert de Courçon and as legate Romano Frangipani, cardinal of St. Angelo, to Paris, where the cardinal rejected the proffered surrender of Raymond VII and accepted the conditions laid down by Louis VIII.

When the news reached them of the great preparations which were afoot in the north, many of the southern nobility came to make terms at Bourges and Paris: only the count of Foix, the viscount of Béziers, and the cities of Toulouse, Agen, and Limoux proclaimed their allegiance to Raymond VII. The royal army set out from its rendezvous at Bourges and marched on Lyons with the intention of following the valley of the Rhône along the same route as that which the Crusaders had taken in 1208. The city of Avignon alone shut its gates before Louis VIII and the legate. It stoutly resisted the repeated assaults of the army and surrendered in the end only to famine. The fall of Avignon let loose a flood of surrenders on the part of the nobles, and the towns and even the counts of Foix and Comminges abandoned Raymond VII.

The expedition led by Louis VIII into Languedoc was a mere

military excursion: the king had only to continue the administrative reorganization of the country which Simon de Montfort had begun, to curb the municipal liberties of the towns and garrison them. At the assembly of Pamiers held in October 1226 he proclaimed the confiscation in his own interest of the property belonging to the heretics and carried a number of repressive measures against the heresy. Louis VIII finally returned to Paris and died in Auvergne on the 8th November 1226.

The death of the king brought to an end the crusade against the Albigenses which had developed into a political war. Louis VIII was succeeded by Louis IX, a child eleven years old, in whose name Blanche of Castille, a foreigner, assumed the reins of government with the help of councils and the legate, Cardinal Romano of St. Angelo, while the great nobles, jealous of the extension given to the royal power by Philip Augustus, strained every nerve throughout the minority of the king to diminish it. Blanche could place no reliance in them to continue and complete her husband's achievement in the south: on the other hand, the count of Toulouse, both in his own name and in the name of his vassals and allies, multiplied his offers of surrender. An opportunity was thus afforded the Holy See of securing the triumph of the policy of moderation pursued by Innocent III which had effectively checked Simon de Montfort. The cardinal legate, therefore, in the name of Pope Gregory IX, negotiated with Raymond VII and the Queen Regent a treaty the terms of which were settled at Meaux and signed at Paris in August 1229. Raymond VII made an honourable atonement for his errors in front of the Church of Notre Dame in Paris, did penance for them, and was absolved from excommunication by the cardinal legate: he was allowed to retain the Toulousian, the Agenias, the Rouergue, the Albigeois, and part of Quercy. His daughter Jeanne was to marry a brother of Louis IX and bring him all the possessions of her father if Raymond were to die without other children, as, it so happens, he did in 1248. The king of France retained the seneschalships of Beaucaire and Carcassonne. Raymond VII promised to take whatever steps should be prescribed by the Church against the heresy and to hand over to the

king nine strongholds, including that of Toulouse, the Château Narbonnais, as a guarantee of peace.

One result of this treaty was the establishment of the Inquisition, first in the provinces of the south and throughout France and almost immediately thereafter in a great many other countries of Christendom. The Church emerged from the religious crisis of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries strengthened by the extirpation of the heresies which had threatened her existence.

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THE ESTABLISHMENT AND ACTIVITY OF THE INQUISITION IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

By the Treaty of Meaux-Paris Raymond VII had undertaken to suppress the heresy in the States which he had retained. He pledged himself to use all his energy under the orders of the Cardinal of St. Angelo in routing out the Perfect and the Believers, their adherents and any one sheltering them, and to expel them from his territories. He added that, not content with punishing open and declared heretics, he would seek out the rest and promised a reward to any one laying an information against them. He bound himself to make such searches or inquisition in accordance with rules which the Cardinal Legate would subsequently prescribe and to condemn any one declared heretical by the bishop or any other authorized person, *per episcopum aut alium qui potestatem habeat.*

The rules anticipated by the Treaty of Paris were duly promulgated in November 1229 by the Cardinal Legate at the Council of Toulouse, in which there participated, along with Raymond VII, many of the nobility of the south, the royal seneschal of Carcassonne, two consuls of Toulouse, the archbishops of Narbonne, Bordeaux, and Auch, and many bishops and prelates. It was decided that a general search (*inquisitio generalis*) for heretics should be made in every rural and urban parish by a priest or two or three laymen. Every house was to be searched if the necessity arose, down to the cellars and every conceivable hiding-place, *domus singulas et cameras subterraneas, seu quaecumque alia latibula*, and the heretics, Perfect and Believers, their adherents and hosts, were to be handed over to the ordinary, the lord, or bailiff of the district in which they were discovered for immediate punishment. Any lord who wittingly gave hospitality to heretics was to be deprived of all his property and sent for trial by his overlord. A bailiff neglecting to carry out the prescribed inquiry was to be dismissed and declared unfit to hold such office, while every house in which a heretic

had been discovered sheltering was to be destroyed. Finally, the inquiry might be conducted by an alien jurisdiction. The rules then went on to prescribe how heretics who became converted of their own accord or through fear or for any other reason whatsoever were to be dealt with, and, lastly, the sick suspected of heresy. Heretics, proved or suspected, were declared to be incapable of holding public office, and not only were those declared suspect who had had dealings with heresy, but those also who did not go to confession and communion at least three times a year, at Christmas, Easter, and Whit-Sunday. Article 8 carefully stipulated that nobody could be condemned as a heretic by the civil power unless he had first been declared such by the bishop or other competent ecclesiastical judge.[1]

The suppression of heresy was no new thing. It is a curious fact, and a proof that the dangers of its tenets were not an invention of the Church, that a pagan Emperor, Diocletian, who persecuted the Christians with such cruelty, was the first to enact laws against Manicheism, the direct ancestor of Catharism. By a decree of the year A.D. 287 included in the Theodosian Code, the disciples of Manes were punished with death or at least hard labour in the mines. The example set by Diocletian was followed by his successors Valentinian and Honorius when by a series of edicts collected in the sixteenth book of the Code of Justinian they punished a number of heretical sects with exile and confiscation of property, maintaining the death penalty against the sect which they considered the most dangerous, the Manichean. When the latter, under the auspices of the Bulgars or Bogomils, spread throughout his empire, the Byzantine Emperor, Alexius Comnenus, renewed in the eleventh century the decrees of the Roman Emperors against the Manicheans. In the same century, in 1017, Robert the Pious, king of France, had ten canons of the church of Holy Cross in Orleans burned at the stake for the same reason. Lastly, it may be recalled that in the latter

[1] Mansi, J. A., *Sacrorum conciliorum collectio*, 31 vols., Florence and Venice, 1759-98; Mortin, J. B., and Petit, L. (with continuation, vols. 32-50), Paris, 1901 ff., in progress, vol. xxiii, pp. 191-8. Guiraud, *Dictionnaire Apologétique*, s.v. 'Inquisition', cols. 851, 852.

half of the twelfth century it was a king of France, Louis VII, who exhorted the Pope, Alexander III, in the liveliest terms to arrest the progress of the Catharist heresy: 'I would ask Your Wisdom', he wrote to the Pope in 1162, 'to pay particular attention to this plague and to suppress it before it spreads. . . . If You were to act otherwise, the popular resentment would be difficult to allay and You would let loose against the Roman Church a violent storm of popular abuse.' Philip Augustus took drastic steps against the heretics who were sacking churches and terrifying populations: at the invitation of the natives of Berry and the Limousin he dispatched an expedition against the marauding bands of Cataphrygians, Arians, and Patarins which wiped out 7,000 of them—an achievement narrated greatly to the glory of the king by his historian, Guillaume le Breton, in the *Philippid* he composed in his honour: 'The king routed them out of their shelters and hiding-holes and after having had them tried by his tribunals sent them to the stake for material fire to be a foretaste to them of the fire of Hell . . . and so,' he continues, 'the realm was completely purged of heresy and no man can live therein unless he accepts all the dogmas of the Catholic faith or if he denies the sacraments.' [1]

By his *Assize of Clarendon*, the earliest secular law in the Middle Ages relating to heresy, Henry II, king of England, organized its suppression within his realm; by Article 21 he forbade his subjects for ever to entertain heretics on pain of having their houses destroyed, and at the same time made every sheriff swear to obey this law and require a like oath from every knight and freeholder. This was a policy of the radical extermination of heresy, and, as the anti-Catholic historian Lea (from whom the quotation is borrowed) observes, it was ordained by an exclusively civil law, carried out by officials who were laymen and under a secular jurisdiction in the name of a sovereign who was excommunicated by the Church on account of the jealous pains he took to subject the Church to the royal

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[1] Dom Bouquet, *Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. xvii, p. 127. (*Rerum Gallicarum et Francigenarum scriptores*, ed. Bouquet, M., and others, 23 vols., 1738–1876, vols. i–xix re-ed. by Delisle, L., 1868–80, and vol. xxiv, 1894; New Series, 4to, 1899, in progress.)

authority, more particularly in the quarrel with St. Thomas à Becket.[1]

Stern measures on the part of sovereigns were often applauded and sometimes even demanded by popular opinion. The abbot of Vézelay, who wielded temporal power in his town, was faced with the task of trying heretics who had provoked riots. Doubtful what punishment to inflict, he decided to consult the populace: 'Burn them' was the answer, and burned the heretics were.[2] Other cases of the kind are to be found in contemporary records.

It may be confidently asserted in face of such facts that the civil power anticipated the Church in the suppression of heresy: the first inquisitions were civil. The reason for this is given us by Raoul Glaber, the eleventh-century chronicler, who relates the story of the execution of the canons of Orleans: 'The King', he relates, 'was sore distressed, for he feared that their teaching would lead both to the ruin of the country and the death of souls, *tristis et moerens nimium effectus quoniam et ruinam patriae revera et animarum metuebat interitum*.' Sovereigns conceived the suppression of heretics as a task involving the safety of the State and rendered necessary by their anarchical doctrines and the deep commotion they produced among the citizens.

The Church systematized such suppressions in order to remove them from the whim and fancy of monarchs, and still further from the unreflecting wrath of the populace, and so came to publish in the course of the twelfth century the rules against heretics, of which the most important was the Constitution promulgated in 1184 at Verona by Pope Lucius III and inserted by Gregory IX in the *Decretals*. It was in a way the codification of all the repressive measures which had already been taken.[3]

It excommunicated not only heretics but all who harboured them or had received the *Consolamentum* at their hands or called themselves Believers or Perfect. Such of them as were in holy orders were to be degraded, deprived of their offices and benefices and handed over to

[1] Lea, H. C., *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, New York, 1887, vol. i, p. 129.   [2] Lea, H. C., op. cit., p. 350.

[3] Cf. Friedberg's edition (Leipzig, 1881) of the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, vol. ii, col. 779.

the civil power for punishment. Laity also were to be handed over to the civil power in the same way and for the same object, more especially if they had relapsed. Every archbishop and bishop was to make a careful inspection in person or by his archdeacon or other trusted representative of suspect parishes once or twice a year, and make the inhabitants declare to him on oath avowed or secret heretics. The latter were to clear themselves by oath of the suspicion attaching to them and be good Catholics in the future. If they refused to take the oath or fell back into their errors (*relapsi*) the bishop was to punish them. Counts, barons, regents (*rectores*), consuls in towns and other places were to take an oath to assist the Church in this work under pain of losing their offices, of being excommunicated and having an interdict laid upon their territories. Towns which resisted were to be laid under the ban of all the others and no commercial relations were to be maintained with them. Any person favouring a heretic (*fautores hereticorum*) was to be adjudged for ever infamous, incapable of pleading, of testifying or holding any public office. Finally, archbishops and bishops were to have all jurisdiction in matters of heresy and be considered as apostolic delegates by such as, enjoying the privilege of exemption, were placed under the immediate jurisdiction of the Holy See.[1]

It was, in fact, the Inquisition which was established by this Constitution, for it was not a question of punishing open and avowed heretics only: a search (*inquisitio*) was also to be made into their hiding-places. This inquisition was entrusted to the bishops in virtue of their power as Ordinaries with the custody of the faith and in the name of the Holy See with regard to such as were exempt from the jurisdiction of the ordinary: it was *episcopal*.

It depended for its efficacy on the zeal of the bishops and the understanding which prevailed among the episcopate. Now, towards the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth the Popes had frequent occasion to upbraid the bishops of the south of France for their indifference and apathy: they were not unsympathetic to the Cathari, because they were afraid of them and because they were united to many of them

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[1] Guiraud, J., *Dictionnaire Apologétique de la Foi Catholique*, s.v. 'Inquisition', col. 833.

by family ties, also perhaps because they sought to compromise with them for political reasons. We may recall the severity with which the Inquisitors denounced to Innocent III the apathy of Bérenger, archbishop of Narbonne, and therefore metropolitan of Languedoc. Moreover, during the missions which succeeded one another in the provinces of the south of France before the war with the Albigenses and during that war, the Holy See, while not depriving the Ordinaries of authority to take repressive measures, yet empowered its legates also, and they in turn delegated their authority to their representatives. St. Dominic thus exercised inquisitorial functions in the name of the apostolic legates. When, in the course of his preaching campaign, he imposed penances on the heretic Pons Roger and afterwards gave him a certificate of satisfaction, he professed to be acting *auctoritate domini Abbatis Cisterciensis, Apostolicae Sedis legati, qui hoc nobis injunxit officium.* The penance of the convert was to last until such time as Dominic received fresh instructions from the legate, *donec alias super his dominus legatus suam nobis exprimat voluntatem.* The passage proves that the Saint, so far from being the founder of the Inquisition or the first grand Inquisitor, was merely an agent of the *Legate's* Inquisition.

The view has sometimes been expressed that this new Inquisition was imposed by Innocent III to take the place of the episcopal Inquisition: the authorities, however, prove the contrary, that the two operated simultaneously and sometimes in the same district. While the legates of the Holy See were actively engaged against the heresy in the south, the bishop of Paris condemned several disciples of Amaury de Beynes in 1209.[1]

The repressive action of the legates, as it proceeded from an authority which was more exalted although further removed, might be the more energetic, but it suffered from being intermittent, legations being of uncertain duration and succeeding one another at intervals of varying length according to circumstances. If Cardinal Romano Frangipani di Sant'Angelo continued for a number of years to act as legate in the south and at the court of Blanche of Castille, other legates sent to the south

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[1] Dom Bouquet, op. cit., vol. xvii, pp. 83–4.

of France before the crusade against the Albigenses succeeded each other with great rapidity and sometimes after long intervals. Cardinal of St. Angelo, anticipating the continuous exercise of inquisitorial functions by persons sitting alongside bishops without having been formally designated legates, would seem to have been anxious to obviate this inconvenience by the rules he drafted towards the end of 1229 at the Council of Toulouse. On the 28th April 1228 he secured an edict from Blanche of Castille that the Constitution of Verona and the decrees of the Lateran Council should be observed in the provinces of the south which the Treaty of Meaux had allocated to France. The regent explicitly declared that heretics condemned as such should be prosecuted *per episcopum loci vel per aliam ecclesiasticam personam quae potestatem habeat.* The Cardinal used the same form of words in the following year in the rules he drew up for the territories which had been retained by the count of Toulouse.

Pope Gregory IX defined with greater precision what the words still only vaguely indicated. Not content with giving his unqualified approval to the rules drawn up by the Cardinal of St. Angelo and congratulating Raymond VII on having given them force of law by a decree of the 18th February 1232, he informed the bishops of the whole kingdom of France by a circular letter, dated the 13th April 1223, that he had entrusted the Dominicans with the duties of Inquisitors in their country because 'the anxieties begotten by their multifarious occupations scarcely allowed the bishops time to breathe'. A few days later, on the 20th April 1233, he instructed the Provincial of the Dominicans of Provence (Languedoc and Provence) to appoint religious to carry out all through the south of France a *praedicatio generalis* against the heresy. By these Bulls, which yet conferred no monopoly on the Preaching Friars, Gregory IX prepared them for the great part they then began to play in the Inquisition. One of the best-known Inquisitors, the Dominican Bernard Guy, considered the last-mentioned Bull as the earliest authority to his Order to exercise 'the Holy Office' *in partibus Tolosanis, Albigensibus et Carcassonensibus atque Agennensibus.* The Friars Minor were later associated with the Preachers in such

campaigns of preaching or general inquisitions, and so the Inquisition came to be permanently staffed with officials directly dependent on the Holy See, in whose name it acted. Finally, in 1235, Gregory IX had forms of inquisitorial procedure drawn up by a canonist in whom he had entire confidence, for he entrusted him also with the codification of the *Decretals*, the Dominican, Raymond of Peñafort. The suppression of heresy was thenceforth systematically organized with a civil and canonical corpus of law, a proper staff, and regular forms of procedure.

The institution spread rapidly throughout Europe. As early as 1232, under the presidency of the prior of the Dominicans at Besançon with two of his monks, Gautier and Robert, for co-assessors, it engaged in the struggle against heresy in the county of Burgundy (Franche-Comté). The final triumph of the crusade had determined the exodus across the Pyrenees of a great many Cathari who were unwilling to submit to the conqueror and lived in terror of the nobles. So Jaime, king of Aragon, the son of the Pedro who had fallen on the field of Murêt, on the advice of his confessor, Raymond of Peñafort, invited Gregory IX to appoint inquisitors throughout his kingdom, and himself published decrees similar to those of Raymond VII to assist their activities. The Inquisition, therefore, was established in Aragon with Dominicans and Franciscans, and before long was operating in Navarre: towards the middle of the century it was organized in Castille under Ferdinand, the cousin of St. Louis.

Italy reckoned a number of Catharist churches organized on the lines of those in Languedoc, and relations always existed between them.[1] When the campaign of suppression raged in one country, the heretics fled to another, if it happened to be more favourably disposed to them, and so, as circumstances dictated, Lombard Catharists poured into Provence and Languedoc, Languedoc and Provencal Catharists into Lombardy. The establishment of the Inquisition in the county of Toulouse was therefore followed immediately by the establishment of the Inquisition in the Italian peninsula, where repressive legisla-

[1] Lombardy and Tuscany were the provinces most affected: cf. Volpe, G., *Monimenti religiosi e sette ereticali nella società medievale italiana*, pp. 83–97.

tion, however, proceeding alike from the civil power under the severe edicts of the Emperor Frederick III, the Papal Bulls, and the decrees of papal legates and bishops, was already actively at work. As early as 1224 Pope Honorius III had ordered the bishops of Brescia, Modena, and Rimini to institute a search for Catharists in their dioceses and to punish them, and in 1228 the legate Geoffrey, cardinal of St. Mark, made the civil laws which condemned to death heretics handed over by the ecclesiastical authority to the secular arm absolutely binding. It is not therefore surprising that the decrees enacted at Toulouse in 1229 by the Cardinal Romano of St. Angelo should have been immediately promulgated in Italy. Gregory IX placed the Italian Inquisition in the hands of the Dominicans and the Friars Minor, and in 1232 appointed Alberic to be Inquisitor in Lombardy, and the Dominican Peter of Verona to be Inquisitor in the Milanese. The zeal shown by the latter roused the wrath of the Cathari who murdered him, and he is honoured by the Church under the title of St. Peter Martyr.[1] The Inquisition was also set up in the course of the twelfth century in the States of the Church and in Rome itself, so rife was the heresy there also.

In Germany it had been organized at first by the civil power for the defence of civil society no less than the Church.

The Church is rent by false brethren [wrote the Emperor Frederick II to Pope Gregory IX] no less than hidden vices and from outside also by *political rebellions* which inflict visible wounds. The providence of Heaven has not devised two remedies for these two evils but one single one in double form: the unction of the priestly office for the spiritual healing of the interior vices afflicting the false brethren, vices which contaminate the noble essence of the soul: and the power of the imperial sword, the point of which must pierce the wounds which swell without and, smiting *public foes*, materially eradicate with its keen blade all that is rotten and withered.

There is no need to strain the meaning of such words to perceive that their intention was none other than to confine the

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[1] The Saint's death is commemorated in a picture in the National Gallery, London, by Giovanni Bellini.

Church to a purely spiritual therapeutic of the heresy, reserving the surgical operation, that is to say, material suppression, to the State. They vividly reveal the whole political aspect of the Inquisition and anticipate the monopoly which Spain was to acquire some centuries later when it made use of the Inquisition to serve political and national, not religious, ends. Pope Gregory IX, who spent the greater part of his pontificate in fighting Frederick, was not disposed to admit a division in which the Emperor attributed to himself the lion's share, and instituted an Inquisition in Germany similar in every respect to that established elsewhere. Countries within the sphere of influence of the German Empire, more particularly Bohemia and Hungary, also received inquisitors who penetrated thence into Slav territory: some made their way even into Scandinavia. The Inquisition was established also in Flanders and the Netherlands, which in the year 1233 came under the jurisdiction of the Inquisitor of France, the terrible Dominican Robert *le Bougre*.

It does not appear to have prevailed at all systematically in England either because heresy was not of sufficient importance in that country for Church and State to take alarm and adopt measures for the public safety or because the royal executive, forewarned against it by civil legislation dating back to the reign of Henry II, reserved to itself the necessary precautions for fear of encroachments by the spiritual power.

With this exception, it may be said that towards the middle of the twelfth century the tribunals of the Holy Office were functioning throughout the greater part of Europe.

Their activity became the more defined as it grew more extensive. The Popes who succeeded Honorius III published a number of Bulls and apostolic decrees defining the law and procedure of the Inquisition. The *Sext* (the sixth book of the *Decretals*) includes twenty judgements by Gregory IX, Alexander IV, Clement IV, and Boniface VIII with reference to the degradation of heretical clerks, the *Consolamentum*, the relapsed, abjurations, the powers of Inquisitors and the confiscation of the property of the condemned. The *Clementines* contain the Constitution promulgated by Clement IV at the Council

of Vienne (1311) in regard to the maintenance of the prisons of the Holy Office and the powers of the Inquisitors.

The bishops on their side legislated in their councils and diocesan synods, for the Papal Inquisition in which they took part did not deprive them of their power as Ordinaries against heresy. The bishops of the south of France, assembled in council at Narbonne in 1235, drew up a form of inquisitorial procedure in twenty-nine articles; at the Council of Béziers in 1246 the bishops of the province of Narbonne drafted another in thirty-seven articles:

the obligation to allow a period of grace, confession made to the inquisitors, the examination of heretics both Perfect and Disguised, with the assistance of discreet persons, kindness in regard to such as became converted, delay in pronouncing sentence with regard to such as were likely to be converted so as to allow them time, legal position of the heirs of a condemned heretic who had died without being reconciled . . . bail and sureties, pilgrimages to and service rendered in the Holy Land, such were the principal matters dealt with in the Council.[1]

The two Councils above mentioned are quoted merely as examples: many others were held with a similar object in Languedoc, Spain, France, Italy, and the rest of Christendom.

Finally, a number of inquisitors, desirous that their successors should profit by their own experience, composed text-books of policy for their benefit, manuals indicating the methods they adopted in tracking out, prosecuting, interrogating, trying and dealing with heretics. These records are specially valuable because they show us the Holy Office at work and its practice was in many cases different from the prescriptions of the civil legislature and not unfrequently an improvement on them in the way of indulgence. Of these formularies, handbooks, and manuals mention may be made of that composed by Raymond of Peñafort for the use of the inquisitors of Aragon (1241–4), the text-book of Bernard de Caux and Jean de St. Pierre which these two inquisitors of Languedoc compiled between 1244 and 1254; the *Practica Inquisitionis* of Bernard Guy, a Dominican

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[1] Douais, Mgr., *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Inquisition dans le Languedoc*, vol. i, p. 21.

inquisitor who exercised his functions in Languedoc from 1303 to 1328, and the *Directorium Inquisitorum* written in 1276 at Avignon by the Dominican Nicholas Eymeric who had been Inquisitor-General in Avignon for many years after 1357.[1]

This mass of legislation and the jurisprudence which it evoked enable the historian to form some idea of the manner in which the Inquisition went to work. For still ampler information records even more vivid than these manuals and directories are available in the actual reports of a number of cases tried before the Inquisition which bring before the eyes of the reader every detail of procedure, the sittings of the Tribunal and the passing of judgement as though he was himself present in court. We perceive clearly not only the legislation and jurisprudence but the trial itself, the method in which it was conducted by the judge who often mitigated the rigour of the law, the demeanour of the defendant and his means of defence and finally the sentence more or less in conformity with the terms of the law or within the bounds prescribed by the jurisprudence, and we observe that the practice frequently differed from the letter of the legislation. A study confined to the legislation alone would give an inadequate and occasionally erroneous impression of the Inquisition.

Inquisitorial procedure was marked by the following stages: a period of grace, summoning of witnesses and taking of their depositions, examination of the accused, sentence of reconciliation in regard to repentant heretics, of condemnation for the obstinate.

When the Holy Office moved into any country for the exercise of its functions the Inquisitor began by publishing two decrees: (1) an Edict of Faith making it the duty of every one, under penalty of excommunication, to denounce all heretics or those suspected of heresy, (2) an Edict of Grace imposing it as a duty on heretics themselves to come and confess their errors within an interval of from fifteen to thirty days (the period of grace) so as to receive pardon and a religious penance. When an informa-

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[1] It was published in Rome in 1585 'cum commentariis F. Pegnae'; in Venice in 1607.

tion was laid before the Inquisitor, the subject of it became *suspect*, if he had not informed against himself within the prescribed interval, and might be arrested or left at large on bail. He might refuse to appear before the Inquisitor and his assessors for definite reasons and try to convict the informer, of whose identity he was not in every case aware, of calumny. The practice of tribunals differed in this respect for one would furnish the name while another withheld it. Before the case began the suspect might confess his error to the Inquisitor who, so becoming his religious confessor, could impose upon him only a canonical penalty: that he should wear a stuff cross sewn upon his garments [1] and present himself to the priest in church for a certain number of Sundays between the Epistle and the last Gospel, and in all solemn processions bearing a rod to receive the discipline: on the first Sunday of the month after the procession or Mass, clad in penitential costume and carrying a rod, the symbol and instrument of the discipline to which he was subject, to visit the town or village which had formerly known him for a heretic: to attend Mass, vespers, and a sermon every Sunday, to perform prescribed pilgrimages, and sometimes even to make a journey to the Holy Land.

If the suspect was not disposed spontaneously to confess his error, an attempt was made to extort a confession from him by a close examination reinforced by the following methods: (*a*) the threat of death if he proved obdurate, indulgence if he confessed, (*b*) prison with a severe régime, (*c*) a visit from two discreet men likely to elicit an avowal, (*d*) torture or 'the question', as it was customarily practised in every court in France down to the end of the eighteenth century. To help young inquisitors in this difficult task the Directories explained at some length the errors of the heretics concerning which they were to be made to talk and the acts which their sect forbade and which they could not perform without denying it. It became the duty of the inquisitor to try and make them perform such acts.

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[1] This penalty was attributed to St. Dominic. The cross was emblazoned in saffron (of the Jewish gabardine), and the punishment was one of the hardest to bear as exposing the penitent to the derision and violence of the mob.

The accused might produce witnesses to exculpate him. Authorities differ on the question whether he was allowed an advocate or not, a proof that the custom varied with time and country. In early days a defending advocate was, it seems, a rarity. A Bull of Innocent III of 1205, included in the *Decretals* by Gregory IX, formally forbade advocates to appear in defence of heretics and a Bull of Boniface VIII, included in the *Sext*, declares unnecessary the appearance of advocates at inquiries, at interrogations and before sentence. Even when a defending advocate was permitted, it was not easy to find any one to undertake the task. However, in course of time, customs changed and we see later in the reports of numerous cases before the Inquisition advocates pleading on behalf of the accused and even helping the prisoner in course of the examination. The trial of Jeanne d'Arc took place before the Inquisition and, before it formally opened, the judges asked her if she wanted the assistance of an advocate. 'The Inquisitor Nicholas Eymeric, contradicting Bernard Guy, declares that the accused are not to be deprived of their legal right to be defended but are to be allowed an advocate or notary (*avoué, procurator*) provided that he be of upright character, honest, not suspected of heresy, expert both in the civil and the canon law and zealous for the faith.' [1] In any event, the accused had the right to defend himself, for the judgements in every case mention that he had been heard to the end of his defence *expeditis defensionum processibus*.

The tribunals of the Holy Office offered the accused a guarantee not provided by the courts of civil justice in the presence during the interrogatories of *boni viri, prud'hommes*, both lay and clerical, whose opinion was invited before sentence was pronounced and who formed a sort of jury. This was ordered by a Bull of Innocent IV dated the 11th July 1254, 'because', the Pope declared, 'the greatest care must be taken in the trial of so serious a charge'. The number of these *prud'hommes* was at first fixed at two but soon increased considerably. 'These experts in both systems' (the canon and the civil law) were not content to play the part of dumb personages; they gave juridical opinions

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[1] Guiraud, op. cit., p. 102.

on the cases they attended and the special problems which fell to be resolved.

There were laymen among these *boni viri* and their presence was a precious guarantee for the accused. In the first place, it assured a sort of publicity for their trial and subjected the inquisitors if not to the judicial at any rate to the moral control of men who were in many cases themselves members of tribunals of civil society or held public offices. These lay *prud'hommes* sometimes also belonged to families which defended municipal and individual liberties against the Inquisition.

Sentence was pronounced in their presence and with their assistance. It was promulgated in a solemn public Assembly generally known as the *sermo generalis* and in Spain as the *auto-da-fé*, the act of faith, held in churches, monasteries, graveyards and public squares after having been solemnly announced. Mass was said in the presence of the clergy, the civil authorities, confraternities, and an immense concourse of the populace and followed by a sermon in which the inquisitor himself or a priest refuted the heresy. After granting indulgences to those present and proclaiming the ban of excommunication against any one interfering with the Holy Office, canonical penances were imposed on such as received absolution from their errors. The penalties visited on such as had been condemned after trial were then published: confiscation of their lands, degradation of clerks with deprivation of benefices: civil officials were sentenced to loss of office and their children to the third generation declared to be incapable of holding any spiritual or temporal office: the houses of heretics were razed to the ground and they themselves imprisoned for a term or for life either under a mild (*murus largus*) or severe (*murus strictus*) régime[1] or they were handed over to the civil authority to be eventually burned at the stake, the punishment prescribed by the civil legislation against heretics declared to be such by the Holy Office. Posthumous sentences against heretics who had been dead for some years

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[1] If *murus largus* was his sentence, the prisoner could leave his cell at intervals to converse with the delinquents under the same discipline and with his friends from the outside world; *murus strictus*, on the other hand, meant solitary confinement.

sometimes condemned their bodies to be exhumed and their ashes scattered to the winds.

The *sermo generalis* was followed by the burning of the condemned at the stake when one or more of these dreadful sentences had been passed. The execution of such sentences was, however, sometimes deferred to an approaching feast-day.

The flames of the stake have cast a tragic glow upon the Inquisition: historians have chosen to see in these tribunals merely fanatics desirous of serving God by inflicting the most revolting tortures and the cruellest punishments upon innocent and defenceless accused and have used the evidence of their proceedings in order to bring a comprehensive accusation of inhumanity against the Church. It is therefore necessary to consider whether such an impression on the one hand and such tendencious assertions on the other correspond with any reality recorded in the documents.

That there were cruel inquisitors impelled to the worst excesses by a fierce zeal for orthodoxy it would be impossible to deny, for the Church herself had occasion to remind some of their duty to humanity. Among such were the first Inquisitor of Germany, Conrad von Marburg, the torturer of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, and the first Inquisitor of France, Robert *le Bougre*. The latter, as his name indicates, had been a heretic and was animated with the hatred which those who have changed their religion sometimes feel for their former co-religionists. His ferocious cruelty roused the wrath of Pope Gregory IX who, not content with removing him from his office, condemned him to perpetual detention in a monastery. In 1234, the same Pope ordered the archbishop of Vienne to restrain the excessive severity of Guillaume Arnaud, Inquisitor of Toulouse, who was finally assassinated by heretics a few years later. Innocent IV quashed a number of sentences passed by the Holy Office of Toulouse. 'To keep a watchful eye over heresy but prevent it serving as an excuse for excessive persecutions, to restore tranquillity in the South of France by facilitating to a certain extent the return of such as were desirous of being reconciled to the Church, would seem to have been one of the chief preoccupa-

tions of Innocent IV in 1243.' Such is the opinion of a candid Protestant historian, M. Élie Berger, the editor of the *Register of Innocent IV*.[1] In a chapter entitled *Clemency of the Holy See* of his *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* (which is generally informed by a strong anti-Catholic bias), Lea refers to decrees of Pope Honorius IV restraining the Inquisition in Italy. On the 13th March 1306 Pope Clement V instructed two cardinals, Pierre Taillefer de la Chapelle of the title of San Vitale and Bérenger Frédol of the title of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, to suspend the activities of the Inquisition in the South of France as being too severe and to hold an inquiry into the condition of its prisoners and the state of its prisons.

They set to work immediately and early in April paid a visit to the prisons of Carcassonne. There they encountered some forty prisoners whose complaints against their gaolers they admitted to be well founded. More humane warders were appointed and the prisoners were allocated better cells which were completely renovated; they were allowed to take exercise and instructions were given that they should be permitted to receive whatever rations were assigned them by the king or sent in to them by their friends, their relations or any other person for their maintenance. The visitation of the prisons at Albi took place in the same way on the 4th May, 1306: Cardinal Taillefer had their chains taken off the prisoners, appointed new gaolers, cleaned out the cells and made fresh openings to let in the daylight.[2]

Besides the inquisitors who deserved such reminders and rebukes from the Popes there were others who had the most exalted opinion of their delicate duties and were determined to exercise them in a spirit of justice and even charity. Of such was Bernard Guy who, after serving as an Inquisitor for twenty-five years, described in his *Practica* the following portrait of the Inquisitor as he conceived that he should be and no doubt also as he himself actually was:

He must be diligent and ardent in his zeal for religious truth, for the salvation of souls and the extirpation of heresy. Amid conflicting

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[1] p. xliv.

[2] Guiraud, J., *Dictionnaire Apologétique de la Foi Catholique*, s.v. 'Inquisition', col. 884.

incidents and difficulties he must remain cool, never yield to anger or indignation. He must be courageous, risk danger to the point of death but not precipitate it by ill-considered rashness. He must turn a deaf ear to the entreaties and neglect the advances of such as attempt to win him to their cause but yet he must not harden his heart to the extent of refusing postponements or mitigations of punishment according to circumstances and place. . . . In matters of doubt he must act with circumspection, not lightly believe what appears probable but frequently is not true: nor must he obstinately reject the opposite opinion for what appears probable often turns out in the end to be true. He must listen, discuss and carefully consider to the utmost of his power in order patiently to attain to the light. . . . Let the love of truth and compassion which ought always to reside in the heart of a judge shine forth from his eyes so that his judgements shall never seem to be dictated by covetousness or cruelty.[1]

We are far removed with Bernard Guy from the torturing inquisitor gloating over the sufferings of his victims. Nicholas Eymeric, another inquisitor, was also far removed; for at a time when the civil jurisdiction and even the Inquisition admitted the use of torture, he wrote in his *Directorium Inquisitorium,* 'Torture is deceptive and ineffective, *quaestiones sunt fallaces et inefficaces*'. These were not exceptional cases and M. de Cauzons, a French historian with the usual bias against the Inquisition, has written of the inquisitors of the Middle Ages, after a tribute to their professional conscientiousness and juridical competence: 'They were as a rule remarkable men in this respect'[2] and elsewhere: 'It may be believed that after years of tentative experiments . . . the official abuses still remaining in the Inquisition were but few while the institution itself had grown in the XIVth century into one of the best organized judicial systems the world has ever seen.'

Mgr. Douais, after a careful examination of the records of cases, has compiled statistical tables which make it possible to estimate the degree of severity practised by the Inquisition in the South of France. The registers of Carcassonne contain 278 sentences for the nine years from 1249 to 1258. There are

[1] Bernard Guy, *Practica*, pars vi, ed. Douais, pp. 232–3.
[2] *Histoire de l'Inquisition*, vol. ii, p. 61.

only a few death sentences in the number: pilgrimages to the Holy Land are of the most frequent recurrence. Bernard Guy was Inquisitor in the town for fifteen years and in 18 *sermones générales* pronounced 930 sentences as follows: 132 to wear crosses, 307 terms of imprisonment, 17 of notional imprisonment against dead heretics, 42 remissions to the secular arm, 3 notional remissions of the dead, 69 exhumations, 40 of contempt, 2 of exposition in the pillory, 2 of degradation, 1 of exile, 22 of houses to be destroyed, 1 of a Talmud to be burned and 139 acquittals.

The proportion should be borne in mind: out of 930 sentences there were only 42 remissions to the secular arm in 15 years, say 4.5 per cent. of death sentences, less than three a year. It is a far cry from the legend which would have the Inquisition exterminating every heretic by fire and sword.

The proportion is still less at Pamiers in the following century: in the six years from 1318 to 1324 there are extant records of 75 sentences passed by the Inquisitor of that town, say 12 a year of which 5 are death sentences, less than one a year.

Two further observations remain to be made which still further attenuate the apparent severity of these figures. The first is that many of these sentences were passed in respect of crimes at common law, the suppression of which had been entrusted to the Inquisition. Of the condemnations pronounced at Pamiers one was the imprisonment of two false witnesses, another the conviction of the head of a leper hospital on a charge of poisoning the fountains and wells of the town.

The second observation is that the punishments awarded were often commuted, mitigated, or even wiped out by an act of grace. The following cases are taken from the Registers of the Inquisition in Carcassonne. On the 13th September 1250 the bishop gave a woman, who had been imprisoned for heresy, a week's holiday to enable her to go home: instances of the kind are numerous, but still more numerous are the holidays granted on account of sickness either to enable the prisoner to go and recover in his own home or to look after a member of his family, and the term of imprisonment was for this reason altered to a

more benign form of punishment, according to a decision taken in 1244 by the bishops of the province of Narbonne assembled under the presidency of their archbishop. In 1245 the Inquisitor, Bernard de Caux, condemned a relapsed heretic to perpetual imprisonment, but at the same time permitted him to remain by the side of an aged and ailing parent during the lifetime of the latter. On the 13th March 1253, Bernard Borrel, a prisoner, was given conditional liberty '*propter infirmitatem*' to return to prison a fortnight after being completely cured. Many other cases of the kind will be found in the article on the Inquisition published above the signature of the present writer in the *Dictionnaire Apologétique de la Foi catholique*.

Mgr. Douais has excellently explained the reason for such acts of clemency.

The Inquisition [he writes] did not punish for the sake of punishment. It was mainly concerned with correcting, amending, and converting the culprit whom it considered in the first place as having strayed far from the path of duty. Its object was to bring him back to the faith. . . . Less rigorous than secular courts of law, the tribunals of the Church always sought the moral good of the prisoner who appeared at the bar or was otherwise subject to their jurisdiction.

The task which the Inquisition achieved was a considerable one. It was due to the Inquisition that the Church survived the religious crisis which had in many countries threatened her very existence. The Catharist and Waldensian heresies were not utterly destroyed, but they lost the considerable influence they had acquired in the twelfth century over masses of the population throughout a great part of Europe. The revolutionary movements, which were in embryo in all these heretical systems, were crushed after the war against the Albigenses, and with them the nobles, who in protecting heresy were playing with fire. Under the watchful eye of the Inquisition a recrudescence of the mischief became impossible. In spite of all the horrors perpetrated on both sides during the war against the Albigenses and the occasionally drastic suppression of heresy by the Holy Office, it may be said that that war and the Inquisition rendered medieval society the greatest service by limiting to the South of

France in the thirteenth century the wars of religion, which in the sixteenth century and even in the seventeenth laid waste a great part of Europe, and by sparing it the formidable revolutionaries who have been responsible for a far greater number of victims in Russia in a few years than the Inquisition in all the centuries of its existence.

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THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

By JEAN GUIRAUD *Ancien professeur d'histoire à l'Universitié de Besançon*

CONTENTS

THE AGE OF ST. LOUIS

THE German Empire under the dynasty of the Hohenstaufen raised Germany to the summit of her power during the Middle Ages and enabled her to maintain her supremacy until about the middle of the thirteenth century. The Pope and the Emperor appeared to Christian society as 'the two halves of God' in this world—halves, however, which, more often than not, were violently opposed to one another.

When Henry VI, the son of Frederick Barbarossa, inherited through his wife, Constance, the Norman kingdom of Sicily, the Emperor, master of both northern and southern Italy and hemming in on all sides the temporal estates of the Church of which he, as the successor of Charlemagne, claimed the suzerainty, became a menace to the independence of the Holy See; this was the origin of a bitter conflict which rapidly developed between the Popes of the thirteenth century and the Emperor Frederick II.

In deciding in favour of the young prince against his rival, Otto IV of Brunswick, in spite of the antagonism which had existed in the preceding century between the Holy See and the Hohenstaufen, Innocent III relied upon his docility and thought that he would be able to make him his lieutenant in the government of the Christian world. Frederick encouraged the hopes thus entertained by Innocent III so long as he felt himself too weak to reject the Pope's tutelage, and later by his procrastinations evaded the performance of the promises he had made to Innocent's two successors, Honorius III and Gregory IX.

The latter, however, clearly perceived the Emperor's object, and from 1229 to 1250 the Empire and the Holy See engaged in a pitiless duel, punctuated by short intervals of truce. The following chapter will narrate how the feud was brought to an end in 1245 by the sentence of deposition and excommunication pronounced against Frederick II by Innocent IV. The Emperor was abandoned by the great majority of his subjects and

on the 13th December 1250 died in despair. The struggle was carried on by his successors, his legitimate son Conrad IV (1250–4), his illegitimate son Manfred, and his grandson Conradin, until Conradin was overwhelmed on the 23rd August 1268 at Tagliacozzo by Angevin troops and, two months later, beheaded at Naples (29th October 1268).

In course of these wars and after the final defeat of the Hohenstaufen, very much the same situation reproduced itself in Germany as that which western Europe presented immediately after the death of Charlemagne on 28th January 814; the Empire seemed to be falling to pieces. The vast territories in Suabia and Franconia which constituted the hereditary property of the Hohenstaufen, lacking a single owner, became endlessly divided: one hundred and fifty principalities or independent cities were estimated to have emerged from the chaos. The same disruptive process was seen at work in the great fiefs in Bavaria and Saxony, which still retained their feudal suzerains. All over the Empire many cities proclaimed their independence and became autonomous; but, realizing the danger of crumbling to pieces if they were disunited, they banded together in leagues for the reciprocal protection of their liberties and commerce. These associations called themselves Hansas— on the model, perhaps, of the Teutonic Hansa which had been established under Frederick II, in 1241, under the auspices of the 'free' cities of Hamburg and Lübeck. The Westphalian Hanseatic League was so formed in 1254 and the Rhenish in 1256; the original object was the suppression of robbery and other crimes of violence, for the disruption of the Empire was followed by anarchy in certain districts. Brigand knights made their appearance and held the populace to ransom, while war became a regular profession for small marauding bands who made pretence of serving any properly constituted authority.

The Papacy became alarmed at such a state of affairs and in 1272, after the death of Richard of Cornwall, who had not shown himself in Germany since 1269 (his rival Alfonso X had never appeared there at all), Gregory X succeeded in persuading the nobles and prelates of Germany to elect an Emperor. Their

choice fell on one whom they conceived to be of the humblest possible origin and the least powerful, for they elected a modest squire, a certain Rudolph of Hapsburg, whose little castle still stands on the Aar in the Swiss canton of Aargau.

Dante, who had steadfastly adhered to the conception of an Emperor who should be the temporal head of the Christian world, has in his *Purgatorio* blamed Rudolph because he took no interest in Italy and did nothing to cure the ills afflicting that country. The little Hapsburg squire had no time to spare until he had established and consolidated his personal situation and secured the future of his family. In his own district he became a 'collector of properties', adding to his patrimony a number of other fiefs. Once he felt strong enough, he attacked with the help of a number of great feudal nobles, Ottokar, king of Bohemia, one of the most powerful princes of the German confederation, because Ottokar had refused to do him homage. He defeated and killed him at the battle of Marchfeld, on 26th August 1278, and, enriching his house with the spoils of the vanquished Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, and Carniola, made the Hapsburg family the possessors of extensive hereditary dominions; Austria, Styria, and Carniola he gave to his sons Albert and Rudolph, and thus the house of Hapsburg became the house of Austria. His son-in-law, the count of Tirol, received Carinthia for his portion on condition that, in default of an heir male, the province should revert to Austria. Once his own family was thus securely seated in the saddle, he toured throughout Germany dispensing justice, as Louis the Fat had done in the twelfth century in his kingdom of France, and so restored the imperial authority, if not throughout the world as Dante desired, at any rate in German-speaking countries, and that was no small feat.

The nobles must, doubtless, have considered that he had done not too little but too much, for on his death in 1294 they elected as his successor, not his son Albert, who was apparently considered too powerful, but a noble of a condition as humble as had been that of Rudolph—Adolph of Nassau, who reigned from 1294 to 1298.

Adolph was soon at war with Albert of Austria, who also laid claim to the Empire and would have conquered it with the help of Philip the Fair, king of France, to whom he had promised increases of territory in the kingdom of Arles. But, though Adolph was slain in battle by his rival in 1298, Albert was assassinated in the same year. The two deaths prove that the German Empire had not yet recovered either unity or stability.

It had, on the other hand, lost in Europe both its former supremacy and much of its property. Charles of Anjou, the conqueror of the Hohenstaufen, not content with ruling in Naples and Palermo, had annexed Provence, as heir to the count, his brother-in-law. Pope Gregory X, in virtue of a clause in the Treaty of Meaux-Paris, concluded in 1229 between Raymond VI, count of Toulouse, the king of France, and the Holy See, had taken possession of the Venaissin, while Philip the Fair was pursuing the course of the negotiations which were to end in the cession to him of a number of fortified places, Lyons on the Rhône and several fiefs in the Meuse valley, all of which had once been in the tenure of the Romano-German Empire. Finally, in 1291, the three cantons of Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden separated from the house of Austria and proclaimed their independence; other cantons quickly followed their lead and wars were waged between them and their former masters, as a result of which, after the battles of Sempach in 1386 and Näfels in 1388, a new European State was born and lived to become Switzerland.

Meanwhile, what had become of the preponderance in the Christian world which the German Empire had lost? It had not gone to England, for England also had declined in the thirteenth century. The growing power of the Plantagenets had inspired the kings of France with the same apprehensions which the power of the Hohenstaufen had bred in the Popes. The dukes of Normandy had become kings of England and were wearing crowns like their suzerain; mere vassals on the Continent, they were sovereigns in their own island. By the marriage, in the summer of 1128, of Matilda of England, the widowed daughter of Henry I and a woman of twenty-five, to Geoffrey

Plantagenet, count of Anjou, a boy of fifteen, whole provinces in the heart of France had come into the hands of the king of England, and finally, by a marriage still more disastrous to France, that in May 1152 between Eleanor of Aquitaine, the widow of Louis VIII, king of France, and Henry II, king of England, also ten years her junior, the power of the latter extended as far as the Pyrenees, elbowing that of the king of France north, west, and south. The result of the wars in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries between the Plantagenets and the Capetians was to loosen the vice in which the realm of France was held both north and south. The success of the kings of France was due not only to their superior intelligence contrasted with the weakness of their rivals, but also to the constitutional crisis which England went through in the thirteenth century, while the political liberties of the country were being slowly achieved at the expense of painful intestinal conflicts.

If we compare Philip Augustus with the two Plantagenets who were his principal adversaries, Richard Cœur-de-Lion (1189–99) and John Lackland (1199–1216), it is difficult not to admit that he was more politic than the former, more energetic than the latter: he made marvellously good use of the errors of each. Philip Augustus took advantage of Richard's chivalrous devotion to the Crusades to undermine his position at home, while after his return Richard wasted his strength in crusading and feudal wars until he finally perished miserably on 6th April 1199 in a trumpery quarrel over treasure trove at the siege of Châlons. Next, Philip Augustus seized the opportunity of the murder of Arthur of Brittany by John Lackland to declare Normandy, Anjou, and Touraine confiscated and seize them himself in 1204. At the very moment when he hoped to take his revenge, John Lackland was prevented by his quarrel with the archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Langton, whom Innocent III had consecrated at Viterbo on the 17th June 1207, in spite of the king's wrath, and Philip Augustus had the good fortune to see a rising of nobles and clergy against his rival, while the Pope himself excommunicated John Lackland, deposed him, and offered his crown to Philip Augustus, who

accepted it. When, on the other hand, Philip was threatened by a coalition between Flanders, Otto IV, Emperor of Germany, and John Lackland, nobles, prelates, and commons gathered unanimously round their king and won for him on 27th July 1214 the battle of Bouvines, a hamlet a day's march south-east of Lille.

This French victory and the almost simultaneous defeat of the king of England in Poitou were followed by a recrudescence of civil war in England. The representatives of the nobles, the clergy, and the commons assembled in arms under the presidency of the Primate, Archbishop Langton of Canterbury, marched up the valley of the Thames from London, which they had entered on Sunday morning, the 24th May. On Monday, the 15th June 1215, they compelled the king on the meadow of Runnymede, just below Windsor, to put his seal to demands which subsequently became embodied in a document called the Great Charter guaranteeing the liberty of the privileged orders, their exemption from justice, unless administered by their peers, and the submission of taxation to the approval of the prelates and great nobles.

John Lackland died a few months later at Newark, on the 19th October 1216, and the minority of his son and successor, Henry III, a child of nine, the eldest of the five children born to him by his wife, Isabella of Angoulême, whom he had stolen from Hugh, count of La Marche, made the recovery of the lost provinces more difficult and rebellion more easy, while under the influence of the great Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, who continued the work begun by Langton, the effort to restrict the royal authority was steadily pursued.

In 1240, Henry III, then a young king of thirty years of age, conceived that the time had come to make good the losses of the preceding reign and his own minority. A great coalition had been formed against France which included, in addition to England, Hugh of Lusignan, count de la Marche, the husband of John Lackland's widow, Raymond VII, count of Toulouse, the lords of the south of France, eager to recover their independence, and the king of Aragon, the son of that Pedro who had

been overthrown and killed at Murêt. This coalition was defeated in quick succession at the bridge of Taillebourg, on the 21st July 1242, and on the following day at Saintes by Louis IX, the peace-loving saintly king who was none the less a valiant fighter in the field. The lost opportunity never returned again, not only because France, under the prudent government of Louis IX, became stronger and more united than ever, but because fresh political conflicts broke out in England. Under the leadership of Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, the son of the conqueror of the Albigenses, and the king's brother-in-law, prelates, barons, and commons rebelled on several occasions against the king's neglect of the terms of the Great Charter, which the Pope had declared null, because only signed under compulsion, and Henry III was forced to make the concessions over again in the Provisions of Oxford, which he signed in 1259. This fresh concession by the royal power was but a short-lived truce; nobles and commons revolted again in 1263 under the leadership of Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, in spite of the promise which he had given to accept the arbitral award of St. Louis on the matters at dispute. The king was taken prisoner at the battle of Lewes, on 14th May 1264, but his son, Prince Edward, stepped into his father's place, captured Gloucester, marched on Kenilworth, first crushed the younger Simon and then slew the father at Evesham, on 4th August 1265. A peace concluded shortly afterwards gave the king back his liberty but compelled Edward to take the Cross in the same expedition as that in which St. Louis died.

On the death of his father at Westminster on the 16th November 1272, worn out with the troubles of his reign, Edward I succeeded to the throne but did not return to England until the summer of 1274; he proved an intelligent, prudent, and energetic king. He endeavoured by conquest to restore its lost prestige to the Crown. In 1284 he subdued Wales, which had taken advantage of the troubles in England to repudiate an overlordship which had always been more nominal than real, but he was less successful in Scotland. He had in 1286 imposed the government of John Baliol, the great-grandson of David,

his liegeman, on the country, hoping one day to be able to take into his own hands the direct government; he made the attempt to do this ten years later in 1296, but a national rising followed in the next year under William Wallace, and Scotland engaged in a war with England which lasted for eight years. Wallace was defeated at Falkirk in 1298, taken to London, and hanged, drawn, and quartered in 1305. The banner of independence was once more raised by Robert Bruce, the grandson of the original claimant against Baliol, who had himself crowned at Scone and succeeded in maintaining himself as king of Scotland during the very troubled reign of Edward II.

These wars had occasioned disagreement between the king and the three estates of the realm. To defray expenses, Edward I had attempted to raise taxes without their consent and to institute a fiscal policy similar to that of the king of France, Philip the Fair; the nobles, clergy, and commons, however, were determined not only to preserve their fiscal liberties but also to make use of them to increase still further their political liberties *vis-à-vis* the king. Necessity therefore compelled the king, in spite of his energy, to make fresh concessions in charters, which he signed successively in 1275 at Westminster, in 1278 at Gloucester, and in 1285 at Winchester. Twelve years later, in 1297, he confirmed both the Great Charter and all the subsequent concessions which he had made. In 1295, the first Great Parliament assembled, containing representatives of the three estates.

The reign of his son and successor, Edward II (1307–27), was filled with a succession of civil wars, the result of which was to increase the power of Parliament at the expense of the king. The court was rent by intestinal factions which involved the king's favourites, notably Piers Gaveston, a Gascon,[1] and the Queen, Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair, king of France, then a girl of sixteen. Their quarrels provoked a succession of wars. Isabella returned to France to seek the necessary assistance against the king, who was deposed, and on the night of the

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[1] Pierre de Gabaston, Gabaston being a village on the little river Gabas, some eight miles east by north of Pau.

21st September 1327 murdered in Berkeley Castle by order of the queen. So at the very moment when the Hundred Years' War was about to break out, the royal power was rapidly declining and England seemed to be absorbed in civil strife.

The Christian kingdoms in the Iberian peninsula at the beginning of the thirteenth century continued to carry on their secular crusade against Islam. Ever since the victory of Las Navas de Tolosa on 16th July 1212, which the troops of Castile, Leon, and Aragon, led by Alfonso VIII, king of Castile, had won over a host of 500,000 Almohades, led by their Emperor in person, ultimate success seemed to be assured to the Cross against the Crescent. St. Ferdinand III (1217–52), a nephew of Alfonso VIII, made it the more certain by the capture of Cordova in 1236, which marked the end of the Caliphate and the conquest of part of Andalusia. Aragon, also, after the long minority of Don Jaime, the son of that Pedro who was overwhelmed at Murêt on 12th September 1213, resumed its forward march and wrested the Balearic Isles from the Moors, Majorca being captured on the 31st December 1229, Minorca three years later. Valencia fell in 1238, while Alfonso III, king of Portugal (1248–79), occupied Algarve on the Atlantic in 1253. Towards the middle of the thirteenth century, therefore, all that remained to the Caliphate was the little kingdom of Granada, while the kings of Castile and Aragon were already forming plans to cross the strait and pursue the Moors into Africa.

This decline of Islam enabled the Christian kingdoms to enter into more frequent relations with the rest of Europe. The kingdom of Navarre, no longer bounded by Moslem countries, became more and more inclined to look to the other side of the Pyrenees, more especially since it had come to be governed by the counts of Champagne, who were great vassals of the king of France. Their possessions in the south of France, no less than their family and political relations with the counts of Béarn, Foix, and Toulouse, had long caused the kings of Aragon to pay attention to affairs on the French side of the Pyrenees. Towards the middle of the thirteenth century, they entered into

relations with the last representatives of the imperial house of the Hohenstaufen and when, under Charles of Anjou, the supremacy of France seemed to be definitely established in the Mediterranean, Pedro III of Aragon was disposed to contest it. He supported Manfred and Conradin against Charles of Anjou and encouraged the revolutionary movement which broke out in Sicily in 1282 with the Sicilian Vespers,[1] and in the end secured to their house the possession of the island. The commerce of Aragon developed increasingly upon the sea. Pedro III and his successor Jaime II (1291–1327) developed their mercantile fleet and sent expedition after expedition all over the Mediterranean basin and, while Castile turned its attention to Morocco, Pedro III attempted to capture Tunisia, and his successor became duke of Athens. Aragon, full of confidence in its future, even ventured to engage in hostilities with France, and it was on his way back from an ill-starred expedition against the Spanish kingdom that Philip the Bold, king of France, died at Perpignan in 1258.

Castile also entertained similar European ambitions in the reign of Ferdinand III, for Ferdinand was the faithful ally of his aunt, Blanche of Castile, queen-regent of France, and his cousin St. Louis. His son, Alfonso X, attempted even to add the crown of Germany to his crown of Castile, for he had himself elected king of the Romans; his was a mere title, however, contested by Richard of Cornwall, and gave him no real power. He earned his epithet of *the Wise* by the interior organization of his States which, with material prosperity, also saw the rise to power of the communes, more particularly after they became united into powerful federations surnamed *hermandades*. Political liberties developed in Castile, as in Aragon, and were secured in both kingdoms by charters or *fueros* and parliaments or *cortes* which assembled the representatives of the clergy, the nobility or *hidalgos*, and the *hombres ricos* and the representatives of the communes.

In France and throughout Europe, the minority of St. Louis

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[1] On Easter Tuesday of that year the natives of Sicily perpetrated a general massacre of all the French residents in the island.

had inspired great hopes of revenge in the breasts of those who had eyed with misgiving the increasing power of the French monarchy and the growth of French influence all over Christendom in the reign of Philip Augustus; the prudence and firmness of the regent, Blanche of Castile, supported by the legate Romano, cardinal of St. Angelo, had, however, compelled the rebellious barons to submit. Henry II, king of England, unable to rely upon their assistance, had on several occasions requested truces which were once again granted in 1235. The result was that when the young king, on attaining his majority in that year, assumed the reins of power, all the conquests which Philip Augustus had made were firmly consolidated, the royal authority was everywhere held in respect, and the Capetian monarchy, which had been the chief beneficiary of the war against the Albigenses, stretched as far as the Pyrenees.

One last coalition against France was formed in 1241 at the instigation of John Lackland's widow, who had re-married her first husband Hugh of Lusignan, count de la Marche; its members were Henry III, king of England, the count de la Marche, and Raymond VII, count of Toulouse, who was fired with the ambition to recover all the territories he had been compelled to cede to France by the Treaty of Paris in 1229; several great barons of France, the kings of Navarre and Castile, who were disturbed by the proximity of France, and Frederick II, merely awaited their first successes to make common cause with the confederates. But St. Louis, whose passion was for peace through justice, was a valiant warrior when it came to defending the Crown and the royal authority; his victories at Taillebourg and Saintes imposed peace on England and England's allies in the west, while the count of Toulouse, abandoned to his own resources, was compelled to submit (1242). The truce concluded at the time with England, was transformed into a lasting peace at Paris (1258). Although Henry III was only too happy to sign it in order to have his hands free to fight his own insurgent barons, St. Louis granted him everything he thought right, even to the extent of ceding to him territories in his own possession, and his moderation, while it astounded his

courtiers, served only to increase the influence which his reputation for fair dealing had earned him in the world; treaties no less equitable were concluded with Aragon and Castile, 'and from that time onward', says Guillaume de Nangis, speaking of the victories won by St. Louis in 1242, 'the barons of France gave up every attempt against their king'.

Although he had shown himself a warrior of courage and energy when it was a question of reducing them to submission, St. Louis maintained his authority over his barons by his great reputation for justice; as an arbiter universally accepted he settled their quarrels, and by his judgements prevented their wars. In this way he decided a number of disputes which had arisen between the feudal houses of Flanders and Hainault by the 'dictum of Peronne', in 1255, and the succession to Navarre which was disputed between Thibaut V of Champagne and the count of Brittany. So he reconciled the count of Châlons with the count of Burgundy, the count de Bar with Henry of Luxemburg and the duke of Lorraine, Guigue VII, dauphin of the Viennese, with Charles of Anjou, count of Provence and the count of Savoy. 'So it came about', says Joinville, 'that the Burgundians and the Lorrainers, whom he had pacified, loved and obeyed him so much that I saw them come and plead in his own court in cases which he had against them.' The same spirit of peace and justice secured him also the confidence of the clergy and the towns. His authority was profoundly respected and obeyed by the three estates which, instead of rebelling like those in England, gathered closely around him.

He exercised such high authority even outside his own country. On several occasions during the course of their quarrels Henry III of England and his barons had recourse to his arbitrament with the same confidence, more particularly after the publication of the Provisions of Oxford; instead of favouring a disunion which maintained England in a state of impotence, he gave judgement as his conscience dictated against the demands of the barons in the 'Dit' or 'Mise' of Amiens in 1264. The award was made in solemn form and duly confirmed by the Pope that the Provisions of Oxford were

annulled as destroying the rights of the English Crown and harmful to the realm.

During the bitter conflict between the Papacy and the Empire, St. Louis condemned the excesses committed on either side and exhorted the disputants to become reconciled. Gregory IX excommunicated Frederick II in 1240 and, having deposed him, offered the imperial crown to the count of Artois, the brother of the king of France. St. Louis forbade his brother to accept it, but offered no objection to the legality of the excommunication; but when the French bishops, on their way to the Council convoked by the Pope, were taken prisoner by the Pisans, Frederick's allies, after the naval battle of Maloria, near Leghorn, in which the men of Pisa vanquished the Genoese, St. Louis made the most energetic representations to the Emperor, insisting that he should liberate the prelates and concluded his remonstrance by the proud words: 'Our realm is not so reduced that it will suffer itself to be ridden by you with the spur.' When Innocent IV, on the other hand, at the Council of Lyons, on the 17th July 1245, pronounced sentence of excommunication and deposition against Frederick II, St. Louis continued to maintain personal relations with the Emperor in an attempt to effect his reconciliation with the Church. This, no doubt, was one object of the interview he had at Cluny with Innocent IV in the month of November following. He was able to persuade Frederick to the same moderation towards the Pope, as he had counselled the Pope to adopt towards Frederick. In the spring of 1247 the Emperor had conceived the design of crossing the Alps and, with the help of Savoy, seizing the person of Innocent IV at Lyons; he was forced to abandon his design when St. Louis informed him that he would find the troops of the king of France in his way and that they would prevent him.

St. Louis thus imposed justice and peace not only within his own kingdom but also throughout the whole of Christendom, and, when the great interregnum took place, France assumed by the side of the Papacy the leading place in the Christian world which the Holy Empire lost; it retained its pre-eminence until the Hundred Years' War.

Many French feudal families founded dynasties in Europe and even in the East. In 1234 Thibaut, count of Champagne, succeeded his uncle Sancho the Strong on the throne of Navarre, and that country was governed throughout the thirteenth century by French princes: Thibaut I (1234–53) was succeeded by his son Thibaut II (1253–70), a son-in-law of St. Louis, and he by his brother Henry (1271–4). They maintained the country in the closest union with France until finally, Jeanne, the heiress of her father, Henry II, by her marriage with Philip the Fair, united Navarre to the Crown of France, a union which was to endure until 1328. When the Holy See determined to remove the Hohenstaufen and set another family on the throne of the kingdom of Naples, a French prince, Charles, count of Anjou and Provence, the brother of St. Louis, was invited to fill the place. After crushing Conradin at Tagliacozzo in 1268, Charles became not only master of southern Italy and Sicily but leader also of the Guelph party in northern Italy and Tuscany, and even senator, that is to say governor, of Rome. Charles of Anjou was a man of high ambition and intent on extending his conquests across the Adriatic to the Balkan peninsula; he failed, and after the Sicilian Vespers even lost possession of Sicily, but his son and successor, Charles II, succeeded in marrying his son to the heiress of Hungary and so planted a branch of the Capetian House by the banks of the Danube towards the end of the thirteenth century. While his son Charobert (Charles-Robert) was crowned king of Hungary by Boniface VIII, Charles II of Anjou became suzerain of Achaia and the Morea, the duchy of Athens, the kingdom of Albania, and the island of Corfu, and owing to him and to all the French nobles who had carved feudal principalities for themselves out of the Empire of Constantinople, as a result of the crusade of 1204, and transmitted them to children, French influence, habits, and customs penetrated the whole Balkan peninsula from Constantinople to Sparta, from Athens and the islands of the Aegean Sea to Durazzo on the coast of the Adriatic.

Ever since this crusade, it had been a French family, that of the count of Flanders, which had retained possession of the

Eastern Empire, and under its vague suzerainty a feudal aristocracy of French race and French speech had divided the spoils of the Byzantine Empire. Geoffrey de Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne, became prince of the Morea, and his sons extended their possessions in the course of the thirteenth century as far as Salonika on the one side and on the other to Monembasia and Mistra in Sparta at the far end of the Morea; another family from Champagne, the de Briennes, held the duchy of Athens, while the Poitevin family of de Lusignan were kings of Cyprus; marriage settled French princesses on the throne of Armenia, while the military Orders of the Temple and the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, which had been founded in France and there maintained their principal recruiting depôts, continued to defend in Palestine the remnants of the old kingdom of Jerusalem.

The Papacy itself seemed in danger of becoming a French institution, inasmuch as in the second half of the thirteenth century four out of thirteen Popes were Frenchmen and two of them had been councillors of the king, St. Louis, before ascending to the throne of St. Peter. Many of those who were not of French nationality had filled important offices at the court of St. Louis and his successors, while during this period the Sacred College was crowded with Frenchmen who played an important part in the government of the Church.

It is not, therefore, difficult to understand why French influence should have permeated the whole of Christendom and extended even to distant countries. In the French *chansons de geste* the poets of all nations sought their inspiration, when they were not content merely to translate them; Haakon V, king of Norway (1217–63), employed them as a means of propaganda, and the Scandinavian sagas were close imitations of them. No country showed greater esteem for French *jongleurs* than Italy, particularly in the provinces of Lombardy and Venice. The poets of Castile imitated the French *trouvères* in the *Cancionero Gallego*, and the court poetry of France delighted the courts of Portugal and Castile. As for the Catalan *troubadours*, they wrote their songs in Provençal.

When he settled at Naples, Charles of Anjou brought with him not only warriors; he was no mean poet himself, like many a noble of high degree in his day, and he therefore surrounded himself with poets also hailing from Provence or the provinces of northern France. He thus welcomed the *troubadour* Bertrand d'Alamanon and the Picard Adam de la Halle. It was at the court of Naples that the first performance was given in 1285 of the charming work, *Le Jeu de Robin et de Marion*, to which the latter owes his fame. The *trouvères* and *troubadours* of France wandered as far as the East, and several of the knights who there carved themselves principalities related their exploits in the French tongue. Geoffrey de Villehardouin, prince of the Morea, composed the *History of the Conquest of Constantinople*, a narrative of the Fourth Crusade during the years 1199–1207, which was continued by Henri de Valenciennes and Robert de Clary, a knight of Picardy. The court of the de Lusignan family in Cyprus was frequented in the thirteenth century by versifiers and writers of prose, who expressed themselves in French and of whom one of the most celebrated was Philip de Novare, the author of *Rimes et des chansons*, a treatise on feudal law and a tract on morals, while Jean de Journy in 1288 wrote a poem entitled *Dîme de la pénitence*.

French was an international language used almost as extensively as Latin: thus Brunetto Latini, an Italian who taught Dante in Florence, wrote his *Livre du Trésor* in the French tongue, he declares, for two reasons: 'one because we are living in France and the other because the French idiom is more delightful and the common language of all nations', and his continuator adds that 'the French tongue was current throughout the world'. In England, Robert Grosseteste, the famous bishop of Lincoln (1175–1253), reckoned that in the thirteenth century there were only two languages, Latin for clerks and French for the rest. Ralph Higden, a monk of St. Werburgh's Abbey in Chester (*c.* 1363), in his *Polychronicon*,[1] a narrative in seven books of events from the beginning of the world to the

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[1] An English translation by John Trevisa made in 1385 was printed by Caxton in 1482.

death of Edward III, wrote that 'gentlemen's children are taught to speak French from the time they are rocked in the cradle; and uplandish (country) or inferior men will liken themselves to gentlemen, and learn with great business for to speak French, for to be the more told of'. Statutes, which during the twelfth century were drawn up in Latin, began to be written in the vulgar tongue in 1215, but the vulgar tongue then was French, not English, and so it continued uninterruptedly throughout the thirteenth century. It was not until the end of the reign of Edward III that English became the official language. In the East, French was the official language of all the Latin colonies, and the judicial codes known under the names of the *Assizes* of Jerusalem and the *Assizes* of Antioch were drawn up in French. A chronicle of the Morea, itself composed in French, informs us that 'ever since the conquest, the princes of the Morea have gone to seek their wives in the best French houses and other rich men and the knights have done likewise; they married only women who could prove their descent from French knights'. And it was commonly reported that the most distinguished chivalry in the world was the chivalry of the Morea and that as good French was spoken there as in Paris.

The art of France spread over the world at the same time as its literature. Gothic architecture was the glory of the thirteenth century and scattered masterpieces all over Christendom. The name by which it was known in Germany and other countries—*opus francigenum*—is alone sufficient to prove that its origin was attributed to France; the ascription was justified. In Germany the great majority of the Cistercian churches of the thirteenth century drew their inspiration from Burgundian art, Cîteaux being in Burgundy; the style of Champagne was imitated in Xanten, in the province of the Rhine; Magdeburg Cathedral (1208–40) is a copy of the cathedral at Laon; the magnificent cathedral at Cologne, a masterpiece of Gothic architecture in Germany, is entirely reminiscent of the cathedrals of Amiens and Beauvais. The French architect, Villard de Honnecourt, made lengthy stays in Hungary, where he built numerous

churches. Another French master, Étienne de Bonneuil, architect to the king of France, with ten companions who had made the journey with him, built the cathedral of Upsala in Sweden (it was begun in 1287) on the model of Notre Dame in Paris.[1]

The first entirely Gothic churches in England had Frenchmen for their architects—for example, Canterbury Cathedral, begun in 1174 by one Guillaume, a mason from Sens—a fact which explains the great resemblance between it and the Metropolitan of Sens, which was erected between about 1144 and 1168. The nave of York Minster is shown by the fabric-rolls which have been preserved to have been built between 1291 and 1345, and was modelled on that of the cathedral of Clermont-Ferrand, its predecessor.

In Italy, the Emperor Frederick II summoned to his court many French architects, the best known of whom is Philippe Chinard, who came from Cyprus but was of Champenois origin; it is not therefore surprising that numerous churches and fortresses in southern Italy should show affinities with French art through the works of the Latin East which were their models. Charles of Anjou, himself a Frenchman with the bulk of his estates in France, followed the example of Frederick II; his great master of works was a Frenchman, Pierre d'Angicourt, who imitated the churches of that Provence of which his master was count. The art of Burgundy is to be found in Italy, as everywhere else, in the Cistercian churches whose architects in their turn educated pupils. The abbey of Fossanova where St Thomas Aquinas died on his way to the Council of Lyons, was the cradle of Gothic art in central Italy, while the Cistercian monks of San Galgano in Tuscany directed the building of the magnificent Gothic cathedral in Siena, which, but for the Black Death, would have been the greatest church in Christendom.

Spain profited very much more than Italy from the lessons in art taught by the Burgundian monks and the constant relations between the country and France: Gothic art developed greatly in Spain; the cathedrals of Toledo, Burgos, and Leon rival in splendour

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[1] The materials at his command prevented him from following the model to the extent required of him.

the great churches contemporaneously built on the other side of the Pyrenees. They are undistinguishable from them in style: the inspiration behind Burgos and Toledo derives from Bourges; the architects of the cathedral at Leon went to seek their models a little later at Chartres and in Champagne. The union of the crowns of Champagne and Navarre in the thirteenth century was, doubtless, largely responsible for this.[1]

Recent discoveries have proved that it was architects educated by the Frenchman Deschamps in the building yards of the cathedrals of Clermont-Ferrand and Narbonne, who built the cathedral of Gerona in Spain.

There still survive in the East numerous examples of the religious, military, and civil architecture of the thirteenth century, for the most part due to French art. Cyprus in the first half of the century received its plans and instructions from the Île de France. The cathedral of Nicosia resembles Notre Dame in Paris, perhaps because its founder, Archbishop Thierry, had a brother who was succentor in the cathedral of Paris. From 1250 to 1350, it was the artistic influence of Champagne which made itself felt in Cyprus, more particularly in the cathedral church of Famagusta, 'whose portico and towers recall the cathedral of Rheims, while its ground-plan and interior and exterior elevation evoke the elegant church of Saint Urbain at Troyes'.[2] Gothic art did not develop to the same extent in Palestine as in Cyprus because there the Christian kingdom was dealt a mortal blow by Saladin in 1187 and survived with difficulty in a few towns and powerful fortresses crowning the hill-tops. It is the powerful strongholds more particularly which show traces of French influence.

If after a careful examination of the plan and method of construction disclosed in these sacred or profane buildings there were time to consider carefully their decoration with the sculptured ornaments on their porticoes and façades, the capitals on column and pillar, the painting on their rose and stained-glass windows, and the tapestries which hung upon

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[1] Enlart, C., *Manuel d'archéologie française*, vol. i, 'Architecture religieuse'.
[2] Lognon, J., *Les Français d'outre-mer*.

their walls, we should see in these various spheres of art the same French influence at work in every country in Christendom and discover further proof of the uncontested hegemony of France.

The influence of France was also spread far and wide through its universities, more especially through the most famous of them all, the university of Paris. Cardinal Eudes of Châteauroux, who had taught there, had that university in mind when he observed that 'France is the country which bakes the intellectual bread of the whole world'. It had received its final charter in 1231 from Pope Gregory IX in the Bull *Parens scientiarum*. The masters who taught in its faculties, especially the faculties of art and theology, were famous throughout the entire world, more particularly when the most distinguished representatives of the mendicant Orders, Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustinians, had secured the right, after a fierce struggle, to teach from chairs which the secular clergy wished to keep to themselves. Peter Lombard, 'the master of the Sentences', St. Thomas Aquinas, and St. Bonaventura came from Italy to teach theology, the German Dominican, Albert the Great, taught the natural sciences, the English Franciscan, Roger Bacon, theology and science, the Frenchman, Jaques Pantaléon, who was later to become Pope Urban IV, taught canon law. Students no less than masters flocked to the Montagne Sainte-Geneviève from all quarters of the world; both were divided, according to their country of origin, into four groups or 'nations', the French, the Picards, the Normans, and the English, every European nation being somewhat confusedly included in one or other of these four groups. Each elected its own governing body, and all four in common elected the Rector of the Faculty of Arts, who was also rector of all four faculties.

To enable poor students to pursue their studies to the end, generous benefactors founded colleges to which they guaranteed an income sufficient to allow them to receive students gratuitously, and soon a generous rivalry covered the Montagne Sainte-Geneviève with a great number of colleges and the 'Latin quarter' was established. Mention may be made of the

college founded, in 1257, for masters in arts who intended to proceed to a doctorate in theology, by Robert de Sorbon, the chaplain to St. Louis; it became known as the Sorbonne; of the College de Navarre which was founded by Jeanne, the wife of Philip the Fair, countess de Champagne and queen of Navarre, and the College du Plessis. Side by side with these colleges, directed by the secular clergy, convents were established in rapid succession to receive religious of different Orders, the Dominicans in the Rue Saint-Jacques (whence they derived their name of Jacobins), the convent of the Mathurins (a religious congregation of Trinitarians founded in 1198 by St. John of Matha for the redemption of Christian captives from the Saracens), which housed most of the general assemblies of the university. The undergraduate population is estimated to have amounted to from 15,000 to 20,000 students of all nationalities, pursuing studies of the most varied kinds.

A number of other universities was established in France on the model of the university of Paris. Orleans was founded in 1235 by Gregory IX and devoted itself more particularly to the study of law; on the 31st July 1272 Charles of Anjou invited it to send teachers and scholars to the university he had founded in Naples. Angers was at first an annexe of the university of Paris; Toulouse was founded after the victory of orthodoxy over the Albigenses (1229), and its first teachers also came from Paris; the university of Montpellier was established on the 26th October 1289 by Pope Nicholas IV, who united the schools of law, medicine, and arts which had been actively at work for a century past in that town. It became very famous for its medical teaching and from 1319 to 1323 numbered Petrarch among its students of law.

Universities were founded in the other countries of Christendom and rivalled that of Paris, while maintaining continual relations with it. In England, the university of Oxford developed owing to the establishment of the mendicant friars (the Dominicans settled there first in 1221 and returned seven hundred years later) and the charter granted by Henry III in 1248 to its students. Colleges began to grow up around it as

around the university of Paris, and one of the most important of the colleges, Balliol College, was founded as an act of penance for outrage by John Balliol in 1263 and developed by his widow Devorguila, the daughter and co-heiress of Alan, lord of Galloway, and the great-great-granddaughter of David; her devotion is commemorated in the linked shields of the Balliol arms. Its statutes date from 1282. Exeter College was founded by Walter de Stapledon, bishop of Exeter, in 1314; and Hertford, perhaps, by Elias de Hertford between 1283 and 1300. Walter de Merton, chancellor of the realm from 1261 to 1263 and again from 1272 to 1274 and bishop of Rochester in 1271, well described on his monument in what was once his cathedral as the founder by example *omnium quotquot extant collegiorum*, founded in 1264 a 'hostel for students from Merton', his native village; its constitution is older than that of any other Oxford college. For it received its final statutes in 1274 with the right of self-government and recruiting its own members and, for symbol of its rights, the use of a common seal. Other colleges upon the Merton model followed in succeeding centuries, giving Oxford the characteristic aspect it has retained to the present day. Among its masters in the thirteenth century was the celebrated bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste, one of the first teachers in the Franciscan school of theology, who played an important part in religious and political life in the reign of Henry III.

The university of Cambridge, like the university of Oxford, was organized in the course of the thirteenth century on the model of Paris with 'nations' and colleges, proctors, and a chancellor independent of the chancellor of the chapter; the mendicant Orders there played the same part. Its oldest college, Peterhouse, founded as a hospital at an earlier date, was converted in 1284 by Hugues Balsham, bishop of Ely, into a hostel for 'studious scholars'.

In Italy, the university of Bologna was already old-established and of considerable reputation when Pope Innocent IV granted it new statutes in 1253; it specialized in the study of civil and canon law. Its teachers contributed to the great compilation of Gratian, a Benedictine monk of Italian birth, who, borrowing

the idea from the Pandects of Justinian then recently discovered, composed between 1139 and 1142 a *Concordia discordantium Canonum* commonly cited as the *Decretum Gratiani*. It was superseded in the course of the thirteenth century by the five books of the Decretals codified to the order of Pope Gregory IX by St. Raymond of Peñafort, his chaplain, afterwards General of the Dominicans, and itself completed by the *Sext* of Boniface VIII in 1298. The next addition was the *Clementines* of Clement V, promulgated at the Council of Vienne in 1308 and republished with twenty fresh enactments of his own by his successor, John XXII, in 1317, and finally, the *Extravagantes*, an appendix of five books coming down to 1483 in the pontificate of Sixtus IV.

A number of other universities was founded in the north of Italy on the model of the university of Bologna and sometimes in emulation of it or for the purpose of housing the students which thronged it, at Reggio, Modena, Vicenza, and Padua. Padua specialized at first in civil and canon law, but in the course of the thirteenth century developed flourishing schools of grammar, literature, and medicine. The Emperor Frederick II, anxious to promote the study of literature in his kingdom of the Two Sicilies no less than the practice of the arts, established in Naples faculties of theology, law, and medicine in the intention that the last mentioned should assume the inheritance of the schools of medicine at Salerno which had been so celebrated in preceding centuries. St. Thomas Aquinas was professor of theology in the university of Naples when he set out in 1274 to attend the oecumenical Council of Lyons and died in the course of his journey. Pope Boniface VIII founded in Rome, in 1303, for foreign students who kept flocking to the city, a university which did not survive the transference of the Holy See to Avignon: in so doing, he must have remembered the many years of study he himself had spent in the university of Paris.

The multiplication of so many great centres of learning provoked an intellectual ferment in the thirteenth century which produced magnificent discoveries in every field of knowledge and numerous philosophical and theological controversies. The Franciscan Roger Bacon gave a powerful impulse to the study

of mathematics and, pointing out the errors in the Julian Calendar, requested Pope Clement IV (1254–68) to make the necessary corrections which were not ordered until some three centuries later by Gregory XIII in the calendar which bears that Pontiff's name. In 1252 Alfonso X, king of Castile, assembled at Toledo upwards of fifty of the most learned Moorish and Christian astronomers of the age to reform the anomalies of the Ptolemaic planetary tables, and their labours produced the *Alfonsine Tables*. Humboldt, the distinguished nineteenth-century naturalist, has paid a glowing tribute to the great geological and physical discoveries made in the thirteenth century by Albert the Great in his investigations of the radius of the heat of the earth, climates, and subterranean thermal waters. J. B. Dumas, the illustrious chemist, has highly praised the value of the researches conducted by Albert the Great, saying of that learned bishop of Ratisbon: 'Vegetable anatomy is indebted to him for having been the first to demonstrate the principal parts of the flower which were to be used by Tournefort, the French botanist (1656–1708) four centuries later, as the basis of his method in natural history', and again: 'In another chapter, Albert devotes himself to lengthy dissertations upon the sleep of plants: he is already lecturing, in the thirteenth century, on the night slumber of the vegetable creation.' A pupil of Galen and Aristotle, Albert far surpassed his masters in the range of his zoological studies and his description of the human body. In studying the brain, he suggested the theory which was not adopted until the eighteenth century and our own time, that certain functions of the mind can be localized in particular parts of the brain and, with St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventura who continued his work, he laid the foundations of the science of phrenology, the invention of which is generally attributed to scientists of the century before last, Gall (1758–1828) and Spurzheim (1776–1832). He used the comparative method which is commonly thought to have grown up in our day in studying certain organs and their transformations throughout animal series. What is particularly novel in his work is his observations respecting the animals of

the polar circle, which were hardly known in his time, and his studies upon beavers, bears, and cetaceans.

Roger Bacon, as great a master of the empirical as of the abstract sciences, gave a powerful impulse to the study of optics; he exactly defined the theories of refraction and reflection, of the telescope, the microscope, and spectacles. If he was not the inventor of gunpowder, which was familiar to the Chinese in remote ages, he knew that with sulphur, saltpetre, and charcoal it was possible to produce an explosion, and he gave an accurate description of the way to manufacture the powder. His faith in science, in empirical methods, and the value of observation gave him by anticipation, as it were, a vision of modern discoveries. In extolling the rational investigations of science and condemning the illusions of magic and in writing in his *Epistola de secretis operibus artis et naturae ac de nullitate magiae* as follows: 'We shall live to see carriages capable of going along at an incredible speed without being drawn or impelled by any animal power', would he not seem to be suggesting railways or motor-cars?—and are not aeroplanes indicated in the following words: 'It is possible to build a machine to sail in the air. A man seated in such a machine might, by turning a lever, set in motion carefully constructed wings, and fly like a bird.' Again he would seem to be prophesying submarines when he writes: 'It is possible to build a machine by means of which a man might saunter at the bottom of the sea or on the beds of rivers without incurring any danger.'

Medicine and surgery, also, made considerable progress in the thirteenth century. The emperor Frederick II, king of Sicily, who founded the faculty of medicine in the university of Naples, made it compulsory by law to study the anatomy of the human body for a whole year before purporting to practise medicine—a proof that dissection of the subject was then a common practice. A professor in the university of Naples published in 1315 an *Anatomia omnium humani corporis interiorum membrorum*, and declared that every description he gave was the fruit of his own observations and dissections. Guillaume de Saliceto, a professor in the university of Bologna, composed

between 1270 and 1275 a treatise on Surgery which was doubtless a résumé of his teaching. He therein discusses the treatment of hydrocephalics by repeated cauterizations and quotes a number of cures effected by him as follows: 'If a man cuts his oesophagus and the tracheal artery is severed, the wound is to be cured by suture. I record numerous cures of grave lesions of the brain, deep abscesses in the limbs and hernia in young persons by the application of plasters and compression, and one particularly of the reduction of swelling in a dislocated thigh after the lapse of a year in the case of a young man aged twenty.' The Dominican Theodore, bishop of Bitonto in southern Italy, records in his treatise on surgery, published in 1265, that he employs anaesthesia induced by inhalations, cures sores in the head, arterial injuries, and traumatic aneurisms, without ligature, by compression, and that he practises the excision of scrofulous tumours and is successful in eradicating them by the application of heat and caustics.

The ambition of medieval philosophers, especially in the thirteenth century, was to unite the whole of science in one vast synthesis, the knowledge of nature and the knowledge of man, of the animal man and the spiritual man and his destiny, of the visible and the invisible world, of creation and the Creator in time and eternity; this ambition it was which impelled them to compile vast encyclopaedias to which they gave the title of *Mirrors* or *Summae*. But it was an ambition, nevertheless, which did not confuse the various methods of investigation; Bacon, in particular, drew an admirable distinction between scientific and theological methods and the various processes of investigation: observation, experiment, and reasoning with its different operations. It was an ambition not devoid of a certain noble grandeur, and they entertained it because, on the one hand, they had no knowledge such as we now possess of the vast range of science, which seems to us increasingly inaccessible as a whole to any one single mind and, on the other hand, because they had an unaffected and somewhat rash confidence in the range and capacity of the human mind.

The culminating point of such a synthesis of all knowledge

was theology; the object of all the human sciences was to make theology itself more accessible, and philosophy was turned into a servant to secure that end; theology, on the other hand, illumined the speculations of reason with the radiance of its eternal truths. The considerable place occupied by theology in the preoccupations of the philosophers may therefore be readily understood as well as the ardour with which theologians and schools of theology pursued their controversies.

Among the doctors who taught, wrote, or preached in this golden age of the scholastic philosophy, two groups may be distinguished, one of Dominicans with Hugues de Saint Cher, Albert the Great, and St. Thomas Aquinas, the Angelic Doctor, at their head, and the other of Franciscans, whose leaders were Alexander of Hales, St. Bonaventura, the Seraphic Doctor, and Duns Scotus.

The work of St. Thomas is, without a doubt, both the most comprehensive and the most important. Born in 1225, Thomas of Aquino was the pupil of Albert the Great at Cologne and himself taught in Paris and Naples. In a lifetime which lasted barely fifty years, St. Thomas wrote about sixty books, some of which are of the first importance. They comprise: (1) commentaries upon Aristotle and philosophical treatises, (2) commentaries upon the Bible, (3) commentaries upon the four books of the Sentences and theological treatises, (4) the *Summa contra Gentiles* and other controversial works, and (5) the great *Summa Theologica*. The object of his essays on Aristotle is first to rehabilitate the teaching of that Greek philosopher which had excited the liveliest apprehensions in the religious authorities and then to employ that teaching in the exposition and defence of Christian doctrine.

The *Summa Theologica* consists of about 3,000 particular questions or articles considered under 512 general questions disposing of some 10,000 objections or difficulties and is a most comprehensive treatise of dogmatic and moral theology with an admixture of disciplinary and canonical opinions: 'the most perfect of all theological *corpora*', observes Claude Fleury, the eminent ecclesiastical historian (1640–1723), 'as regards both

the substance of the doctrine and the method of exposition, it derives its inspiration from St. Augustine and in its turn has for centuries inspired the doctors and teachers of the Church; even such as are inclined to a certain scepticism agree with Erasmus in hailing the author of this monumental work as a great man of all time, 'vir non suo tantum seculo magnus'.

St. Bonaventura was born in 1221 at Bagnarea in Tuscany, and, like St. Thomas, died in 1274, the year of the Council of Lyons, which he, unlike St. Thomas, lived to attend. His life was almost as short, but he left a work hardly less important, comprising one hundred sermons, treatises, and minor works on all manner of subjects. A son of St. Francis, he was less intellectual, more mystical, than St. Thomas, and the following judgement has been expressed upon him by the learned German Benedictine historian Tritheme (Heidenber): 'Profound without prolixity, subtile without curiosity, eloquent without vanity, he is read with security and understood with ease. Some writers teach us knowledge; others piety, few both. Bonaventura excelled them in that his learning perfects his piety and his piety gives the finishing touch to his learning.'

The career of Duns Scotus was still more rapid than that of St. Thomas or St. Bonaventura, for he was born in 1274, the year in which they died, in the village of Duns in Berwickshire (he was not an Irishman as is sometimes thought), and died in 1308 at Cologne, where he combated with all the fire of his rhetoric the heretics of Begard: his voluminous work, also, fills twelve stout folio volumes. From his Scottish home, Duns went to Oxford (it is doubtful if he was a member of Merton), and taught there until he was transferred, first to Paris in 1304, and then in 1308, to Cologne; one of the glories of Oxford, as a Franciscan he engaged in lively controversy with the Dominicans, defending the dogma of the Immaculate Conception against their attacks and not sharing the taste of the Thomists for the philosophy of Aristotle. The School was long divided into two camps, that of nominalists, who maintained that there is nothing general but names, that no independent fact or property corresponding to the name exists, that there are no uni-

versals, and that of realists who contended that abstractions had a real existence. Duns later led the latter. On the question of grace he adopted a different point of view from that of St. Thomas and St. Augustine, attributing a much greater part in the work of salvation to freedom and the will of man.

Such controversies absorbed not only ecclesiastics but also the laity; and this is the explanation of the theological character of the masterpiece in which the beliefs and passions, hatreds and ardent desires of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries are recorded with a vigour and life which have never been surpassed, the *Divine Comedy* of Dante Alighieri.

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THE ZENITH OF THE CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE AGES

THE death on the 13th December 1250 of Frederick II, Emperor of Germany, marks the zenith of the Church's influence in the Middle Ages. The Papacy, on the one hand, had emerged victorious from the struggle which for two centuries it had waged against the Empire. It had rid itself of a powerful rival, which for some years past had been breaking up, and now stood forth as the arbiter of the Christian world: the Church, on the other hand, rich in teachers who gave a special lustre to her doctrine and her universities, and proud of the sumptuous decoration of her cathedrals and works of art, whose splendour enhanced still further the magnificence of her worship, was in the full bloom of her intellectual expansion. The new religious militias which had been established in the first half of the thirteenth century, more especially the two Orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic, by their preaching and their inquisitorial activities stemmed the tide of heresy wherever it threatened to become dominant and gave a fresh impulse to missionary activities.

The Holy See, during this particularly brilliant period of its history, was occupied by Popes whose names are not so familiar as those of Gregory VII and Innocent III, because they succeeded one another with such rapidity, but who were no less remarkable than they for force of character and power of intellect. There was a rhythm which has not always been observed from 1261 onwards in the alternate succession of Popes of French birth and sympathy and Popes sprung from the great Roman houses. Alexander IV, who was elected on the 21st December 1254 to succeed Innocent IV, belonged to the Conti family, lords of Segni, which had already given two Popes to the Church, Innocent III and Gregory IX. His successor Urban IV (1261–4) was a Frenchman. Born in Troyes, the son of a shoemaker, he had received a sound discipline in theology and

jurisprudence in the schools of Laon and, having been arch-deacon of Liége and Laon, bishop of Verdun, Papal Legate of Innocent IV in Pomerania, Prussia, Livonia, and all the Germanies, as well as Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1255, combined learning with a consummate experience of affairs. He invited to the Sacred College a number of Frenchmen who, before taking Holy Orders or as bishops, had filled important offices at the court of St. Louis. They were Guy Foucault (or Fulcodi), born at Saint-Gilles in Languedoc, who before his ordination had been secretary and counsellor to the king and thereafter bishop of Le Puy, archbishop of Narbonne, and cardinal of Sta. Sabina; Raoul Grosparmi of the diocese of Coutances, keeper of the Seals of the kingdom of France, then bishop of Évreux and cardinal of Albano, Simon de Brion, or de Brie, of the diocese of Sens, also a keeper of the Seals of France before becoming cardinal of Sta. Cecilia; Ancher Pantaléon, a nephew of Urban IV and, like him, a native of Troyes, archdeacon of Paris and then cardinal of Sta. Prassede; Guillaume de Bray of the diocese of Sens, archdeacon of Rheims and cardinal of St. Mark, and, lastly, Guy, abbot of Cîteaux, a Burgundian. Of twenty-one cardinals who lived in this pontificate appointed by Urban IV or his predecessors, nine were Frenchmen, as also was Michel de Toulouse, the vice-chancellor of the Church.

Clement IV, who succeeded Urban and reigned from 1265 to 1268, was a Frenchman, having been Cardinal Guy Foucault. Gregory X (1272–6) was elected after him in a conclave which lasted more than three years: he was an Italian (Visconti), but he had long been canon of Lyons. After three Popes, whose transitory reigns lasted only fifteen months (1276–7), it fell to one of the great Roman families, the Orsini, to give the Church Pope Nicholas III (1277–81); but he was succeeded by Martin IV (1281–5), a Frenchman, formerly Cardinal de Brie who, having to appoint seven cardinals, chose four from France. After him Honorius IV (1285–7), a member of the Savelli family to which Honorius III had belonged, Nicholas IV (1288–92), Celestine V (1294), and Boniface VIII of the Roman family of Gaetani (1294–1304), were all Italian: but Celestine V, in the one list of

appointments he made, out of thirteen cardinals nominated seven Frenchmen.

Throughout the second half of the thirteenth century, therefore, the Papacy and the Roman Curia were almost as French as in the succeeding century in Avignon. This circumstance partly explains the policy pursued by the Holy See during that period and the preponderating role therein played by France.

What more than anything threatened the independence of the Papacy in the thirteenth century was the union, under the domination of the German Hohenstaufen, of northern Italy and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies: the Popes were thereby surrounded on all sides by the German Emperors who could also rely in Rome and most Italian towns on the assistance of the Ghibelline party. On the death of Frederick II in 1250, the Papacy believed that the moment had come on the one hand to weaken the Empire for ever by wresting it from the Hohenstaufen and on the other to separate it for good from the kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

Innocent IV at first attempted to oppose to one another Frederick II's two sons, the legitimate Conrad IV and the bastard Manfred: he promised Manfred the kingdom of Naples if he did not attempt to solicit the Empire, and against Conrad, as a candidate for the imperial crown, he set up William II, count of Holland, and had a crusade preached in his favour. Events thwarted the Pope's calculations: Conrad IV and William of Holland died almost simultaneously, while in Italy, Manfred, quickly forgetting the promises of fidelity he had made to the Pope, summoned the Saracens, entered into relations throughout the peninsula with the Ghibellines, who were hostile to the Holy See, and endeavoured to put himself at the head of a powerful confederation including the republic of Venice, the king of Aragon, and the eastern Emperor who had been resident in Nicea since the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204. Vainly called to order by Innocent IV, Manfred had been excommunicated by the Pope and declared deposed: he made a pretence of submission but had seized the opportunity of his reconciliation with the Church to add to

Sicily, of which he was lord, Tuscany, Campania, and part of the March of Ancona, and so threatened to strip the Pope entirely of his domains. A fresh decree of excommunication launched against him by Alexander IV in 1256 only served to emphasize the impotence of the Holy See.

Urban IV, the French Pope (1261–4), was more energetic than his predecessor and, relying upon France, determined to arrest Manfred. After renewing the decree of excommunication and causing a crusade to be preached against him, he invited the help of St. Louis, king of France. St. Louis refused to commit himself directly as he had before refused to proceed against Frederick II, but the appeal of the Holy See was answered by his brother Charles, count of Anjou and Provence, whose ambition was aroused by the still greater ambition of his wife Beatrix. Urban IV appointed him king of the Two Sicilies in place of Manfred and entrusted him with the control of the Guelph party throughout Italy, stipulating, however, that thenceforth the Empire and Lombardy on the one hand, and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies on the other, should remain for ever separate. Having no time in which to settle the affairs of Germany, the Pope left Alfonso X the Wise, king of Castile, and Richard, duke of Cornwall, the brother of Henry III, king of England, the rival claimants to the imperial crown, to fight it out without himself declaring for either.

Clement IV (1264–8), who succeeded Urban, had been legal advisor to the king of France and remained faithful to the policy of a French alliance. No sooner had he been elected than he sent the French cardinal, Simon de Brie, of the title of St. Cecilia, to Charles of Anjou to urge him to come into Italy, to place himself at the head of the Guelphs, to combat Manfred, and in the interval to settle definitively the agreements entered into between him and the Holy See: they were published by the Pope at Perugia on the 28th June 1265, and sworn to by Charles, who was forced to resign the office of senator of Rome which he had accepted in spite of Urban IV.

Charles immediately prepared to invade Italy. The loans he contracted with the backing of the Holy See from the Italian

bankers and the tithe he levied on the Church in France provided him with the necessary funds, while men were furnished to him by the preaching of a fresh crusade against Manfred as well as by the hope which more than one lord indulged of carving an estate for himself in the delightful lands of Naples and Palermo.

Lyons was chosen for a rendezvous, and among the lords who assembled were Robert de Béthune, Charles of Anjou's son-in-law, the counts of Soissons and Vendôme, Philip de Montfort, Montmorency, the lords of Lévis-Mirepoix, les Baux, and Sabran. Charles sailed to Rome and thence proceeded to attack Manfred at Tivoli. Manfred was driven back on Capua. The land army crossed the Alps and driving the Ghibelline governors out of the towns and substituting Guelphs in their stead, it marched through and arrived in Rome in January 1266. Manfred attempted to bow before the storm, as he had already done several times under Innocent IV and Alexander IV, and offered a compromise which was refused. Charles, after having been crowned king at Rome by Clement IV, marched on Capua, which his rival forthwith abandoned to fall back on the Abruzzi. Charles came up with him at Benevento where the issue was joined in February 1266. Manfred, when he saw that he was lost, had himself killed.

The victorious king made his solemn entry into Naples and immediately took steps which aroused the hostility of the populace. Not content with undoing everything that the Hohenstaufen had done, he condemned many of their partisans, confiscated their property while maintaining all existing taxes in force, and set up an uncompromisingly French administration throughout the country.

A rebellion broke out almost immediately and Conradin, son of Conrad IV, and Manfred's nephew, came in haste from Swabia to lead it. He traversed Lombardy and Tuscany, restoring the Ghibelline government wherever he could, and entered Rome, but instead of marching on Naples through Ceprano withdrew as Manfred had done into the Abruzzi. He encountered the army of Charles at Tagliacozzo on the 23rd

April 1268, and was defeated. He fled to Rome and thence to Pisa, but was handed over by a Frangipani to his rival who had him executed at Naples with a number of knights who had been captured with arms in their hands; thirty traitorous barons were burned alive. The ruthless execution of a prince of eighteen, attractive alike for his youth and character, and the repression ordered by Charles surrounded the vanquished with a halo of pity.

Clement IV had excommunicated Conradin and his partisans, but only after considerable hesitation, for he was alarmed by the ambitions of Charles of Anjou, as Urban IV also had been alarmed: if they were realized, there was a risk of their exposing the Church to dangers as formidable as those with which Frederick II and Manfred threatened her existence.

In inviting Charles into Italy, Urban IV had asked him for the eventual cession of Lavoro to the Holy See and it had been refused him: all the Pope had obtained was Benevento. The king had reserved to himself exclusively the conduct of the war and had accepted, in spite of the Pope, the title of Senator which placed him at the head of the Roman Commune and set his authority in opposition to the Pope's in the very centre of the Church. Taking much too seriously his title of Protector of the Guelph party, he claimed to have the towns in which that party predominated, or would predominate, owing to his influence, governed by his own lieutenants, and Clement IV was compelled to acknowledge his authority over Florence and part of Tuscany.

His ambitions increasing as they were fulfilled, he claimed to inherit on behalf of himself and his successors the privileges of his vanquished rival: and as Manfred had laid claims to part of the Byzantine Empire in the name of his wife Helena, who belonged to the imperial Comnenus family, he made an agreement with Baldwin II, the dethroned Latin Emperor of Constantinople, to share with him the Empire which had to be reconquered from the victorious Byzantine Emperor Michael Palaeologus. A treaty signed at Viterbo on the 27th May 1267 between Charles of Anjou and Baldwin provided that the king

of Sicily should furnish Baldwin with 2,000 horse to help him recover Constantinople and should receive in exchange a third share of the expected conquest and in the interval be acknowledged overlord of the principalities still occupied by the Latins in Achaea, Epirus, and the islands of the Archipelago. Should Baldwin die without issue, Charles of Anjou was to inherit the whole Empire of Constantinople. To extend his influence to the further shore of the Adriatic, he was later to make his son marry a princess of Achaea of the Champagne house of Villehardouin and his daughter, Philip de Courtenay, a relation of the Latin Emperor. Two months earlier, he had sent a governor into the island of Corfu which Manfred had wrested from the tyrant of Epirus.

Such a policy alarmed the Holy See not only because it indicated an excessive ambition on the part of the king of Sicily, who became, therefore, more dangerous than Frederick II and Manfred, but above all because it was directly opposed to the new religious policy which Urban IV had inaugurated in those countries.

On the 25th July 1261 the Greek Emperor of Constantinople, who had fled for refuge to Nicaea, had recovered his capital from Baldwin II, the Latin Emperor, who was a refugee in Sicily with Manfred. The first impulse of the newly elected Pope, Urban IV, had been to meet the advances then made to him by Manfred for a reconciliation and in agreement with him to organize a crusade for the recapture of Constantinople. The project was approved by St. Louis, who was delighted to see such an end to the long quarrel between the Holy See and the Hohenstaufen, and the efforts of all parties directed to the Crusade first against the Greek Schismatics and then against the Infidels.

But Urban IV, who had been patriarch of Jerusalem before his election, was, on the one hand, well aware of the urgency of the Crusade to the Holy Land which was then overrun by the Turks under the leadership of Baibars and, on the other hand, had only a limited confidence in Manfred. Michael Palaeologus profited by the Pope's hesitation to avert the storm which was

brewing and from his side made advances to the Pope with a view to an agreement at the end of which he dangled the hope of putting an end to the schism. Finally, on the 28th July 1263, Urban IV announced to Michael Palaeologus the dispatch of four minor friars, Simon d'Auvergne, Pierre de Moras, Pierre de Crest, and Boniface d'Ivrée, to negotiate with him. The Emperor having evinced the intention about the same time of making a comparison between the doctrine of the Greek Church and that of the Latin Church, the Pope sent him on the 22nd June 1264 a second mission of which the members were the bishop of Crotona, who, though a Greek by birth, had been bred in the Roman Church, and two friars minor, Gérard de Fraton and Rainier of Siena.

Clement IV continued with Michael Palaeologus the negotiations begun by his predecessor. Not being entirely convinced by the profession of faith on Michael's part which the four friars minor, dispatched to him in 1263 by Urban IV, had brought back with them, Clement, on the 9th March 1267, sent him one drawn up by the Curia and insisted that the union of the Churches would have to be an integral part of any future agreement. As the Pope had urged the Emperor to send help to the Armenians who were threatened by the Turks, Palaeologus replying on the 17th May excused himself for being unable to do so through fear of being attacked at the same time by the Latins, thereby alluding to the preparations which were being made by Charles of Anjou and Baldwin and which were to be publicly acknowledged by them ten days later, on the 27th May, in the Treaty of Viterbo. So the Byzantine Emperor himself emphasized the growing opposition between the religious policy of the Holy See and the policy of Charles of Anjou. The cruelty shown by Charles in executing Conradin with a number of his partisans and the harshness of his government lost him the sympathy of the Curia and brought down on him the liveliest reproaches from Clement IV and the cardinals.

The conclave of 1268 therefore opened in no very favourable mood to Charles. It lasted three years, for it was only on the 1st September 1271 that a successor was found for Clement IV,

who had died on the 29th November 1268. The reason why the cardinals delayed so long in coming to an agreement on the choice of a new Pope was apparently that they were divided between the two policies which had been pursued under the two preceding pontificates. The proof is that they appointed to succeed Clement IV a new man, chosen outside the Sacred College, Tebaldo Visconti of Piacenza, a former canon of Lyons and archdeacon of Liége, who took the name of Gregory X (1271–6).

This Pope, whom the Church venerates as Blessed, was animated by a supernatural spirit and subordinated his whole policy to one single end, the advancement of the kingdom of God. Like all his predecessors, he was determined to ensure the independence of the Roman Church, but on this occasion it was Charles of Anjou who was threatening it: and under his pontificate the reaction against the Angevin alliance, already manifest under Clement IV, was still further accentuated.

Charles had seized the opportunity presented by the antagonism of Guelph and Ghibelline to exercise in Florence and throughout Tuscany, and even in Rome itself, an authority which alarmed the Holy See. To deprive him of it the Pope negotiated peace between the two rival Florentine factions and, passing through Florence on his way to the Council of Lyons, presided in person at their reconciliation on the 2nd July 1273. The peace was broken by the Guelphs, and Gregory X laid an interdict upon the city.

What more than anything else gave Charles of Anjou influence throughout the length and breadth of Italy was the title of Vicar Imperial which had been conferred upon him by Clement IV. The only way to deprive him of such a privilege and the great prestige it carried with it was to put an end to the vacancy existing in the Empire by holding an election of universally recognized validity. Richard of Cornwall, one of the candidates, having died on the 2nd April 1271, Gregory X informed Alfonso X of Castile that he did not admit his claim to the imperial crown. The ground was therefore cleared, and on the 30th September 1273 the Electors assembled at Frank-

fort unanimously chose Rudolph of Hapsburg, who was crowned the following month at Aix-la-Chapelle. The Pope acknowledged him as king of the Romans, once again admonishing the king of Castile to withdraw his claim. Rudolph, on his side, had an interview at Lausanne with Gregory X on his way back from Lyons, in course of which he pledged his oath to give the Holy See every guarantee of independence it might desire. Thereafter the Pope had no further need of an alliance, which had grown more and more irksome, with Charles of Anjou, and could rely on occasion on the Emperor, his ally, to keep in check the excessive ambitions of the king of Naples.

So, freed from Charles of Anjou, Gregory X could take up more vigorously the two projects which lay nearest to his heart as Supreme Pastor, the re-establishment of the unity of the Church by putting an end to the Greek schism and the liberation of the Holy Land by a crusade.

His accession had been the occasion for an exchange of compliments between him and Michael Palaeologus. Gregory X had informed the Emperor of his election and the latter had sent the Pope a friar minor of Greek origin, one John Parastini, not only to congratulate him but to assure him that if, passing through Syria on his way to Rome to take possession of the Holy See, he had stopped at Constantinople, he would have been received with all the honours due to his supreme dignity. Delighted at such a proper disposition, Gregory X dispatched to Constantinople a solemn embassy of four friars minor. Girolamo d'Ascoli, who fifteen years later was to become Pope Nicholas IV, Raymond Bérenger, Bonagrazia of St. John, who was subsequently elected General of the Order, and Bonaventura, of Mugello. The Pope announced his intention of continuing the work of union inaugurated by his predecessors and invited the Emperor to the General Council about to be held in Lyons to determine a formula of creed which should receive the approval of the Greek Church: he begged the Emperor, in the event of his being unable to attend in person, to send ambassadors. A letter to the same effect was written to Joseph, patriarch of Constantinople, and as the Greeks were with reason

suspicious of Charles of Anjou, he sent him, in October or November 1272, safe-conducts for such of them as should attend the Council.

The Council, which had been summoned for the 13th April 1273 by circular letters addressed to the bishops, kings, and princes of Christendom, opened on the 7th May 1274 in the Primatial Church of Lyons, which was then in course of re-building. The Pope had insisted on presiding in person. He had left his residence at Orvieto on the 5th June 1273, and had stopped at Florence, Modena, Reggio, Piacenza, Lodi, Milan, and Chambéry, to arrive in Lyons in the beginning of November, and for several months, from November 1273 to May 1274, he had personally superintended the preparations for the Council. There had gathered round him 500 bishops, 70 abbots, Pedro, king of Aragon, the ambassadors of the kings of France, England, Sicily, of Rudolph of Hapsburg, king of the Romans, and the former General of the Order of Friars Minor. St. Thomas Aquinas had also received an invitation from the Pope, but he had died on the way at Fossanova, on the 7th March 1274, aged 49.

As the Greeks had not yet arrived, the Council began by considering reforms in the Church on the basis of reports which, at the Pope's request, the bishops had compiled on abuses to be suppressed. On St. John's day, the 24th June 1274, which was also the feast day of the Primatial Church, the ambassadors of Michael Palaeologus were solemnly received. They were Germanus, the former patriarch of Constantinople, Theophanes, the metropolitan of Nicaea, and high ecclesiastical dignitaries and courtiers, such as the historian George Acropolites, who was also Lord Chancellor. The patriarch of Constantinople took no part in this mission because, in spite of the powerful pressure brought to bear on him by the Emperor, he remained implacably opposed to the union.

At the solemn High Mass for the Feast of St. Peter on the 29th June 1274, which was sung by the Pope, St. Bonaventura preached the sermon and the Credo was chanted successively in Latin by the Latins and in Greek by the Greeks. The Greeks

included the word *Filioque* which up till then they had not admitted, maintaining in opposition to the Latin Church that the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father, did not proceed also from the Son. The Patriarch Germanus then intoned canticles in honour of the Pope. A week later, on the 6th July, at the fourth session of the Council, Gregory X declared that the Greek Church had spontaneously returned to Catholic unity without any political condition, and in token thereof he caused to be read aloud the professions of faith which had been addressed to him on the one hand by Michael Palaeologus and his son Andronicus and on the other by the metropolitans, the bishops of the Eastern Church, and the high dignitaries of the patriarchate. The latter profession was not so explicit in terms as the Emperor's: it referred to the opposition of the patriarch which the bishops hoped to overcome, but which for the time being was obstinate. Then George Acropolites abjured the schism and acknowledged the primacy of the Supreme Pontiff in the name of Michael and the whole Empire. The Pope intoned the *Te Deum* and the Patriarch Germanus recited the Creed, singing the *Filioque* twice. After two further sessions, devoted like the first to the reform of the Church, the Council was closed on the 17th July 1274.

Believing that he could trust the Greeks, Gregory X threw himself with still greater zeal into the projected crusade, thus carrying on the policy of his predecessors. The considerable power which Baibars Bunduqdari, an Egyptian Mameluke of Mongol origin, had acquired in a few years, had become a formidable danger to all Christendom in the East. Master of Egypt, he had overrun Syria, and then hurled the whole weight of his forces against the Latin principalities and the remaining fragments of the old kingdom of Jerusalem. He had invaded Palestine in 1263, razed the Church at Nazareth to the ground (it was among the holy places an object of special veneration), and laid siege to Acre. Urban IV, then patriarch of Jerusalem, had been an eyewitness of these fierce onslaughts, and one of his first acts after his election was to raise a cry of alarm throughout the Catholic world and summon it to the succour of Palestine in

dire peril. The Christians having appealed to Hayton, king of Armenia, Baibars increased his efforts: in 1265 he invaded Palestine once more, captured and dismantled many fortresses whose garrisons he massacred, seized the town of Jaffa and in the same year conquered the principality of Antioch, leaving its prince only the district of Tripoli. All that remained to the Christians in Palestine was Tripoli, Acre, and Sidon. One of Baibars's lieutenants, at the same time, was busy destroying the Armenian power.

Clement IV renewed the despairing appeals of Urban IV, imploring St. Louis to lead a fresh crusade. In 1267 the king of France took the Cross with several of his vassals: but the campaign of preaching organized by Simon de Brie, cardinal of Sta. Cecilia, in favour of Palestine, found little response, and it was not until the 4th July 1270 that St. Louis and his troops embarked at Aigues-Mortes, and, instead of making for the Holy Land, sailed for Tunis. Some historians have considered that in making Tunis the unexpected object of his expedition St. Louis had been the tool of his brother, Charles of Anjou, whose boundless ambition inclined him to the African coast no less than to the eastern side of the Adriatic and the eastern basin of the Mediterranean. The lack of zeal which Charles displayed in leaving for Tunis, no less than the haste with which he abandoned it when the death of St. Louis, on 25th August 1270, placed him in command of the expedition, makes this explanation improbable. It would rather appear that St. Louis had intended to follow a policy, common enough in his time, which consisted in attacking the Moslems who were threatening Palestine directly in Africa, whilst the Mongols and Tartars, who were allied to the Christians, harassed them in the rear in Asia. Gregory X seems to have desired to pursue the same line of tactics when, after the death of Clement IV, he had the crusade preached once again. The friars minor who had been dispatched to Constantinople, not satisfied with vainly endeavouring to arouse Michael Palaeologus to go to the assistance of Palestine, entered into relations with the khan of Persia, with a view to combined action against Baibars and

brought with them to the Council of Lyons Tartar envoys whose object was to propose it. To set in motion all these forces of the Byzantine Empire, Persia, and Tartary, in union with the Crusade which was preparing in the Latin world, it was necessary to stop Charles of Anjou from prosecuting his designs against Constantinople: and therefore on the 1st May 1275 Gregory X made Charles sign a truce with Michael Palaeologus at the same time as Philip the Bold, king of France, the Emperor, the king of England, and the king of Aragon took the Cross.

This policy of universal pacification with the object of uniting the whole of Christendom in face of the infidel had been practised by Gregory X not only in Italy, where Guelph and Ghibelline had been reconciled, in the East where the schism had been healed, in Germany where, after twenty years of anarchy, unity and peace had been restored, but also in most of the European States. In the Scandinavian countries he put an end to the discord which prevailed between the kings of Denmark and Norway and the bishops of their respective kingdoms: travelling by Beaucaire on his way back to Orvieto, he had an interview with the king, Alfonso X, of Castile, and prevailed upon him on the 21st April 1275 to acknowledge Rudolph of Hapsburg as Emperor.

Gregory X, therefore, had solidly prepared the great Crusade which was to launch all the Christian kings, and even the Tartar infidels, to the assistance of Palestine, when he died unexpectedly at Arezzo on the 10th January 1276, in the course of the journey which was taking him back from Lyons to Orvieto.

The magnificent scheme was never realized.

Pursuing the reaction against the exclusively French policy which had been inaugurated by the election of Urban IV, and which that Pope himself had sought to diminish, the cardinals in the year 1276 alone were called upon to elect three Popes: a French-speaking cardinal, Pierre de Tarentaise, a former archbishop of Lyons and one of the orators at the Council, who took the name of Innocent V and ruled for five months only (January–June 1276) after having attempted to convert the truce

between Charles of Anjou and Michael Palaeologus into a lasting peace; an Italian, Ottobono dei Fieschi, a nephew of Innocent IV, who took the name of Adrian V and had not time enough to have himself ordained priest, being merely a deacon, or crowned, for he died at the end of a month (July-August); lastly John XXI, a native of Portugal, who, after a pontificate of eight months, was crushed to death when the roof of his palace fell in at Viterbo on the 16th May 1277. The conclave which followed his death lasted almost as long as his reign: for the cardinals were divided into two opposing factions, pursuing different objects: at the end of fourteen months they appointed on the 25th November 1277 an Italian belonging to one of the great Roman families, Cardinal Orsini, who took the name of Nicholas III.

This Pope pursued an Italian policy. Realizing more and more the danger of the Angevin tutelage and unable to rely on the German Emperor whose position was still too insecure, he determined to consolidate the power of the Holy See in Italy. He began by setting up his residence in Rome, in the Vatican palace, which he repaired. He introduced a Colonna into the Sacred College, to sit beside two members of his own family in order to secure the co-operation in favour of the Holy See of two families who were often rivals, the Orsini and the Colonnas. Reminding Charles of Anjou that, as the Empire was no longer vacant, the office of Imperial Vicar had ceased to have any reason for continuing to exist, he made him give up, not that title only, but the title of senator of Rome and peacemaker, depriving him simultaneously of the right to interfere in Rome as senator and as peacemaker in Tuscany and northern Italy.

He assumed the part of peacemaker himself and entrusted the execution of his policy at Florence to Cardinal Latino Orsini who, at the request of the Florentines, on the 8th October 1279 made his solemn entry into the city with an escort of prelates and 300 horse. There he laid the foundation stone of the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella and negotiated between the Guelph and Ghibelline factions, whose quarrels had long rent the city, a peace which was proclaimed on the 18th January

1280. To secure that it should last, the Pope was besought to appoint a podestà to be governor of the city, in which Cardinal Latino for a time acted as a complete dictator. Latino the year before had re-established the authority of the Holy See in the principal towns of Romagna, in Imola, Faenza, Forli, Cesena, Rimini, Ravenna, and Urbino. Nicholas III was preparing to manifest more plainly his opposition to Charles of Anjou when he died suddenly on the 22nd August 1280.

After a conclave, which was protracted and difficult on account of the rivalries dividing the Italians, the cardinals, although Italian in majority, elected on the 22nd February 1281 a Frenchman, an old associate of St. Louis, Cardinal Simon de Brie, who took the name of Martin IV.

The new Pope had fulfilled a number of ambassadorial missions to France since 1262. It was he who had negotiated the alliance between Charles of Anjou and the Papacy and the appointment of Charles as king of Sicily. Believing that he could rely upon him, Charles pursued his ambitious schemes with more ardour than ever, but his progress was abruptly stopped by a vast international conspiracy which had been secretly formed against him.

John of Procida, a noble of high degree in the neighbourhood of Naples who had suffered much injury at the hands of Charles's courtiers, had made his way to Constantinople and there quickened the fears of Michael Palaeologus by informing him that the king of Sicily was preparing to invade the Greek Empire. He obtained from him the promise of considerable subsidies. He had next gone to visit Pope Nicholas III, who had given him a letter of introduction to Pedro, king of Aragon, the husband of Manfred's daughter, Constance, but before this second visit John had touched at Sicily, where he had secured the adoption by the great barons of a plan of revolt throughout the island. They also gave him letters to the king of Aragon.

The latter hesitated the more to adopt the proposals of John of Procida because the new Pope was favourably disposed to Charles of Anjou: what finally decided him was the desire to provide the merchants of Catalonia, his new subjects, and his

fleet, with a vast field for activity throughout the entire Mediterranean, Eastern as well as Western.

The 30,000 ounces of gold which Michael Palaeologus sent to him through John of Procida's intermediary were most profitably employed by the king of Aragon in making his warlike preparations. The king of France was the first to take alarm and sought an explanation from Pedro of Aragon who, alleging the Crusade as an excuse, had the temerity to request a subsidy of 40,000 pounds (livres Tournois).[1] The suspicions of Philip the Bold, however, were not disarmed and he communicated them to his uncle, Charles of Anjou, who, in turn, mentioned them to the Pope. Martin IV immediately sought an explanation which gave him only moderate satisfaction, while the king of Sicily became as optimistic as ever again. He was abruptly cured by the famous massacre of the Sicilian Vespers. It was Easter Monday, the 30th March 1282. During the customary procession from Palermo to Monreale, the rumour spread that a young Sicilian woman had been insulted by a French knight. A riot broke out between French and Sicilians and lives were lost on both sides. The Sicilians poured into Palermo, where the conspirators assembled them in the square and led them to the castle which was stormed. The French, taken by surprise and defenceless, were put to death in streets, churches, and their own houses: agents of the conspirators scoured Sicily and massacre spread as far as Messina. Four thousand Frenchmen were put to death: Sicily was in revolt.

Charles of Anjou was at the Papal Court when news was brought to him of the massacre: 'Lord', he exclaimed, 'inasmuch as it has pleased You to make me know adversity, grant that my triumph may be as great as my grief!' He at once sent to Philip the Bold and the barons of France for assistance which was immediately forthcoming: further help came from Florence and other Guelph towns in Tuscany and Lombardy,

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[1] The livre Tournois was so called to distinguish it from the pound weight and other local coinages such as the livre Parisis which was equal to four-fifths of a livre Tournois. The livre was divided into 20 sous each worth 12 deniers. In 1795 the livre Tournois was superseded by the franc on the basis of 80 francs for 81 livres Tournois.

and Charles, crossing the Straits, laid siege to Messina which held out stoutly for two months. Meanwhile Pedro of Aragon had sailed from Barcelona with a fleet of fifty galleys with 800 horse on board under the command of a Calabrian, Roger de Loria, a rebellious subject of Charles of Anjou. After a sham demonstration against Tunis, Pedro of Aragon received John of Procida and some Sicilians who came to ask his help. The king hesitated, but on reflection concluded that he had compromised himself too far to draw back and disembarked at Trapani; on the 10th August 1282 he made his solemn entry into Palermo and shortly afterwards was crowned king of Sicily by the bishop of Cefalù.

On hearing of the massacre of the Sicilian Vespers, the Pope had exhorted the Sicilians to remain faithful to Charles and sent them, as Legate, Gerardo Bianchi of Parma, cardinal bishop of Sta. Sabina. His arrival failed to stop the forward march of the Aragonese: on the 28th September another Catalan fleet commanded by Loria captured twenty-nine Angevin galleys and burned eighty transports: Charles was compelled to raise the siege of Messina, and in October Pedro of Aragon made his solemn entry into the town. Sicily was lost to Charles of Anjou.

To recapture it, a concentration of forces took place at the Curia, Pope Martin IV assuming more and more the leadership of the Angevin coalition. The prince of Salerno, Charles's son, arrived with 600 horse in October; the duke of Alençon, the brother of Philip the Bold, brought reinforcements of French troops, and the Pope, lending an ear to the complaint of the king of Sicily, excommunicated Pedro of Aragon and had a Crusade preached against him. The effort was in vain: on the 5th June 1284 the prince of Salerno was attacked by Loria and fell into the hands of the enemy; some time later, Naples in turn revolted against the Angevins, and Charles of Anjou died at Foggia on the 7th January 1285. Disaster had overtaken all his plans.

His death was followed shortly after by the death of Martin IV on the 5th March 1285, and this was a further blow to the project of union between the Churches and the Crusade.

Despite the pressure which, both before and after the Council of Lyons, Michael Palaeologus had brought to bear on the patriarch of Constantinople and the clergy of his Empire, he could not win their assent to the union: repeatedly pressed on the other hand by the Holy See, he found himself unable to fulfil the conditions to which his ambassadors had agreed at Lyons, and he became suspect to Nicholas III. Martin IV began to suspect him still more on learning that he was hand in glove with Pedro of Aragon against Charles of Anjou. The Emperor was accordingly excommunicated by Martin on the 18th November 1281, and after his death, which took place a year later on the 11th December 1282, his successor Andronicus abandoned the project of union, annulled every deed, document, and decree which had been drawn up in its favour and re-established on the patriarchal throne the patriarch Joseph who had never been willing to admit the suggestion of it.

The two Popes who followed Martin IV in quick succession were unable, despite all their efforts, to heal the breach. Honorius IV, of the Savelli family (1275–87), had to take a personal part in the government of the kingdom of Naples: for Charles II, the new king, was that prince of Salerno who had fallen a prisoner into the hands of the Aragonese; he was not released until 1288, three years after his accession, and then only after repeated requests by the Holy See. Realizing that one cause of Charles of Anjou's failure had been the severity of his government, which had goaded first Naples and then Sicily into revolt, Honorius issued a decree, introducing milder methods of government into the kingdom. Nicholas IV, who succeeded him (1288–92), was the Franciscan Girolamo d'Ascoli who had been entrusted by Gregory X with the task of negotiating the union with Palaeologus; he secured the release of Charles II, but he saw the separation gradually established (it was destined to endure for many years) of Sicily, which fell to Aragon, and southern Italy, which remained in the hands of the Angevin dynasty. He saw also the failure of the Crusade. No doubt he caused it to be preached, but the exhortations of his missioners were as a rule followed by only one result: the tithing of the

property of the clergy. Kings and princes expended the revenue which so accrued on their private wars on the pretext of bringing them to an end for the purpose of making an expedition to the Holy Land which was always indefinitely postponed.

Now in 1290, Qata'un, sultan of Egypt, broke the truce which he had concluded in 1287 for ten years with the Christians of Palestine and began to lay siege to Acre. His successor carried his plan into execution and, on the 5th April 1291, invested the fortress which was valiantly defended by the Knights of the Hospital and the Temple, by Jean de Grailly commanding the French, Sir Otto de Grandison the English, troops, and Amaury de Lusignan, regent of the kingdom of Jerusalem. They held out for some weeks repelling the repeated assaults of the enemy: but when the outer fortifications, undermined and battered with rams finally collapsed, the garrison was compelled to capitulate (June 1291). 'In July 1291', writes Bréhier, 'Haifa, Tyre, Sidon, and Beyrouth, the last remaining Christian towns, were evacuated: all that remained of the kingdom of Jerusalem was a glorious memory.'

The conclave which followed the death of Nicholas IV was tedious, for it lasted twenty-seven months (1292–4). The cardinals were only eight in number and, unable to decide by a majority on any of their own number, in the end resolved to choose the new Pope outside the Sacred College, as had been done at the elections of Urban IV and Gregory X. As they were divided also on what policy to pursue, they sought for a man unfamiliar with the agitations of this world, a recluse leading a life of pure contemplation in a humble hermitage, and so they elected Pietro di Murrone, the founder of the Celestine hermits, a religious congregation of Benedictine ascetics, who took the name of Celestine V. They had shot beyond the mark, for they very soon came to perceive that if the new Pope was a saint (he was canonized shortly after his death), he had no such experience of men and affairs as was required for the government of the Church.

Celestine V, indeed, lost no time in throwing himself into the arms of the only prince he knew, the king of Naples, whose

subject he was, to the extent of expressing a wish to reside in Naples, and he was determined to continue to live the contemplative life, delegating his powers to three cardinals. He had sufficient intelligence and humility to realize that he was unfitted for the supreme task which had been entrusted to him and, after enacting a decree that it might be lawful for a Pope to abdicate, Celestine abdicated, forthwith resumed his poor hermit's costume, and returned to the solitary life. Twice the cardinals attempted to make him alter his decision, a fact which Philip the Fair and his lawyers either were ignorant of or affected to ignore, for they later accused Boniface VIII of having forced him to abdicate and of being himself consequently simply a usurper.

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THE CHURCH AND THE LAWYERS IN FRANCE, GERMANY, AND ENGLAND IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

BONIFACE VIII (1294–1303), the successor of Celestine V, differed from his predecessor in having had a long practical experience of affairs. He belonged to the Gaetani, one of the most powerful noble families in Rome, and during many years' residence at the Curia had filled a number of important political offices. Of an arbitrary and imperious disposition, he pushed to their furthest extreme the canonist theories which he had studied from his earliest youth. Distinguishing clearly between the religious and the civil powers, he considered the latter as not only inferior in dignity to the former, but also as actually dependent upon it. Over and above the different States he perceived Christendom of which they were all members, but he was the Head of Christendom. The spiritual sword was in the hand of the Pope, he declared, the temporal sword in the hand of kings, but kings might use the temporal sword only as the Pope willed or allowed, *ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis*. That being so, the permanent subjection of all Christendom to the Supreme Pontiff implied the right in him to remonstrate with emperors and kings, to depose them, and, in the event of their resisting, to release their subjects from their oath of allegiance.

The doctrines taught in Europe by the jurists were diametrically opposed to such a conception. They derived their theories of authority not from the Canon, but from the Civil, law, itself inspired by Roman law, and they formed the lawyer class which supplanted the feudal nobles in the king's council and exalted the royal power. Their theory was that the prince was above the law or rather that he was the law incarnate and whatsoever he should determine was law with all the sanctions thereof: *quidquid principi placuerit legis habet vigorem*. His authority emanating directly from himself, like the authority of the Pope, was supreme; ecclesiastics owed it entire obedience in their

respective countries and if they enjoyed certain privileges (immunities or local jurisdictions), these partook of the nature of concessions made by the civil authority and as such were always revocable.

The opposition between the doctrines of the canonists, which inclined towards a theocracy, and the theories of the lawyers, which favoured State absolution, was therefore considerable and showed itself so under two such arbitrary characters as Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair.

Boniface had not been many months elected before he exercised his supreme authority over the three greatest States in Christendom. In May 1295 he sent the two cardinal bishops of Palestrina and Albano to Paris, and in the following July to Westminster, to make peace between Philip the Fair, king of France, Edward I, king of England, and the latter's ally, Adolph of Nassau, king of the Romans; their intervention failing, the Pope imposed a truce upon the three princes, threatening any one who violated it with excommunication. In the beginning of 1296 he ordered Frederick of Aragon to give Sicily back to Charles II of Anjou, king of Naples, threatening him in the event of disobedience with both temporal and spiritual punishment.

He next addressed himself to one of the gravest abuses in which the absolutism of the king found expression; the unchecked imposition by the Royal Treasury of arbitrary taxation.

If one principle had hitherto been universally admitted, it was that for a special tax to be raised the consent of those who were to pay it should first be obtained. It was in defence of this principle against the novel pretensions of the king that the nobility and clergy of England, with the support of the burgess class in the towns, had, by taking up arms, imposed on the king Magna Charta, the Provisions of Oxford, and the summoning of Parliaments for the express purpose of considering the king's requests for funds and granting or refusing them without constraint. In France, also, 'aids', not customarily provided for, could only be exacted by consent.

The right of the clergy in all Christian countries to vote such

contributions as were required of them derived both from this principle of feudal society and from the immunity from taxation which the property of the Church had long enjoyed by reason of the religious and charitable purposes to which it was devoted. As the power of the State increased at the expense of the feudal nobility, prelates and monasteries did not always dare to resist the demands of princes which became all the more importunate when it was demonstrated to the princes by their lawyers that they were entitled in virtue of their sovereignty to lay their hands on ecclesiastical property in case of necessity.

It was in opposition to such tendencies that Boniface VIII published on the 25th February 1296 his decree *Clericis Laicos*, primarily directed against the kings of France and England and Adolph of Nassau, king of the Romans, which, while not actually forbidding the clergy to bear their share of public burdens, yet restricted and regulated their participation by subjecting it to the authorization of the Holy See.

Adolph, king of the Romans, submitted, and the Pope's Bull received the force of law in Germany; Edward I, on the contrary, would have resisted, but he encountered the unanimous opposition and adhesion to the Pope's letter of the English episcopate assembled in St. Paul's. The king of France alone deliberately defied the Pope and immediately retaliated by forbidding the export of coin from the kingdom, thereby drying up the considerable stream of money which the Curia derived from the Church in France.

Boniface VIII, however, did not lose his head. In two letters dated respectively the 25th September 1296 and the 7th February 1297 he softened the asperity of the decree *Clericis Laicos*, and, finally, on the 31st July 1297, allowed the king and his successors to determine the particular cases of dire emergency in which the Papal authority to levy subsidies upon Church property might be anticipated. Philip the Fair thereupon revoked his embargo on the export of money, but was so determined to fight that he began to prepare for the resumption of hostilities which he was certain would ensue. He entered into relations with all the enemies of the Pope, with the Colonna

family, which, jealous of the favour shown by Boniface to the Gaetani, had already revolted against him with the help of the Aragonese in Naples and Sicily, with the Spirituals, who, by the fiery pen of Jacopone da Todi, declared the abdication of Celestine V to be null and void and the election of his successor, Boniface VIII, to be therefore invalid, and, lastly, with Albert of Austria, the newly elected king of the Romans, who, after defeating and slaying Adolph of Nassau in battle, had proclaimed himself Emperor in spite of the Pope, who claimed the right to elect the Emperor.

Conflict between the king of France and the Pope broke out with reference to Bernard de Saisset. This proud prelate, the first Bishop of the then newly created see of Pamiers, had incurred the enmity of the bishop of Toulouse and the comte de Foix, who accused him of instigating that part of Languedoc which had been united to France in 1271 to revolt against France. Philip the Fair at the instance of his lawyers had the bishop arrested, confiscated the temporalities of the see, and intimated his intention of having the bishop tried in his own, the royal, court at Senlis. This was a violation of both the financial and judicial immunities of the Church. Boniface vehemently protested, re-enacted the prohibitions contained in the Bull *Clericis Laicos*, strenuously asserted his right to curb the excesses and check the abuses perpetrated by the civil power, and denounced them in the government of Philip the Fair, with special reference to the debasement of the coinage; this was the object of the Bull *Ausculta fili*. The Pope further intimated his intention of holding a council shortly in Rome to which the French episcopate would be summoned and at which Philip, 'present or absent', would be tried. He asserted the supremacy of the Papacy against Edward I of England by proclaiming the paramount authority of the Holy See over Scotland;[1] against Albert I of Austria by refusing to acknowledge him as king of the Romans and appointing Charles of Valois, brother of Philip the

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[1] The regents of Scotland had appealed to the Pope in 1298, claiming his arbitration against the king of England on the ground that the Pope had jurisdiction over Scotland as his 'allodial land', that is to say, his private property. Boniface took cognizance of the appeal.

Fair, as vicar imperial in his stead: over Hungary by claiming suzerainty and on the 30th May 1303 designating Charobert, the grandson of Charles of Anjou, as king; lastly, by excommunicating the Genoese for refusing to make peace with Charles the Lame, king of Sicily.

Philip the Fair acted with no less energy but made use of an additional weapon—deceit, and, backed by his lawyers, the most violent of whom was a certain Peter Flotte, reasserted the royal absolutism. His agents and propagandists inflamed public opinion against the Pope, attributing to him insulting letters which they had themselves forged, and representing him as the enemy of France, whereas in fact the Pope was actively supporting in Italy and Hungary French princes of the house of Anjou and in Germany the king's own brother. Philip then proceeded to convoke the three estates of the realm to a general assembly held in Notre Dame at Paris in August 1302.

After listening to a violent harangue delivered by Flotte against Boniface VIII, nobles and commons declared their readiness to defend the independence of the Crown, while the clergy hesitated and finally dispatched a collective letter to Rome, couched in respectful terms but imploring the Pope to maintain the union between the Church and the monarchy, and therefore to reconsider what he was doing.

The Pope answered with some asperity by ordering the French bishops to come to the Council, in spite of the prohibition of Philip the Fair, and promulgated in full session the Bull *Unam sanctam* defining his doctrine. He further threatened any king who should attempt to prevent his subjects going to Rome with excommunication.

Defeated a little earlier by the Flemings at Courtrai, where Peter Flotte fell fighting, and persuaded to a more conciliatory disposition by his brother, Charles of Valois, the French king was beginning to think of ending the struggle when he became involved in it beyond hope of recovery by Guillaume de Nogaret, the descendant of heretical Catharists. An assembly of nobles and prelates was held in the Louvre on the 14th March 1303, at which this lawyer, after a speech of unprecedented

violence, invited the king to summon a General Council for the purpose of judging and deposing the Pope; Philip expressed his willingness to do so. The Pope retorted on the 15th August 1303 by a decree excommunicating the king and freeing his subjects of their oath of allegiance.

Meanwhile Nogaret, with the help of Sciarra, a member of the Colonna family, organized and led into Italy the expedition which culminated in the assault at Anagni. The Pope, abandoned by his own people, saw his palace at Anagni invaded by the horde and found himself face to face with Guillaume de Nogaret, who called upon him to abdicate if he did not want to stand his trial, and with Sciarra, who, according to report, dealt the old man an odious and sacrilegious blow. Boniface VIII showed indomitable energy for one of his years—he was eighty-six—but there followed a not unnatural reaction from the strain. The assault took place on Saturday the 7th September 1303; on the 11th October following he was dead.

He was succeeded by a Dominican cardinal, Benedict XI, who, in his short pontificate of nine months (October 1303–July 1304), endeavoured to allay a conflict which had come to a crisis. He affected to distinguish between Philip the Fair and the immediate authors of the outrage at Anagni, as though the king had not expressed approval of it, appealed to Philip's better feelings on the 5th April 1304, and on the 13th May raised the ban of excommunication, although he maintained it against Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna as an expression of the abhorrence he felt for the crime of which he had been an eye-witness. He modified to some extent the rigour of the decree *Clericis Laicos* and allowed Philip to tithe the Gallican Church up to a total of approximately £4,000,000 in contemporary currency. He died shortly afterwards on the 7th July 1304. He may have been poisoned.

The conclave which followed was long protracted between two factions and finally elected Bertrand de Got, archbishop of Bordeaux. He took the name of Clement V (1305–14), and, either because he had made an agreement with the king of France or because, not being an Italian, he preferred to remain

in France rather than to go to the Papal State while war was raging there, dragged his court from city to city in the south of France before settling finally, in the spring of 1309, at Avignon.

A new period was then inaugurated in the history of the Church, the Avignon period (1305–76). This period is sometimes known as that of 'the Babylonish captivity', and it is suggested that throughout that period of seventy years the sovereign pontiffs were the prisoners of France, as the children of Israel had been in bondage to Babylon. The judgement is too summary. One thing, however, is certain, and that is that the Papacy issued with diminished prestige from its conflict with Philip the Fair. It stood before the world as a defeated power, not by reason merely of the outrage at Anagni where Boniface VIII had displayed a steadfast magnanimity and the conduct of Philip's agents had been ignoble, but rather because of the unworthy manner in which Clement V had settled the dispute.

The lawyers did not emulate the moderation of Benedict XI. They clamoured for the posthumous indictment of Boniface VIII, with the object of having him declared heretical and a usurper, all of whose acts were invalid, and they sought to represent the saintly Celestine V as his victim and to make capital out of the demand for his canonization.

Clement V was intimidated by such arrogance and attempted to placate them by giving them all, even Nogaret, absolution. But, their attempt at blackmail having been successful, they renewed it whenever they wanted to wring some fresh concession from the Pope. Clement yielded in the end, sanctioned their proceedings and, finally, by two Bulls dated the 27th April 1311, revoked every sentence pronounced against them by his two predecessors, including even Sciarra, and declared that in the conflict with Boniface VIII the king of France had been actuated only by the best intentions 'and an honourable, upright zeal'. Having received this excellent testimonial, Philip the Fair abandoned the proceedings which he had begun against the memory of Boniface VIII.

The Papacy was not the sole sufferer in this passing eclipse.

There were others: the multitude of the defenceless who for centuries past had had recourse to the Apostolic See for the protection of their rights; queens, repudiated by the passion of kings, who had sought and obtained the maintenance and preservation, even against the mightiest monarchs in the world, of the sacred laws of marriage; peoples, oppressed by violence, whose complaints had been heard by Popes who had asserted the cause of justice against Emperors and feudal tyrants; populations, oppressed by wars, who not only heard words of peace from the lips of the Popes but had also seen Apostolic Legates travel throughout the world offering their mediation and even imposing it in the name of the common Father of the Faithful, the Vicar of the Prince of Peace. What was it Boniface himself had done to rouse the wrath of Philip and excite such hatred as pursued him down to the grave? Against the king's arbitrary decrees he had invoked imprescriptible rights and liberties which the Holy See asserted and defended, more particularly the right of not being taxed or compelled to labour at the discretion of the sovereign: for it was not only on behalf of the clergy that the Pope claimed the right of consent to taxation: and it was in the common interest that he rebuked the king for debasing the coinage.

The victory of the lawyers, on the other hand, was the triumph of Caesarian absolutism confusing justice with the expression of the Prince's will, just as nowadays only too often our democrats confuse justice with the power of democracy; it was the royal power unbridled, inasmuch as it refused to acknowledge any restraint; it meant the withdrawal of the nations into a suspicious independence, the breaking of the bonds of Christian fraternity in their mutual relations, and in place thereof a triumphant nationalism no longer restrained by consideration of a divine morality invoked by the Holy See, but solely by the equilibrium of opposing forces.

The case against the Templars was to show how, under the influence and with the help of the lawyers, the grandson of St. Louis proposed to dispense justice.

Philip the Fair saw what enormous profit he could derive

from the Inquisition, if he were gradually to remove it from the control of the Pope and use it as a means of extending the royal power. In 1295 he, therefore, had taken advantage of the opposition offered to the Holy Office by the aristocratic municipalities of certain towns in the south to forbid any inquisitorial proceedings which had not first received his sanction. Boniface VIII had countered this intrusion of the civil power by ordering the Inquisitor at Carcassonne to take criminal proceedings for heresy against certain royal officials in Béziers, and, on the following 3rd March had implicitly condemned the king's pretensions in the *Sext* (the sixth book of the *Decretals*) which he added to the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, by asserting the right of the Church unconditionally to require the assistance of the civil authority in any inquisitorial proceedings.

Philip the Fair had yielded for a time, but in his final conflict with Boniface VIII had renewed his demands and succeeded in securing their acceptance by Clement V and the oecumenical Council of Vienne. They were embodied in the decree *Multorum querela*, itself inserted in the appendix to the *Corpus Juris Canonici* known as the Clementines. This decree fulfilled the wishes of the king and the prelates who were his creatures by providing that the Inquisitors should neither exercise their functions nor pronounce any sentence without the co-operation of the Ordinaries and their delegates and so turned the Inquisition into a mixed institution, half papal, half episcopal, and so doing made it partially subject to the influence of the king through the bishops who were in many cases court dignitaries, members of the king's Council, and even lawyers. From that day forward the Inquisition assumed an increasingly political character, not only in France but in other countries also, wherever it was established, and in the hands of the civil power became an instrument of oppression and tyranny. Philip the Fair proceeded to give a practical demonstration of the change in the prosecution of the Templars.

The Order of Templars, like the Order of Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, had been instituted on the morrow of the First Crusade in about 1117 with the object of protecting

pilgrims and safeguarding the independence of the Latin kingdom of the Holy Land against the attacks of the Saracens. Its members had fought valiantly until the fall of Acre, the last remnant of the Christian kingdom, in 1291. Thereafter they concentrated their activities on the increase of their wealth by exploiting the vast sums which had been deposited in the houses of the Order on account of their inviolable character. Their growing wealth, life in the field, and association with the peoples of the East, had singularly weakened the primitive austerity of the Templars; their life was such that it was not surprising that accusations should be brought against them of dissolute morals and even sacrilegious practices. Once such accusations were brought their downfall was assured, and Philip the Fair did not scruple to bring them.

The continued extension of the royal power had compelled the king to organize it by developing rudimentary systems of administration and creating new ones, legal, financial, and military, wherever they were required: this necessitated considerable resources which were not forthcoming in spite of the excessive taxation and the debasement of the coinage which had entailed the animadversions of Boniface VIII. The wealth of the Templars and the power which it would give him tempted him, and he determined to appropriate it by destroying the Order. To accuse its members of all the horrors popularly attributed to them and to have them condemned first by the Inquisition and then by the Pope, whom he held in his power, seemed to him the best means of securing his end. Judgement by an ecclesiastical tribunal would, he conceived, put public opinion on his side.

At the command of the king, therefore, and without any authorization from the Pope, Guillaume de Paris, the Inquisitor of France who was also the King's Confessor, on 22nd September 1307 instituted proceedings against the Templars throughout the kingdom and personally examined 138, including Jacques de Molay, the Master-General of the Order, while his delegates and the other Inquisitors performed a like function throughout the provinces. Philip the Fair at the same

time had all the property of the Order seized. Torture was applied to wring confessions from its members, and twenty-five of the accused died upon the rack. Many were overcome with pain and confessed that they had profaned the Cross or indulged in sodomitical practices or denied Christ or repudiated their vows and taken part in satanical rites. The majority later retracted such confessions.

These proceedings took their course and Clement V was still undecided. The king promptly began a violent campaign against him, directed by the lawyers, who accused the Pope of simony. Clement bowed before the storm and two simultaneous inquiries were set on foot, one in charge of the ordinaries and the other under the control of commissaries appointed by the Holy See, the final judgement on the order itself being reserved to the Pope in a General Council to be held at Vienne on the 1st October 1310. The Pope's intervention inspired the Templars and Jacques de Molay, their Grand Master, with renewed confidence. They retracted their confessions. Philip the Fair, however, hurried the matter forward, had a number of the accused condemned and burned at the stake, and invited the assistance of other European sovereigns in having the Order suppressed. Provincial Councils held in England, at London on the 30th October 1309 and at York on the 30th June 1311, in Ireland and Scotland, at Tarragona for Aragon from October 1310 to November 1312, at Salamanca for Castile in October 1310 declared for the innocence of the Templars, as did the pontifical commissions of Spain and Germany. And, finally, the oecumenical Council of Vienne, which opened on the 16th October 1311, announced its intention of reconsidering the matter afresh.

Philip the Fair once again had recourse to the method he had already employed several times to make Clement V yield and announced his intention of inviting the Council at Vienne to deliver a posthumous judgement and condemnation of Boniface VIII. The Pope became alarmed, secured a condemnation of the Templars from a committee of the Council and, without consulting the Council itself, ratified it as a political measure,

not as the sentence of a court of justice. The dissolution of the Order was decreed.

The general sessions of the Council were restricted solely to the liquidation of the property of the Temple which was supposed to be handed over to the Hospitallers of St. John, except in Spain, where the military Orders used it in their permanent crusade against the Moors. In fact Philip the Fair and the other sovereigns, following his example, succeeded in keeping most of it to themselves.[1] As for the religious, it was decided that their fate should be determined by provincial councils, the Pope reserving to himself the decision concerning the Grand Master and the chief dignitaries. He entrusted the matter to three cardinals, who, not venturing to pronounce a judgement, handed their prisoners over to the royal provost of Paris, who had them burned at the stake on an island in the Seine. Jacques de Molay and his companions with their dying breath summoned both Pope and king to meet them at the bar of Heaven within the year, and within the year 1314 both Philip the Fair and Clement V went to their account.

Clement V was succeeded by John XXII (1316–34), a Pope of the most remarkable energy considering his advanced years— he was seventy-two at the time of his election. The scene changed; Germany now became the theatre of the conflict between the Holy See and the monarchical claim of the lawyers.

Roman law had been taught in the Italian law schools as early as the twelfth century, and with it pagan and Caesarian theories of power, which made public opinion incline with favour towards the Empire and raised the Ghibelline party in opposition to the Papacy. At the end of the thirteenth century the chief spokesman of the doctrines was the great poet, Dante, who tempered them with his Christian ideas. Dante expounded his views in his treatise *De Monarchia*. As the title of the work indicates, he adhered faithfully to the medieval conception of a

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[1] Edward II (1307–27) dissolved twenty-two houses of the Temple in England (Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 139). The Papal Bull allotting their property to the Hospitallers was suspended for a year and finally in 1313 put into operation, saving the rights of the king and his subjects. Eleven years later Parliament passed a statute in favour of the Hospitallers (17 Edw. II, p. 174) but it was too late.

political unity embracing all nations with the Pope and the Emperor at its head, but, in the second book, he sought to establish from the progress of history and the words and actions of Christ that God had chosen the people of Rome and their leader, the Emperor, to be the representatives of such a monarchy; and in his third book—the most important—he attempted to show that the Empire depended on God alone and was in no respect dependent on the Papacy which, he contended, should concern itself solely with spiritual values, eternal happiness, and the practice in this world of the theological virtues. He admitted, however, that, temporal happiness being a degree lower than spiritual, the Emperor ought to allow himself to be enlightened by the radiance of the divine light emanating from the Pope.

Theories of this sort had made the great poet an adherent of the Emperor, Henry VII, who was elected on the 27th November 1308, in opposition to Charles of Valois who had been appointed vicar imperial by Clement V. Dante warmly applauded his coronation, which took place on the 29th June 1312 in Rome, in spite of the opposition of Robert of Anjou, king of Naples and leader of the Guelphs, encouraged by the Pope.

On the death of Henry VII in 1313, a double election had conferred the imperial crown on Frederick of Austria and Louis of Bavaria. John XXII determined to seize the opportunity thus presented of asserting his supremacy over the Empire and ensuring the independence of the Papacy in Rome and Italy and, reserving to himself the decision between the two rival candidates, refused to acknowledge either, and in 1317 appointed Robert of Anjou, vicar imperial. Louis of Bavaria, however, defeated his rival at the battle of Mühldorf on the 28th September 1322, and, assuming the dignity of king of the Romans, appointed another vicar imperial in Italy in opposition to Robert. He thus inspired fresh energy into the Ghibelline party and on the 28th July 1328 compelled the Papal Legate, Cardinal de Pouget, to raise the siege of Milan where Visconti, one of the leaders of the imperial Ghibelline

party, lay besieged. The Pope, meanwhile, issued a solemn warning to Louis of Bavaria and summoned him to the Curia to explain the support given by him to excommunicated persons (the Visconti) and heretics (the Franciscan Spirituals). Louis failed to put in an appearance to answer the charge and was duly excommunicated in March 1324.

Like Philip the Fair, Louis of Bavaria appealed to public opinion against the Pope in a solemn declaration made at Sachsenhausen on the 22nd May 1324. He counted also on finding support among the lawyers and the Spirituals.

On the 24th June 1324 two lawyers, Marsiglio of Padua and John of Jandun, published a treatise the *Defensor Pacis*[1] with the object of establishing the supremacy of the Empire and the baselessness of the prerogatives 'usurped' by the Supreme Pontiff. They far out-Dante'd Dante in their argument and actually went the length of denying the spiritual authority of the Holy See over the universal Church, acknowledging it only in a General Council convoked by the Emperor by which the Pope might be censured, suspended, and even deposed. The doctrine therefore which these anti-clerical lawyers preached meant the subservience of the Pope to the Emperor and of the Church to the State. Louis of Bavaria was at first alarmed at such extreme theories but gradually became converted to them as his quarrel with the Pope became the more embittered, and they involved him in the end in schism and ruin.

The Spirituals had long been hostile to the Holy See. Even within the lifetime of St. Francis the summary form of discipline he had prescribed for his early followers had received various interpretations and been even modified. His primary object had been to found a contemplative Order living in the most absolute poverty and exercising no other apostolate than that of charity and an absolutely evangelical life. Any form of pro-

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[1] Its argument was that ecclesiastical sovereignty lay in the *universitas fidelium*, i.e. the *universitas civium*, and the Church therefore could have no rights against the State (cf. Maitland, *Gierke*, p. 142). The book was therefore reprinted at his own expense by Thomas Cromwell in 1534 and recommended to the attention of the London Carthusians and Cardinal Pole (*Letters*, &c., vii. 423, &c.).

perty, any care for the morrow, seemed to the Saint in contradiction with a whole-hearted abandonment to God, while study was a luxury incompatible with the life of humility which he and his associates proposed to lead.

But Cardinal Ugolino (later Pope Gregory IX), the protector and friend of the Saint, considered that such an ideal, though not unsuited to a man or a restricted community still in the early enthusiasm of vocation, was ill-fitted for an Order destined to endure and to recruit numerous disciples. He had therefore mitigated the severity of the primitive rule and established a society very different from that contemplated by the Saint. St. Francis resigned himself in a spirit of obedience, but his ideal was still cherished intact by those who had dwelt most in his intimacy.

Conflict broke out immediately after his death between the partisans of absolute poverty, who condemned all individual and collective property in the Order, and those who, extending still further the modifications imposed by Gregory IX, tended to turn the Order from an association of wandering mystics living on charity and the daily toil of their hands into an Order such as the Benedictine, which established magnificent convents in towns, studied in the universities, preached and taught and wrote books. The quarrel persisted in the Franciscan family and not unfrequently in individual communities throughout the whole of the thirteenth century. The Popes plainly favoured the modified rule, for by a succession of Bulls they multiplied dispensations which constantly relaxed the rule.

St. Bonaventura, who had been elected Minister-General for the purpose of reconciling the two rival tendencies, attempted to keep one party in the modified observance and to curb the fanaticism of the other. He was unsuccessful, and the feud became so embittered that the parties opposed each other in open strife: the community which practised the conventual life, after the fashion of the old-established Orders, ranged itself against the adherents of the Strict Observance who steadfastly maintained the primitive rule and repudiated any modification. It happened that Italy was pervaded at the time by the mystical

reveries of a certain Joachim of Flora, a Cistercian hermit of Calabria,[1] who taught that the Old Testament, in which the flesh was still predominant, was the reign of the Father and that its ideal was marriage: that the New Testament was the reign of the Son and its ideal the active life and chastity through the celibacy of the priesthood; the perfection of humanity would be achieved only under the reign of the Holy Ghost whose ideal would be the contemplative life and absolute detachment from the things of this world. Joachim of Flora placed this advent of the Holy Ghost about the year 1250.

The Franciscans of the Strict Observance thought that they perceived their own features in these disciples of the Holy Ghost and considered St. Francis the incarnation of one of them. They therefore set themselves actively to propagate Joachim's treatise, *An Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel*, which was condemned by Pope Alexander IV in 1257. They were thenceforth known as Spirituals.

Their theories alarmed the Popes and it was because he was suspected of Joachimism that John of Parma, the Franciscan Minister-General, was compelled to make way for St. Bonaventura, and a like suspicion moved the chapter general of the Order in 1282 to condemn the *Quaestiones* of Friar Peter Oliva. The result was that a number of Observants were either banished to hermitages or condemned to perpetual imprisonment. The Spirituals hoped that their cause might prevail during the short-lived pontificate of Celestine V who, like them, had lived the contemplative life in solitary retreats and practised absolute poverty before being raised against his will to the Papacy. Celestine authorized them to follow their ideal of life in hermitages and relieved them of the obedience due to their Franciscan superiors. It was therefore a shock to them when Celestine V abdicated, and they turned with violence against his successor Boniface VIII. They accused him of having extorted his predecessor's abdication by force and of being, therefore, a simoniac and an intruder. They made common cause

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[1] Dante's 'Calabrese abate Gioacchino, di spirito profetico dotato' whose light shone by the side of 'Bonaventura da Bagnoregio' in *Paradise*, xii. 140.

accordingly with Philip the Fair in his contest with Boniface VIII and the Roman Inquisition.

In spite of the repressive measures taken against them by Benedict XI and Clement V, the Spirituals steadily increased in numbers and acquired a growing influence over the masses, gathering round them laymen and women of the Third Order eager to become converted into apostles of poverty. They were known as *béguins* or *béguines* from the name of their leader, one, Lambert Bègue (*c.* 1180).[1] They found a new champion of undeniable merit, a Franciscan of the Strict Observance, Ubertino da Casale, whose condemned book *Arbor Vitae Crucifixae* circulated far and wide. The Council of Vienne attempted to heal the intestinal quarrels which rent the Order by promulgating in its closing session on the 6th May 1312 the decree *Fidei Catholicae fundamento* which condemned the errors of Peter Oliva, but not the Spirituals, whom it permitted to practise in separate convents the primitive rule of St. Francis in all its austerity.

A compromise of the kind was not likely to commend itself to a character so imperious as that of John XXII. A few months after his election he ordered the Inquisition to take proceedings against all the Franciscan nonconformists, Spirituals, *fraticelli*, *bizzocchi*, and *béguins*; numbers of them were burned at the stake in Marseilles, and one of their most active propagandists, Bernard Délicieux of Narbonne, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. The chapter of the Order having been prevailed upon by the influence of the Minister-General, Michele da Cesena, to adopt the doctrines of the Spirituals, the Pope promulgated on the 12th November 1323 a fresh decree *Cum inter nonnullos* which condemned as heretical the doctrines of the Spirituals that Christ and His apostles had never owned any property and that they had thus set the example of that absolute poverty which the Observants practised.

The breach between the Pope and the Spirituals was,

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[1] These sectaries and eight of their specific errors were condemned by Clement V in the Council in the Bull *Ad nostrum*. The men are there described as *Beguardi*, the women as *Béguines*, and they are said to have arisen in Germany.

therefore, complete at the very moment when conflict broke out between John XXII and Louis of Bavaria. The Spirituals took the side of the Emperor and his lawyers just as in France they had ranged themselves with Philip the Fair against Boniface VIII. Many found refuge at the court of Louis, and it was a Spiritual, Franz von Lautern, who drew up the imperial proclamation of Sachsenhausen; another, Heinrich von Thalheim, secured the triumph of the cause of poverty at the Franciscan chapter in Perugia and subsequently became chancellor of the Empire.

John XXII, in spite of his burden of years—he was eighty-two at the time—continued to carry on the struggle in politics and religion against the coalition of his enemies in Germany and Italy and condemned one of the chief works of the most revered master of the Spirituals, the *Postillae* of Oliva on the Apocalypse. In the belief that he could no longer repose any confidence in the sentiments of Michele da Cesena, the General of the Franciscan Order, or of Buonagrazia da Bergamo, his Procurator-General, he forbade them to leave Avignon without his permission. Apprehensive, however, that proceedings were about to be taken against them and fearful of the issue, the couple decamped by night and took refuge in Italy. The Pope related the circumstances in a Bull, accused them of heresy, and on the 1st June 1327 instructed the Inquisitor of Provence, the Franciscan Michel le Moine, to take proceedings against them.

Louis of Bavaria, meanwhile, became increasingly hostile to the Pope. At the instigation of the Spirituals he accused John XXII of heresy and by referring to him thenceforth simply as 'John of Cahors' proclaimed to the world that he no longer acknowledged him as Pope. He left Trent on the 15th March 1327 to go and take in Rome the imperial crown which John XXII refused him. On the 30th May 1327 he received the iron crown at Milan from the hands of the bishop of Arezzo, captured Pisa after a month's siege on the 8th October 1327, and on the 7th January 1328 made his solemn entry into Rome and the basilica of St. Peter's. To show that the imperial crown did not depend on the Pope, he had himself proclaimed Emperor by the people on the 11th January 1328, and on the

17th solemnly received it in St. Peter's. The Spirituals at his elbow, Ubertino da Casale, Michele da Cesena, and Buonagrazia da Bergamo drove him to take the two steps which made his conflict with the Pope irremediable and provoked a schism. On the 28th April 1328, in the atrium of St. Peter's, a mixed assembly of ecclesiastics and laymen, presided over by the Emperor, deposed John XXII as a declared heretic, and on the following 12th May an obscure Spiritual, one Pietro di Corvara, was elected Pope. He took the name of Nicholas V.

Louis of Bavaria had gone too far: many of his followers refused to follow him in schism. The anti-Pope encountered the hostility of all the sovereigns, even of such as had quarrelled with John XXII, like the princes of the house of Aragon. In Italy he was acknowledged only in a few towns in Lombardy and Tuscany: of the bishops he nominated only four were able to take possession of their sees. He himself was unable to remain in the city in which he had been elected; he left Rome two and a half months after his election to lead a wretched wandering life and was soon forsaken by Michele da Cesena and Occam, the very people who had created him. The cardinals whom he had appointed sent him back their hats, beginning with Visconti, archbishop of Milan, and he was reduced in despair to bargain for terms. John XXII promised him absolution, a pension of 3,000 florins, exemption from every jurisdiction except that of the Sovereign Pontiff himself, and, on the 25th July 1330, he made his solemn abjuration to the archbishop of Pisa and the bishop of Lucca. On the 25th August he presented himself before the Pope at Avignon, with a rope round his neck in token of penance; he was detained in the Papal palace and there died on the 13th October 1333.

His collapse was followed almost immediately by that of the Emperor. Louis of Bavaria was expelled from Rome on the 4th August 1328: he wandered about in Roman Tuscany, stayed in Pisa from December 1328 to April 1329, and finding barred to him the gates of cities which a year before had been most friendly disposed, even the gates of Milan, he returned to Germany in the beginning of 1330.

His allies, the king of Denmark, John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, and the archbishop of Treves sought peace on his behalf, but the Pope insisted as a condition precedent that he should abdicate the imperial dignity which he had usurped. A powerful coalition was soon formed against him in Germany, and Louis abdicated, then withdrew his abdication. A little later, on the 4th December 1334, John XXII died.

The new Pope, Benedict XII (1334–42), was a Cistercian monk and a native of the county of Foix, where he had been bishop, first of Pamiers and later of Mirepoix. He had been one of the most active agents of the Inquisition and when he became cardinal was known as 'the theological light of the Curia'. He continued the campaign against the Spirituals, but at the same time entered into negotiations with Louis of Bavaria which lasted for eight years and were not concluded when he died. He was succeeded by Clement VI (1342–52), who speedily brought the matter to a head by intimating to Louis that the only way in which he could atone for his past was by resigning: then taking advantage of the rivalry dividing the houses of Bavaria and Luxemburg, he proposed Charles of Moravia, a son of John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, as his own candidate, and had him elected by the name of Charles IV on the 11th July 1347. Three months later, on the 11th October 1347, Louis of Bavaria suddenly died. The nickname 'Emperor of the Priests', applied to Charles IV, is an indication that his election was regarded as a triumph of the Papacy in its conflict with Louis of Bavaria, his Spirituals, and his lawyers.

Difficulties of a similar kind but not so violent existed between the Holy See and England owing to the substitution, in England as in France, of a national State for the old feudal régime and to the political theories of the lawyers who exalted both the authority of the State and the growing feeling of national independence.

Once he had nothing to fear from his barons Edward III (1327–77) became the more readily disposed to listen to the complaints of the Parliaments against the Holy See in that he suspected the Avignon Popes of partiality for France, their

native country. The Parliament of 1343 upon the pretext of protecting the king's sovereignty against any kind of foreign interference, forbade the carrying-out in England of Bulls and other Papal rescripts directed against the policy of the country. This involved the granting of an *exsequatur*, that is to say, a permit from the civil authority approving the acts of the religious authority. The decree was immediately put into force and aggravated a year later by penal sanctions. Clement VI protested against what he described as a rebellion but at the same time entered into negotiations, and the decrees remained a dead letter.

Difficulties arose again in 1346 when the king sequestrated every ecclesiastical benefice held by a foreigner. The Parliament of 1347 renewed its complaints, and that of 1351 passed a statute on the provision of benefices with the object of withdrawing the right of presentation from the Pope and patrons and placing it in the hands of the king, so giving the State control over the property of the Church. Edward III refrained from putting the statute into operation and was content to hold it in reserve as a weapon which might one day prove useful.

Under Innocent VI (1352–62) the Parliaments continued their attacks upon the privileges of the Holy See: in January 1353 the apostolic tax collectors were forbidden to raise certain dues from the English clergy; on the 23rd September 1353 appeals to foreign tribunals, which in practice could only mean the Roman Curia, were forbidden under pain of confiscation of goods and imprisonment. Finally in 1365 under Urban V lords and commons freed the king from the obligation to pay the feudal bond promised to the Holy See by John Lackland when he declared on the 15th May 1213 that he held his kingdom from the Pope in fee. So the rights of a modern State, jealous of its independence, were affirmed in opposition to those which the Church enjoyed. The antagonism was fundamental but restrained by the manner in which the statutes were enforced.

It was to be revived by the violent diatribes and the pamphlets of Wycliffe in the last quarter of the fourteenth century against

the Church and the Papacy, and in the sixteenth century it was the same policy which under Henry VIII drove England into schism.

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THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

IN 1327 Edward III succeeded to the throne of England and was from the first involved in those troubles with Scotland which his predecessors' policy had made it almost impossible for him to avoid. The Scotch troubles soon became merged into a larger war.

There were many reasons for conflict between the French and English kings. The growing sense of French nationalism had, for one thing, naturally created an ambition to expel the English from Aquitaine. Ever since the alliance, formed by John Balliol in 1295, conflict with Scotland was almost certain in the long run to lead to conflict with France. Again, there was the problem of Flanders. Feudally, Flanders was within the orbit of France, its Count Louis, the vassal of Philip of Valois; commercially its relations with England were the more important, and, when in 1336 Count Louis arrested all the English merchants in Flanders, the Flemings, in defiance of their lord and under the leadership of James van Artavelde, a merchant of Ghent, made a private treaty of neutrality with the English king, by which they promised that they would take no part in the coming struggle. Each king offered hospitality to his rival's rebels. Philip of Valois to David Bruce, the anti-English claimant to the Scotch throne, and Edward to Robert of Artois, rebel against Philip of Valois. Both French and English ports along the Channel were the nests of pirates who preyed upon the commerce of the rival nation.

It was into an atmosphere thus ready charged for war that Edward III preferred his claim to the French throne. Philip VI, the French king, was only the first cousin of his predecessor, Charles IV. Edward III of England was, on the other hand, the nephew of Charles through his mother, Isabella, and therefore put forward his claim. Philip's contention was that inheritance through a woman was impossible, and Edward's claim was in any event ridiculous, as, if it was possible to inherit

through a woman, then Charles, the king of Navarre, the grandson of Louis X, through his mother, Jeanne, had a better claim than Edward. The Pope, Benedict XII, attempted mediation, but in vain. Edward, refusing his offers, made an alliance with Louis IV of Bavaria, the excommunicate Emperor, and invaded France in 1338. He made closer his alliance with the Flemings, who in 1340 accepted him as the lawful king of France.

The war falls into four stages: the first from 1340 up to the Treaty of Bretigny in 1360, by which the English king recovers substantially the whole of Aquitaine as it had been held by Henry II; the second from the recommencement of the war in 1377 to the truce of 1396, during which the French recover all the English possessions, save a coastland strip in Guienne; the third from 1415 to 1420, the period of Henry V, ending with the Treaty of Troyes and the acceptance of the infant Henry VI as king of France; the fourth, the period of final English defeat and the reduction of English possessions on the Continent to the single town of Calais.

The first success of the war was to the English—the naval victory of Sluys off the Scheldt in 1340—but the English land campaigns of that year were less successful and an attempt to capture Tournai failed. Edward was involved in domestic troubles, and fighting languished, to burst out again in Brittany, when the two kings supported rival claimants to that duchy. 1342 and 1343 were occupied with petty fighting, terminated in the latter year by a three years' truce, arranged by the new Pope, Clement VI.

Edward's allies began to fall away from him. The Emperor, now reconciled to the Pope, transferred himself to the French side. However, Edward, in spite of the truce and the desertion of his allies, continued to pepper the coast of France with a variety of expeditions of which the most important was that which, marching from the Côtentin to Calais, met and beat the French at Crécy on the 26th August 1346. At about the same time the Scots, Philip's allies, were defeated at Neville's Cross and their king, David, captured, and the earl of Lancaster con-

ducted a successful campaign in Aquitaine, ending in the capture of Poitiers. On the 4th August 1347 Calais fell.

The English were prevented from pushing home their successes by the gigantic catastrophe of the Black Death which devastated the country in 1348 and 1349. Yet, even in spite of that, the next few years saw a number of minor English successes, a sea victory of Les Espagnols-sur-mer over the fleet of the king of Castile, the French king's ally, in 1350, a land victory at Saintes in 1351, and the treacherous capture of Guines in 1352.

Edward attempted to form an alliance with the king of Navarre but it came to little. He therefore made his first business the reduction of the Scots, formally assumed the title of king of Scotland, and by the barbarities of Burnt Candlemas in 1355 attempted to reduce his new rivals to obedience. The Black Prince, his son, in the meanwhile was conducting a brilliant, if erratic and somewhat purposeless, campaign in Aquitaine. It led him on the 19th September 1356 to Poitiers, where the English won the second major victory of the war. The French king, John, who had succeeded his father, Philip, in 1350, was taken prisoner.

In 1357 the Scotch accepted a treaty and renounced the French alliance. France herself, deprived of her king, fell almost into anarchy. There was a rising in Paris under Etienne Marcel, the provost, and all over the country popular movements known as Jacqueries rose up in protest against the intolerable times. There was no effective power which could resist the English king, and the French had no alternative but to accept in May 1360 the Treaty of Bretigny by which three million gold crowns were to be paid as ransom for John, and Calais, Guines, Ponthieu, and all Aquitaine ceded to Edward. In return he renounced his claim to the French throne.

The love of peace, however, was not in the blood either of the Black Prince or of those who had careered with him across France. Having no Frenchmen to fight, he got himself involved instead in the troubles of Spain, taking the part of Pedro the Cruel of Castile and winning in 1367 a great victory at Navarette.

The victory was useless and the Black Prince, returning to his viceroyalty of Aquitaine, soon goaded its inhabitants into revolt by his attempt to exact from them an ill-advised hearth-tax. The new French king, Charles V, took advantage of the grievances of the Aquitainers to recommence the war. Abandoning the absurd, chivalric tactics of his predecessors, Charles set himself to wear down the English by a series of raids. These tactics were all but uniformly successful. Chandos, the one English commander of ability, was early killed in Poitou. By a Castilian victory off La Rochelle the English command of the Channel was thrown into jeopardy. Town after town was lost by the English, and against their losses they could only set the appalling and quite futile destruction of Limoges by the Black Prince in 1370 and a spectacular but useless raid from Calais to Bordeaux by John of Gaunt in 1373. By 1374 the English possessions had been reduced to the towns of Bordeaux and Bayonne and a thin strip of land connecting them. And in the following year the English accepted a truce at Papal mediation.

The presence of the Papacy at Avignon had caused English patriotism to take an unfortunately anti-clerical turn, and the attention of English politicians was increasingly directed to the quarrels of cleric and lay at home, to the rivalry between the Black Prince and John of Gaunt and to the problems of the Lollard heresy. Futile as these quarrels were, there is at least this much to be said for them, that they prevented further prosecution of the war.

In 1377 Edward III died and was succeeded by his grandson, Richard II. Richard II was mainly occupied with the economic problems which the Black Death had left behind it, and which led to the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, and with the attempt to keep the Crown free from servitude to an oligarchy. Wisely, he refused to be responsible for the continuance of the war, and in 1396 concluded a thirty years' truce with France, cementing it by marrying as his second wife Isabella, the daughter of Charles VI.

In 1399 Richard was deposed, and his cousin, Henry IV, seized the throne in his place. At first the change made no

difference to Anglo-French relations, but towards the end of Henry's reign the troubles in France between the two parties of the Burgundians and the Armagnacs once again tempted the English to take a part. At first they supported the Burgundians, but in 1412 changed to the Armagnac side, and an expedition was sent to France, but it accomplished little, being bought off for 210,000 gold crowns and then returning to England.

War was not seriously recommenced until the accession of the new king, Henry V, in 1413. The Lancastrian dynasty had no claim to the throne, and the Oldcastle Plot was a significant reminder that treason could be called in to upset what treason had established. The new king therefore determined upon the bold policy of foreign war. Defeat, he knew, would almost certainly mean dethronement; spectacular victory, he hoped, would establish him more firmly in power. Therefore, after wasting some time in purposelesss negotiations with both Burgundians and Armagnacs, Henry in 1414 laid claim to the throne of France. His claim was doubly ridiculous, for he was not even the proper heir of Edward III of England, but that mattered little. In the summer of 1415 he assembled his army at Southampton. Just before he sailed a formidable Yorkist conspiracy under Richard, earl of Cambridge, was discovered. However, Henry crossed the Channel to Harfleur, whence he marched along the coast in the direction of Calais. On the 24th October, at the village of Maisoncelles, he found his way barred by a French army under the constable, Jean d'Albret, which outnumbered his by three to one. He offered to negotiate, but d'Albret refused, and on the next day Henry was therefore compelled to engage the French at Agincourt. In spite of the disparity of numbers Henry won a complete victory and was able to march on to Calais and to return thence to England to receive just such a triumphal reception as his political necessities required.

Henry's standing among European princes was wholly changed. The emperor, Sigismund, anxious to unite Europe for a Crusade against the Mohammedan, attempted to mediate between him and the French king. But he would accept

nothing less than the full terms of Bretigny. The negotiations therefore failed, and in 1417 another expedition crossed the Channel. By the beginning of 1419 all Normandy was in Henry's hands. He then advanced and captured Pontoise, the key to Paris. An attempt by the French to close up the feud between Burgundians and Armagnacs only ended in the murder of the duke of Burgundy, and the French had in 1420 to accept the Treaty of Troyes by which Henry became regent of France with the right of succession on the death of the imbecile French king, Charles VI.

On paper all was won, but the defeat of Henry's brother, Clarence, at Beauge in 1421 showed that the issue was in fact far from decided. Henry took to the field once more himself and in a vigorous campaign drove the Armagnacs over the Loire. He learned that the Dauphin was invading Burgundy and turned east to meet him, but death was on him and at Vincennes he died, leaving his perilous inheritance to his infant son, nine months old, Henry VI.

Henry V had left his brother, Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, the regency in England, a post in the exercise of which he soon found himself in conflict with a more astute rival, Henry Beaufort, cardinal-bishop of Winchester. In France the regent was the duke of Bedford, another uncle of the infant king.

From the first it was evident that the English position could only be preserved if it was defended. The Armagnac party did not consider themselves bound by the Treaty of Troyes and at once proclaimed the Dauphin, Charles, as king of France. Bedford countered with the obvious policy of drawing closer his alliance with the rival party, the Burgundians. A treaty was signed at Amiens with both the duke of Burgundy and the duke of Brittany, and Bedford himself married Burgundy's sister. At first all went well for the allies. By a victory at Cravant in 1423 they made themselves masters of Champagne, and masters of Maine by another at Verneuil in 1424.

The same year, however, saw a mishap which marked the turning-point in the English fortunes. Countess Jacqueline of Hainault had left her husband, the duke of Brabant, and taken

refuge in England. Duke Humphrey of Gloucester fell in love with her and, affecting to consider her first marriage null, married her. The duke of Burgundy, who was the over-lord of the duke of Brabant and heir-presumptive of Hainault, was highly incensed, and when Gloucester even sent an expedition into Hainault to conquer her possessions for her, it looked likely that, in spite of Bedford's repudiation of his brother, things would come to an open breach. However, this for the moment averted by the Papal refusal to annul the Brabant marriage and Gloucester's consequent repudiation of his soi-disant wife.

Meanwhile the Anglo-Burgundian advance was held up before the great fortress of Orleans. The siege of Orleans went on through 1428 and until March 1429. It was at that date that the whole political face of France, and much more than the political face of France, was changed by the appearance of one of the most astonishing figures in the whole record of human history. There appeared before the Dauphin at Chinon a nineteen-year-old peasant girl from Domrémy in Lorraine. In spite of an attempt to deceive her she recognized the Dauphin from among his courtiers and announced to him that she had been sent by God to crown him king of France in Rheims Cathedral. She succeeded in persuading first the Dauphin and afterwards a council of bishops and doctors of her supernatural mission.

From Chinon she was sent to Orleans, from which she easily succeeded in driving away the English. They were chased from Orleans to Jargeau, from Jargeau to Beaugency. At Patay the English were defeated in pitched battle. Troyes and Châlons fell, and on the 7th July her promise was fulfilled and Charles was crowned in Rheims Cathedral.

St. Joan's mission was now finished and she wished to return home, but they would not let her. A few months later she was captured by the Burgundians in an attack on Compiègne. After some haggling about the price, the duke of Burgundy sold her to the English for 10,000 gold francs. King Charles made no effort to save her and the English were determined to be rid

of her. A corrupt and time-serving bishop was found, Cauchon of Beauvais. She was arraigned, and after a trial which it is the fashion of modern humorists to speak of as fair but which was in point of fact the grossest travesty of justice, she was condemned as a witch and burnt alive in the market-place at Rouen.

The spirit of St. Joan, however, lived on, and it was that spirit, unconquerable, which was victor of the Hundred Years' War. France was recovered for the French. The English never again, for one instant, looked like re-establishing their supremacy. In 1431 Bedford did indeed have Henry VI crowned in Paris in the hope of upsetting Charles' coronation at Rheims, but it had little effect. In 1432 the duke of Burgundy made a truce with Charles, and in 1435 by the Treaty of Arras definitely went over to the French side. In 1436 Charles entered Paris. Meanwhile at home in England Beaufort had put himself at the head of the peace party, a party which the combination of unscrupulous skill with irresistible and obvious necessity led eventually to success. In 1444 a truce was signed at Tours by which the English surrendered everything except Normandy and Guienne and Henry married Margaret of Anjou.

The English were unable to hold even these reduced possessions. In 1449 some English troops, mutinous for lack of pay, sacked the Breton town of Fougères. Charles took it as an excuse for reopening the war. In 1450 the French victory at Formigny opened the way for a complete conquest of Normandy before the year was out. In the following year Guienne followed the way of Normandy. The Gascons, who had been ruled by the king of England for 300 years, rose in revolt but they were beaten at the battle of Castillon in 1453 and Calais was left as the sole English possession on French soil.

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THE GREAT WESTERN SCHISM

THE energetic government of John XXII (1316–34) and Benedict XII (1334–42) raised the Papacy from the decline into which it had fallen during the pontificate of Clement V; under Clement VI (1342–52) it attained the summit of its influence. This pontiff was born of a noble and powerful family and, having had the disposal of the considerable wealth which accrued from the many rich benefices he enjoyed, was as much at his ease in the see of St. Peter as in the world and as fond of pomp and show as his predecessor had been thrifty and austere. He had filled important offices, he was skilled in business and diplomacy, he knew when to employ force and when to exercise tact, and the world soon learned to see in him the figure of a consummate statesman.

He began his reign by settling the conflict with the Empire to the advantage of the Papacy, and, after calming the troubles which had arisen in England and exercising the supreme authority of the Holy See in pacific mediation between warring nations, he proceeded to re-establish the authority of the Church over its temporal States in Italy.

The Popes had been compelled even when resident in Rome to defend themselves against the turbulence of the noble families in the City and the Campagna, of the Orsini, the Colonnas, the Gaetani, and the Conti, and to resist the recurrent desire for communal autonomy which the continued persistence of the memories of republican Rome kept ever alive in Papal Rome and communicated to other towns in the pontifical States.

In the absence of the Papacy the government fell into a chaos of anarchy, whence there emerged a popular leader, Cola (Nicholas) di Rienzi. He began by alleging the papal authority to assume the government of the city in the name of the Pope and secured the approval of Clement VI for the municipal constitution with which he endowed Rome in 1347. His

imagination, however, soon got the better of him and, considering himself to be both the heir of the ancient tribunes and the elect of the Holy Ghost, he professed to re-establish the authority of the Roman republic over the world, and with that object posed as arbiter in the conflict between Louis of Bavaria and Charles of Moravia on the one hand and between the queen of Naples and the king of Hungary on the other. The Pope was seized with alarm at such pretensions and summoned Rienzi to vacate his office. The tribune refused and was excommunicated. A few months later, the nobles and commons of Rome revolted against the dictator and drove him to seek sanctuary among the Spirituals of Monte Majella in the Abruzzi.

The city lapsed once more into anarchy and two plebeian tribunes were successively appointed. The new Pope Innocent VI recalled Rienzi against the 'second tribune', Baroncelli, and the exile returned with a handful of troops. He overthrew Baroncelli and made a sort of triumphal entry into Rome, where he was received with acclamation. Misfortune, however, had debased his character. He grew increasingly severe and capricious in his exactions and punishments. The infuriated crowd revolted and, on the 8th October 1354, stormed the Capitol and put Rienzi to death with ferocious indignities. Order was restored by Giles Albornoz, a Castilian, who, after having fought valiantly against the Moors, had been forced to flee from the wrath of Peter the Cruel, whose criminal excesses he had denounced, to the court of Pope Clement VI at Avignon. The Pope welcomed him and made him a cardinal.

Innocent VI (1352–62) continued the policy inaugurated in Italy by Clement VI. He retained Albornoz in supreme command and that warrior conducted energetic campaigns against the despots who terrorized the greater part of the Papal State in Etruria, the Marches, and Romagna. He reduced them to subjection between 1354 and 1359, and by the capture of Bologna in 1360 completed the restoration of the temporal dominion of the Pope. The recovery of the Papal State and the re-establishment of the influence of the Holy See in Italy, which were the results of the brilliant campaigns of Albornoz, enabled the

two successors of Innocent VI to bring the Curia back to Rome.

Urban V (1362–70), a Benedictine monk of humble piety and unaffected modesty, was sincerely anxious, in spite of his French origin, to re-establish the residence of the Popes near the tomb of St. Peter. Moreover, since the freebooters of the Great Companies had taken to plundering the French countryside and under Du Guesclin in 1365 had even extorted ransom and absolution from the Pope himself, residence on the banks of the Rhône had become hazardous and insecure. Charles V, king of France, and most of the cardinals offered the most strenuous opposition to his desire, but Urban V held to his purpose and, leaving Avignon on the 30 April 1367, sailed to Corneto and made his way thence to Rome. On the 16th October following he solemnly entered the city. But a revolt soon broke out against him under the leadership of the English *condottiere*, Sir John Hawkwood (*l'Acuto*), and, unable to rely on the strong arm of Albornoz who had died on the 22nd April 1367, Urban V returned to Avignon and died there on the 19th March 1370. He left behind him a reputation for sanctity which Pius IX consecrated by proclaiming him 'Venerable'.

He was succeeded by Gregory XI (1370–8), Pierre Roger de Beaufort-Turenne, a nephew of Clement VI. Gregory appeared before Christendom as a peacemaker and compelled France, England, Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and the factions rending Germany to sign truces. But while he endeavoured to put an end to war wherever it was raging, it broke out again more furiously than ever in Italy and the States of the Church. The return of the Papacy to Avignon had been exploited by parties eager to supplant the Holy See in the peninsula by occupying the place which it had left vacant. Florence having roused the native populations against the French governors of the Papal States, the pope laid the city under an interdict and forbade all Christians to have commercial relations with her, thus dealing a mortal blow at the interests of a community of merchants and bankers. He then launched an expedition against the town under the leadership of Cardinal Robert of Geneva, a warrior

prelate who conducted his campaign with uncompromising severity.

Then the voice of St. Catherine of Siena was heard in the land. Catherine was born in Siena in 1347 of a family of artisans—she was the daughter of a dyer—and became a Mantellata, that is to say, a nun of the Third Order of St. Dominic. She combined ardent mysticism with an Italian patriotism which made her share all the sufferings of Italy and caused her especially to deplore the residence of the Papacy in a foreign land. On learning from her confessor, Raymond of Capua, how Robert of Geneva had ravaged Florence, with the saintly audacity which had already inspired St. Bridget of Sweden to appeal to preceding Popes and was later to be the inspiration of St. Colette before Benedict XIII and St. Joan of Arc before Charles VII, she addressed a number of letters to Gregory XI, upbraiding him that the ceaseless wars which were devastating Italy were due to the absence of the Papacy. The Florentines made her their ambassador and Catherine, proceeding to Avignon in June 1376, reminded the Pope that his apostolic mission was to return to Rome, to reform the clergy and re-establish peace throughout the world.

Gregory XI yielded to her entreaties. After a difficult crossing he arrived in Rome on the 17th January 1377; but he died there a year later on the 27th March 1378, without having had time to re-establish order and peace, and with him the Avignon Papacy came to an end.

The Church had been protected against the assaults of the world throughout the century which had elapsed since the death of St. Louis (1270–1378) by a strong current of sanctity and spiritual life. Five Popes of the period have been beatified: Gregory X and Innocent V who died in 1276, Celestine V who died in 1296, Benedict XI who died in 1304, and Urban V who died in 1370. If France beheld the extraordinary spectacle of Philip the Fair, a pious monarch, attacking the Holy See with every means in his power, it was nevertheless edified by the canonization of St. Louis in 1297 and by the virtues of several members of his family. His sister, the Blessed Isabella, founded

a religious congregation of Poor Clares, and his grand-nephew St. Louis, bishop of Toulouse, was a Franciscan friar.

Manfred had been the declared enemy of the Church in the thirteenth century but his granddaughter, St. Elizabeth of Portugal, the wife of King Denis, after leading an admirable life at court, devoted herself to the religious life in a humble convent of Poor Clares. Flowers of sanctity blossomed in every class and condition of society. St. Thomas Aquinas, whose virtue and learning shed lustre on the thirteenth century, belonged to a noble family and became the everlasting glory of the Order of Preachers; St. Bonaventura, his rival in learning and holiness, was on the contrary of humble origin and became one of the most distinguished generals of the Franciscan Order. Raymond Lull, whom the Catholics of Barcelona venerate as a saint, was also one of the most distinguished men of learning of his day. The Blessed Henry of Treviso and St. Roch of Montpellier, lived in the most humble circumstances and offered a society devoted to luxury and pleasure the spectacle of the most absolute renunciation.

The women saints, who were favoured with the most radiant visions and exercised such a considerable influence over men and events, St. Bridget of Sweden and St. Catherine of Siena, were one the wife of a great Swedish noble and the relative of kings, and the other the daughter of a humble artisan. The lawyers, who involved the Church in such anxieties, provided her also with saints, more particularly St. Yves, the great saint of Brittany, who placed his knowledge of law at the disposal of the poor and the oppressed, while the Franciscans, although the devotion of many of their members to evangelical poverty drove them occasionally in order to preserve it to make common cause with the great ones of the world against the Papacy itself, yet included many others who followed the example of the *Poverello* and scaled the topmost heights of sanctity, because they found a means of reconciling their ideal with obedience. Of such are John of Parma, the general of the Order in the thirteenth century, and Conrad d'Offida in the fourteenth.

A stimulus was given to devotion by the institution of the

feast of Corpus Christi at the instance of St. Juliana du Mont-Cornillon near Liége, which was decreed by Urban IV and extended to the universal Church by John XXII; by a more fervid contemplation of the mysteries of the Passion preached by the Franciscan Order; by the celebration of new feasts of the Blessed Virgin, as, for example, the Presentation, which was first kept in 1372, and by the commemoration of the divine motherhood in the recital of the Angelus.

The Church manifested her vitality by extending her missionary activities to the most remote and newly discovered regions, as witness the Franciscans Plancarpino and Rubruquis, who, in the middle of the thirteenth century, penetrated as far as Mongolia and into the central plateau of Asia. In 1274, Gregory X dispatched the Venetian merchant Marco Polo to the Mongol Emperor Kublai Khan. He returned after an absence of twenty years from Kai-Mangfou, about sixty leagues from Pekin, with narratives of his travels containing the most exact accounts of the geography, products, customs, and religions of China. In 1289 Nicholas IV sent to the same regions a Dominican friar, John of Montecorvino, who established an ecclesiastical province of which the archbishopric of Cambalic (Pekin) became the metropolis. With Odorico da Pordenone, a Franciscan later beatified, the stream of missionary activity passed through the Persian Gulf by the Coromandel and Malabar coasts and the Sunda Islands until it reached Pekin, which had become an important Christian centre and remained so until the persecution of 1362–70 destroyed the effort of a century, which was not renewed until the sixteenth century under St. Francis Xavier.

Christian art, like the Church, attained one of the culminating points of its history in the latter half of the thirteenth century. That period saw the completion of the French cathedrals which were to remain the supreme types of Gothic architecture: Notre Dame in Paris (the transept was finished in 1258 by Jean de Chelles), Notre Dame in Amiens (the roof was finished in 1296), Notre Dame in Rheims (the towers were finished in 1299), and Notre Dame in Chartres (c. 1260). Then,

too, the south of France, which had been conquered by the north, built beautiful churches on the models of those in the north: the cathedrals of Limoges and Clermont (after 1250), the cathedral of Narbonne (begun in 1267 by the master of works at Clermont), the cathedral of Toulouse, an imitation, like that of Gerona in Spain, of Chartres. The cathedrals of Albi and Carcassonne were begun at the same time but not completed until the fourteenth century.

Numerous other churches throughout Europe and even in the East were sometimes built by French architects and recalled the style of the French cathedrals. The cathedral at Tournai derived from that at Soissons: the abbey church of St. Peter at Wimpfen in Germany—the first Gothic church in the Neckar district—was built by a Paris architect in 1269–80; the cathedral of Upsala had for master of works Étienne de Bonneuil, the architect to the king of France, who drew his inspiration from Notre Dame in Paris. The Cistercian Order introduced Burgundian architecture into Italy and the Latin kingdoms of the East, while Provençal architects imported by Charles of Anjou built San Lorenzo in Naples (1266–1324) and the cathedral of Lucera, which was consecrated in 1302. There thus spread throughout the world an art which combined in a wonderful harmony the calculations of the geometrician, the philosophy of the theologian, the sensibility of the poet, the imagination of the multitude, and the mystical aspirations of the faith.

At the same time in the universities which had been founded by the Popes, in Paris thronged, it is said, by 10,000 students, in Bologna, Padua, Oxford, and Cambridge, and many other towns, sacred learning and the profane sciences made steady progress amid the most animated controversies debated before an excited audience of youth or in the quiet seclusion of the cloister.

The magnificent ceremonies which accompanied the celebration of the first Jubilee of 1300 gave Boniface VIII an opportunity to display his taste for the arts, and he commissioned Giotto to paint series of frescoes to cover the façades of the Vatican and Lateran basilicas.

This intellectual and artistic life received an admirable setting in the palace which the Popes built at Avignon. John XXII, who laid the foundations of it, and Benedict XII gave it a majestic dignity to which Clement VI, who had greater refinement, added a measure of elegance. They summoned architects from Provence, Languedoc, and the north of France to construct it and painters from Italy and France to decorate it. Clement VI evinced a predilection for Italian art and, continuing to Simone Memmi of Sienna the patronage that painter had enjoyed from his predecessor, employed him to complete the fresco decoration of the Consistorial Chamber which had been entrusted to him by Benedict XII. The frescoes in the chapel of St. John in the same palace are also attributed to him. The artist has depicted on the walls scenes from the life of Our Lord and His holy Precursor: the birth and preaching of St. John, the sacrifice of Zachariah, the Baptism in the Jordan, the Feast of Herod and the Beheading of St. John the Baptist, the Miraculous Draught of Fishes, the Vocation of the Sons of Zebedee and the Crucifixion. This series of paintings is the finest collection we have of the fourteenth century Siennese school.

Another Italian artist, Matteo da Viterbo, decorated with frescoes the chapel of St. Marcel or of the Inquisition, the chapel of St. Michael, the Consistorial Chamber, where he depicted a coronation with four pontiffs, and the great banqueting-hall in the 'Tour de Trouillas'.

Innocent VI, who succeeded Clement VI, had a special affection for the Charterhouse of Villeneuve which he had founded in 1356. He there built himself a magnificent tomb with bell-turrets and pinnacles ornamented with a profusion of niches and statues like some reliquary made by a master goldsmith. He had the Carthusian chapel covered with frescoes by a pupil of Memmi, Symonet of Lyons.

The splendours of Avignon were imitated throughout the entire Christian world by prelates, abbots, and the heads of religious Orders who had admired them while staying at the Curia. Artists, on the other hand, continued to regard them-

selves as the allies of the Church, whose mission it was to enhance
the splendour of the House of God with sculptures, frescoes,
stained glass windows and tapestries, and to instruct the
Christian people in pictures. A passage in the *Livre des Métiers*
presents the image-makers as depending on the Church; they
are exempt from the watch, 'for the reason', to quote Renan,
'that their trade comes under no man's jurisdiction but belongs
to the service of Our Lord and His Saints and the honouring of
Holy Church'.

Religious art carried into the summer of the fourteenth
century this magnificent spring-tide of the thirteenth. Archi-
tecture then attained to the perfection of Gothic art in the
greater degree of skill exhibited by builders and sculptors, the
greater grace of their buildings, but with it there appeared a
certain abuse of studied refinement, a monotony and uni-
formity, a sort of rigidity of style. Among masterpieces of
architecture, mention should be made as far as France is con-
cerned of the cathedral of Troyes and the church of St. Urban
in the same town, both dating from the fourteenth century, and
of the abbey church of St. Ouen in Rouen; in Germany, of the
churches of Nuremberg and Ulm, completed in 1377, and the
choirs of the cathedrals of Halberstadt and Augsburg; in
Austria, of the cathedral of Vienna; in Bohemia, of the cathedral
in Prague which was begun in 1342 by Mathieu d'Arras whom
Charles IV had brought from the court of Avignon. The
cathedrals of Liége and Malines in Belgium, of Freiburg in
Switzerland, and Exeter in England (1283–1367) are also
beautiful specimens of fourteenth-century art.

Although devastated by the perpetual recurrence of warfare,
Italy in the fourteenth century became covered with churches
in which Gothic influences were mingled with reminiscences of
the ancient basilicas, such as Orvieto Cathedral, the Franciscan
church of Sta. Croce in Florence, the building of which was
carried on from 1291 to 1442, and in which Giotto covered a
chapel with frescoes, Sta. Maria dei Fiori, the cathedral of
Florence, which had for architects artists of the greatest renown,
Arnolfo del Cambio who worked there from 1334 to 1336, and

Giotto, one of the most universal geniuses of the age, in himself a summary of all medieval Christian art and a forerunner of the Renaissance.

Once such cathedrals and monastic or parochial churches had been built, an effort was made to decorate them by conveying with the chisel of the sculptor the theological and moral teaching of the Church. Rood-screens and choirs, in the vast majority of cases, offered to the meditation and admiration of the faithful 'stories from the Old and New Testaments', like those which may still be seen in Notre Dame in Paris and which, begun by Master Jean Ravy, 'mason of the Church for the space of twenty-six years', were 'completed by his nephew Jean le Bouteiller in the year 1351'.

Literature in the fourteenth century was no less beholden to the Church than the arts for its greater progress. The Avignon Popes continued to protect the universities. The first in importance as in seniority, the university of Paris, had included most of the thirteenth-century Popes among its undergraduates: the fourteenth-century Popes showed it signal marks of favour. John XXII raised a cry of alarm throughout Christendom when he thought he noticed a decline in its efficiency. He granted privileges to the university of Perugia which had been founded by Clement V; he was the patron of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the privileges that he heaped on the university of Bologna established it as the rival of Paris. In 1325 Master Vitale gave public lectures there on the works of Cicero and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Cardinal Albornoz and Gregory XI later founded colleges there, more particularly the Spanish college, for receiving poor students free of charge. The Dominicans followed the Pope's example and founded the university of Prague in 1347, while in Paris, as in the two English universities, colleges multiplied on the foundation of cardinals, bishops, and religious Orders.

The Papacy placed at the disposal of scholars a library which increased daily by the addition of fresh manuscripts, purchased by or presented or bequeathed to the Sovereign Pontiffs. It was begun at Avignon under John XXII in 1317, and when

Urban V had it catalogued in 1369 contained more than 2,200 works, a considerable number for a date before the invention of printing.

Popes and cardinals sought the society of men of letters from all countries with the same eagerness as they collected books. It would be impossible to mention here all those who in answer to their summons came and established themselves for indefinite periods at the Curia; let it be sufficient to mention the name of Petrarch, one of the most illustrious representatives of Humanism. He had been a fellow-pupil of Giacomo Colonna at Bologna and was invited by him to come to France when Colonna was appointed bishop of Lombez. There he became friends with Giacomo's brother, Cardinal Giovanni Colonna, who made him the poet of his household, so freeing him of any material anxiety, and brought him to Avignon. Petrarch was in 1335 appointed canon of Lombez by Benedict XII and had so many prebends heaped upon him that he acquired both independence and a fortune. After a journey to Rome with Cardinal Colonna, which filled him with enthusiasm for the classical and Christian memories of the Eternal City, he returned to Avignon and took up his residence at Vaucluse, where the Sorgue takes its rise, living there from 1337 to 1353. He left this retreat in 1353 and returned to Italy in 1376, but it may be said that he spent the best part of his life at the Papal court and there composed most of his works. Through him Humanism penetrated the Curia.

This great expansion of the Church was suddenly paralysed by one of the most disastrous crises she has ever experienced in the course of her history, the Great Western Schism.

Even before the conclave of 1378 opened, the municipality of Rome had implored the cardinals to elect an Italian Pope, and its entreaties were renewed during the holding of the conclave by the chief magistrates of the fourteen districts of the city, the *Caporioni*. On several occasions the populace went to the Vatican clamouring for a Roman Pope, with such violence that the cardinals were terrified and the demonstration assumed the aspect of a riot. The conclave finally elected Bartolomeo

Prignano, archbishop of Bari, who took the name of Urban VI (1378–89). The cardinals, who but a little later were to set up a rival against him in the person of the Spanish Cardinal Pedro de Luna, although nearly all French,[1] immediately did him homage on his election, and on his coronation day the Sacred College itself, without the least manifestation of opposition, informed the cardinals who had remained in Avignon, the Emperor Charles IV, and the other kings of Europe of the election of Urban VI.

On the 2nd August following, thirteen cardinals who had fled from Rome assembled at Anagni and there published a manifesto against Urban VI whom they described as 'Bartolomeo, former archbishop of Bari', declaring his election void because it had been effected by violence, and on the 20th September in a fresh declaration dated from Fondi, they informed the world that they had proceeded to an election and had appointed as sole lawful Pope, Cardinal Robert of Geneva, who assumed the name of Clement VII (1378–93).

There can be no doubt that occasionally violent pressure had been brought to bear by the Roman populace to secure the election of Urban VI, but many other conclaves had to resist similar pressure without provoking a schism. On the other hand, most of the cardinals who denounced intimidation in the Anagni manifesto had on several occasions, after the conclave, renewed their acts of homage and obedience to Urban VI. The truth is the cardinals were alarmed at the schemes of reform which the new Pope proposed and the severity with which he was determined to carry them out, beginning with the Sacred College and the dignitaries of the Curia. Charles V, again, anxious to retain the Papacy at Avignon, had fired the regrets of the French cardinals, and putting an end to the dissensions among them which had been chiefly responsible for the election of an Italian Pope by a conclave with a French majority, promised them material and moral assistance which,

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[1] 'The Sacred College was then composed of twenty-two cardinals: six of them had remained at Avignon; eleven Frenchmen, one Spaniard, and four Italians entered the Conclave in the usual form.' Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, cap. lxx.

proceeding from the powerful king of France, was exceedingly attractive.

The nationalism which inspired Charles V and the electors of Clement VII determined the choice of the different countries between the rivals. Charles V having declared for Clement VII, his adversary, Richard II, king of England, came down on the side of Urban VI, and when Joanna II of the house of Anjou, queen of Naples, at the instance of the king of France declared herself in favour of Clement VII, her rival, Louis of Durazzo, elected to join Urban VI, and the more willingly because the Pope, before his election, had been archbishop of a diocese in the kingdom of Sicily. The Emperor Wenceslas adhered to Urban VI out of enmity, no doubt, to Charles V whose influence over the Church he was contesting, whereas the Spanish kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, and Navarre, then subject to French influence, gave their allegiance to Clement VII.

As the division penetrated more and more deeply into all classes of society, the rival Popes had each his partisans in countries which officially acknowledged one or other of them and the schism which had dissolved the unity of Christendom, by creating two factions, very soon dissolved the unity of each nation, of every religious Order, and, presently, of individual dioceses and convents, by setting up partisans of Urban VI against the adherents of Clement VII. As for Italy, that country declared itself so violently against Clement VII, whose severity against Florence it continued to remember, that unable to find a footing either in Rome or anywhere else in the Peninsula, he went and established himself in Avignon.

So an Italian Pope in Rome opposed a French Pope in Avignon.

The schism was all the more deplorable because each claimant to the Papacy had specious reasons to allege against his opponent and there was no authority exalted enough to pronounce a judgement upon their contentions which should be universally acknowledged and executed. The question from the very beginning was so involved that persons of unimpeachable integrity, even Saints, were divided between the two

obediences. Urban VI had on his side St. Catharine of Siena, Gerard Groot of Deventer (1340–84), the founder of the 'Brethren of the Common Life', or *Fraterherren* who, for the part he played in the Low Countries and in Germany, has been compared both to St. John Baptist de la Salle and to St. Vincent de Paul. Clement VII had the support of the Blessed Peter of Luxemburg, the austere preacher of great popular missions, St. Vincent Ferrer of the Order of Preachers, and St. Colette, the great reformer of the Franciscan Order.

The schism became the more inveterate as time went on: each of the Popes created his own cardinals and so formed a Sacred College of his own; each of them appointed his own bishops and abbots and made nominations to other ecclesiastical benefices with the result that such offices were disputed between rival claimants, each supported by his own party. The effects of the schism were felt everywhere; and yet efforts were perpetually made on both sides to put an end to it and as perpetually frustrated by the animosity of the parties because its cessation would have been to the advantage of one or other of the disputants. In the end recourse was had to force in the attempt to re-establish the unity which politics had shattered. In 1382, Louis of Anjou, an uncle of Charles VI, organized an expedition into Italy for the conquest of the kingdom of Naples for which he was contending against Charles of Durazzo: as he acknowledged Urban VI, that Pope joined his army in person and committed acts of gross cruelty: the expedition, however, failed. When he proceeded against the men of Ghent who had revolted under the leadership of Philip van Artevelde, Charles VI upbraided them for being 'Urbanists', and the French victory at Roosebecque would have been a triumph for Clement VII if Urban's party had not been supported by England, the ally of the Flemings.

Hopes were then set on the eventual death of one of the rivals to establish unity under the survivor, but on the death of Urban VI in the Vatican on the 15th October 1389, his cardinals were unwilling to adhere to his rival and on the 2nd November they elected the cardinal of Naples, Pietro Tomacelli,

who took the name of Boniface IX (1389–1404). Clement VII died five years later and was succeeded by Cardinal Pedro de Luna, who styled himself Benedict XIII, and although he had played an important part in the election of Urban VI, yet remained most obstinately in favour of the schism until his death in 1422.

The university of Paris, which enjoyed great influence all over Christendom, proposed after the death of Charles V the convocation of a General Council—an undeniable authority throughout the Church, especially since the eclipse of the Papacy—to re-establish unity by deciding between the rivals: but the regents of the kingdom, favouring Clement VII, opposed the suggestion and the university thereupon suggested the policy of 'yielding' (*cessio*), that is, either the abdication of one Pope in favour of the other or the simultaneous abdication of both. The election of a successor to Urban VI dealt a blow to this policy. Its supporters plucked up courage again in 1394, especially when they heard the new Avignon Pope profess his willingness to leave no stone unturned to re-establish unity. Steps were taken by the most eminent doctors of the Faculty of Theology: they failed with Charles VI, with Clement VII, and with Benedict XIII in succession. Nevertheless the counsellors of the king, who had now become insane, came round in the end to the policy of the *cessio* and invited the support of the kings in the two obediences to secure its adoption by the Avignon Pope. To reduce his opposition, a beginning was made by withdrawing from him the obedience of a certain number of nations, but even so Benedict XIII showed such obstinacy that finally, in 1398, a military expedition under the command of Boucicaut was sent against him to compel him to submit. The Pope entrenched himself behind the stout walls of his palace and resisted the attack, which degenerated into a slow siege of four years, without even then succeeding in breaking down his opposition. It was the king of France, on the contrary, who yielded by restoring France to the obedience of Benedict XIII, while the successor of the Emperor Wenceslas confirmed the obedience of Germany to Boniface IX.

Benedict XIII, after holding out thus against France, himself took the initiative in negotiations for the policy of mutual abdication, when Boniface IX was succeeded in Rome by Innocent VII (1404–6). The rivals were united in the same sorry plight, each having been expelled from his residence by a revolt of his subjects. The Avignon Pope proposed to his Roman rival a conference between their respective representatives and even an interview at Viterbo; but when one of them made a step forward, the other drew back, neither being particularly anxious to hasten his own eventual resignation. The university of Paris at last grew weary of these protracted pontifical negotiations and, after repeated requests and long delayed replies, in the end reverted to the project which it had begun by suggesting —a synod or council. The cardinals of both obediences agreed in spite of the two Popes, and on the 25th March 1409 the Council of Pisa opened.

In the first sessions of this assembly the cardinal-archbishop of Milan, Petros Filargis, a Greek, indicted the two rival Popes, Gregory XII, the successor of Innocent VII (1406–15) and Benedict XIII and after ascertaining that neither had sent any representative declared them both to be in contempt: this was the prelude to their deposition which was decreed by a declaration of the Council to the effect that the Holy See was vacant. On the 26th June 1409 the Council went into conclave and appointed Filargis Pope. He took the name of Alexander V. The object of this election was the re-establishment of unity by grouping all Christendom under Alexander V acknowledged to be sole Pope: but as Benedict XIII in Avignon and Gregory XII in Rome refused to admit the validity of the Council's proceedings and each persisted in describing himself as the Supreme Head of the Church, instead of the one Pope universally desired and the two Popes at the opening of the Council, there were now three.

Alexander V was merely transitory. He was elected on the 26th June 1409 and died on the 3rd May 1410. The Fathers of the Council immediately elected as his successor Baldassare Cossa, who assumed the name of John XXIII (1410–15). The

new Pope was ill-suited, both by his past and his character, to enhance the dignity of the Papacy. 'He was utterly worldly minded', writes Pastor,[1] 'and completely engrossed by the temporal interests, an astute politician and courtier, not scrupulously conscientious, and more of a soldier than a Churchman.' 'Vir in temporalibus magnus, in spiritualibus nullus' is the judgement passed on him by St. Antoninus, the great archbishop of Florence, in his *Summa historialis*.

John XXIII had a majority of the nations in his obedience: France, England, Portugal, Bohemia, Prussia, part of Germany, Italy, and the county of Venaissin: Gregory XII wandered from city to city, but he could rely on the loyal devotion of Carlo Malatesta of Rimini and in his obedience were Naples, Poland, Bavaria, and the rest of Germany; as for Benedict XIII, he had practically no adherents other than in the kingdoms of Spain.[2] John XXIII had no sooner been elected than he endeavoured to secure the withdrawal of his two competitors: he sent Landolfo di Bari on an embassy to Spain to win the king of Aragon, Castile, and Navarre to his side, and an ambassador to Carlo Malatesta to induce him to abandon Gregory XII. His efforts were unsuccessful, and on the other hand Ladislas, king of Naples, his personal enemy, defeated Louis of Anjou, his rival, at sea and established himself in a number of towns in the Papal States and even in Rome. In Germany, Sigismund, the brother of Wenceslas, was elected Emperor and invited by all parties to put an end to the schism.

It was the Emperor therefore who, after coming to an understanding with John XXIII, proclaimed that a General Council would open at Constance on the 1st November 1414, to continue the work of reforming and uniting the Church which, begun at Pisa, had been carried on in preceding years in the

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[1] P. 191 of vol. i of the third edition of the English translation of *The History of the Popes from the close of the Middle Ages*, edited by F. A. Antrobus (1906). Gibbon describes John XXIII as 'the most profligate of mankind'.

[2] He had Scotland, however, which obstinately adhered to him, and his arms appear on the ancient seal of the university of St. Andrews as they are displayed, also on that of the university of Salamanca. Scotland alone of European countries was in full communion with Spain.

assemblies at Paris and Rome. John XXIII had to some extent had his hand forced by Sigismund, and it was without enthusiasm that he convened the Council by a Bull, dated the 9th December 1413. Surrounded by a few faithful cardinals, among whom were Giovanni Dominici, archbishop of Ragusa and the reformer of the Order of Preachers, and his nephew, Gabriel Condulmaro, who afterwards became Eugenius IV, Gregory XII was as non-committal as possible but promised to send representatives to the Council; Benedict XIII refused to listen to any such suggestion.

The Assembly was opened with the utmost solemnity. John XXIII had made his solemn entry into Constance a few days earlier; Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly, bishop of Cambrai, who had played a considerable part in former years and was to be the soul of the Council, arrived in the course of November and was followed by Cardinal Pierre de Foix with a train of 52 attendants, Cardinal Fieschi, who brought 62, the cardinal bishop of Ostia, Jean de Brogny, and his escort of 80 servants, and the archbishop of Mayence with a retinue of 500. The town very soon reckoned 29 cardinals, 5 patriarchs, 150 bishops, 100 abbots, 300 doctors, and 18,000 ecclesiastics: 100,000 persons had to be catered for and 30,000 horses fed. Sigismund arrived in person on Christmas Day with a concourse of German nobles.

The Council was about to deliberate on many questions of which the principal were: (1) the reform of the Universal Church; (2) the restoration of unity by the termination of the schism; (3) the suppression of heresies which had assumed menacing proportions.

The abuses from which the Church suffered and which had increased enormously on account of the schism were condemned by doctrines which had been current for a century past; the work of restoration, on the other hand, was to take the form of a reaction against the centralizing tendencies which the Popes had encouraged and by which they had profited in the course of the preceding century, a reaction which was caused on the one hand by the excesses into which the Roman court had fallen since it had established itself at Avignon, and on the other by the

weakness which it had manifested since the double election of 1378. Considered from this point of view, the Council of Constance appears as the political and religious reflection of the great movements which developed and occasionally came into collision in the fourteenth century.

Medieval Christendom had progressively broken up into nations, each with an increasing consciousness of its independence and its personality. The Council, although like the Church itself it affected a universal and supra-national character and assembled on the convocation of two great universal authorities, the Pope and the Emperor, held its deliberations and even came to its decisions by nations: the delegates from Italy, France, Germany, and England, to whom those from a fifth country, Spain, were to be added later, all recorded their votes *nationaliter*. It was only when the question arose of publishing the decisions that the Council appeared in its Catholic unity (*conciliariter*).

The century just past had witnessed in most countries the rise and accession to power of the middle class in opposition to the clergy and nobility. Now to this political and social evolution there had corresponded in the Church a development in the influence of university doctors, masters of theology and canon law, as the lawyers were masters of municipal and civil law; and just as the lawyers had acquired a growing ascendancy over kings to the detriment of the nobility and clergy, so the doctors and representatives of the religious Orders exercised as considerable an influence at the Council as the bishops. Pierre d'Ailly, who was even more a doctor than a bishop, had loudly demanded at Constance 'that not only bishops and abbots with jurisdiction should have a deciding vote, but that doctors in theology, in canon and civil law (there were more than 300 of them) should also be allowed to cast their votes'. A sort of clerical democracy therefore played a considerable part not only in the Council of Constance but in all ecclesiastical assemblies held in the fifteenth century. This is the explanation of the preponderating influence exerted at Constance by doctors of the university of Paris and John Gerson, the most illustrious and

highly respected of them all, and accounts also for the *tumultuous* character of some of the sessions which seem to foreshadow modern parliamentary assemblies.

These two main features of the Assembly furnished an indication of the manner in which it proposed to carry out the reform of the Church.

For some centuries past the Papacy had reinforced its direct authority over the Universal Church by progressively subjecting it to a centralization which had been brought to the point of perfection by the Avignon Popes. To preserve for themselves the disposal of episcopal sees and abbacies, they had multiplied special cases in which the right of appointment of bishops and abbots should be their privilege, and they progressively diminished the electoral rights of chapters and monasteries. They next attempted to arrogate to themselves the gift of every ecclesiastical benefice and we have seen that the clergy of the Christian world flocked to Avignon during the pontificate of Clement V in quest of livings, offices, and benefices which the Pope distributed with magnificent prodigality. The Papacy therefore stood out in all the splendour of its sovereign power, being the sole source of all authority and the dispenser of every temporal blessing.

The Curia also asserted its omnipotence by summoning before its court causes which formerly had been settled finally by the bishop's tribunal, or the metropolitan Court of Appeal, or a provincial synod: it had then given judgement either locally by its delegates or in Rome or Avignon through the Papal Courts of Appeal. At the same time the Popes in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had caused the traditional canon law to be codified and completed by decretals and constitutions which amplified and defined the exercise of the Papal jurisdiction throughout the world: the Curia had therefore become the source of ecclesiastical law and the last resort in every case.

Finally, to ensure a regular revenue for its government, the Holy See gradually laid dioceses, monasteries, ecclesiastical benefices, and laymen under financial contributions. The more widespread that government, the larger became these contribu-

tions, until they were as exacting and onerous as those levied by the new States organized according to the doctrine of the lawyers.

If Philip the Fair distinguished his reign by establishing in France a scientific system of revenue administration, the Popes gradually and for analogous reasons imposed a similar one on the Universal Church, with the object of ensuring an income to a bureaucracy which was continually increasing and whose functions, as the organ of their government, were becoming more and more defined. They sent delegates into most Christian countries with commissions which at first were merely temporary, but these officials soon established themselves as overseers of fiscal districts, permanent apostolic tax-collectors. They exacted subsidies which soon turned into regular taxes from the income from ecclesiastical property, dioceses, abbeys, and benefices: they instituted privileges, dispensations from chancellery fees and taxes in respect of every appointment, so that enormous sums flowed annually into the coffers of the Holy See and to such an extent that, in spite of their vast expenditure, the Avignon Popes appeared as the richest and most magnificent of sovereigns.

Such an administrative, judicial, and fiscal centralization had not grown up without encountering violent opposition: it provoked the conflict between Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair, when it came into collision with a similar sort of centralization established by the king of France: it also aroused protestations from the local authorities whose power it diminished or annihilated as, for example, from chapters which, as against it, claimed the right to elect their own bishops and abbots, and from metropolitans who claimed to continue to exercise effective authority over their suffragans, and, especially, from all those, prelates, secular priests, religious, and even laity who found the pretensions of the Papal treasury officials difficult to tolerate. This is the reason why bishops and religious are sometimes to be found ranged by the side of kings in their conflicts with the Holy See.

The reaction against the Papal centralization had already

made itself felt in the fourteenth century: at the conclave convened by Innocent VI, all the cardinals, before proceeding to record their votes, signed one of those capitulations, which were also drawn up in fifteenth-century conclaves, by which they bound themselves, once elected, to respect certain liberties and autonomies of the Sacred College. When the authority of the Holy See and its unity were shattered by the schism, the reaction grew still stronger with the increasing impotence of the Papacy. All who had felt the weight of its power not only shook it off, but also attempted to limit its possible pretensions in the future and in some cases to substitute their own.

The Popes of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had invested their power with an almost absolute character: the councils of the fifteenth century were determined to limit and control it by a kind of ecclesiastical parliamentarism similar to that which, in the thirteenth century, had reduced the power of the English monarchy.

In the very first years of the schism, Pierre d'Ailly, the most distinguished representative of the university of Paris taught that 'the subordination of the Church to the Pope is merely accidental', and repeated this doctrine at the Council of Constance, of which he was one of the most active promoters. The same theory was there proclaimed by Pope John XXIII's own legate, Cardinal Zabarella. In his treatise *De jurisdictione imperiali* (composed in the summer of 1408) he insisted that the Pope was only the highest servant of the Church to whom the executive power was entrusted. 'Should he err', Pastor summarizes his argument, 'the Church must set him right: should he fall into heresy, or be an obstinate schismatic, or commit a notorious crime, the Council may depose him.'[1]

The Fathers at Constance gave this doctrine their sanction when, in their third session presided over by Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly, they passed the four articles asserting the superiority of the Council over the Pope. 'The Council', they declared, 'lawfully convened by the Holy Ghost, being an oecumenical

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[1] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, translated into English by Ignatius Antrobus, vol i, p. 187.

Council and representing the Church militant, derives its authority immediately from God: and everybody, *the Pope included*, is bound to obey it in matters of faith, the extirpation of schism and the reform of the Church in its head and members.'

Oecumenical councils are exceedingly rare assemblies: an effort was accordingly made to have them held at regular intervals. The Synod of Pisa, on breaking up in 1409, had voted the holding of another council in the near future, the Council of Constance, and this council, before dispersing, had decided that a third council should be convened within five years. If such a custom had taken root, the Papacy would have been subject to the periodical control of a real parliamentary assembly.

Such was the desire of Zabarella, and the Council of Constance publicly proclaimed it in five decrees passed on the 9th October 1417 in its thirty-fifth general session: 'General Councils shall be held every ten years. The Pope shall, with the consent of the Cardinals, before the closing of the first, indicate the place where the second shall be held.' When no council was sitting, the Sacred College was to be co-equal in authority with the Pope, like a permanent commission during the prorogation of Parliament.

Other decrees finally restricted the right of appointment and translation of prelates by the Roman Curia and abolished a number of taxes which it had imposed on the Universal Church. So began the reform of the Church 'in its head and members' which other fifteenth century councils, especially the Council of Basel, were to pursue in the same spirit.

At the same time an effort was made at Constance to extirpate the schism by an attempt to obtain the abdication of Gregory XII and Benedict XIII. Gregory XII abdicated on the 4th July 1415, and received the title of cardinal bishop of Porto and permanent legate of the March of Ancona: he died on the 18th October 1417. Benedict XIII stubbornly refused, and on the 22nd July 1417 the council declared him heretic and schismatic. Abandoned by every State, including Aragon, his own country, he fled for refuge to the fortress of Peniscola with three cardinals, who had remained faithful to him, and every morning, rumour

said, solemnly cursed the four quarters of the globe to punish the world for having revolted against him. He died on the 29th November 1422.

John XXIII took alarm at the independence of the Council so far as he was concerned and would have left it, so as to deprive it, by the absence of the Pope, of its universality and therefore of any authority: on the 22nd March 1415, with the connivance of Duke Frederick of Austria, he fled to Schaffhausen in disguise. The Council, having failed to secure his return to Constance, took proceedings against him and, on the 14th May, deposed him as a simoniac, a squanderer of ecclesiastical property, and an unfaithful administrator of the Church, both in things spiritual and temporal. John XXIII, informed of the judgement, acquiesced in it: he was arrested and handed over to the custody of the Count Palatine of Bavaria, first at Heidelberg and then at Mannheim, where he lived, a prisoner, until 1418. He was liberated in the end and made his way to Florence and his submission to Martin V, who appointed him cardinal bishop of Tusculum and granted him precedence in the Sacred College. He died in December 1419; his tomb is in the baptistery at Florence.[1]

The Council had finally to deal with the heresies which threatened to alienate whole countries from the Church: for, unlike the heresies of the early Middle Ages, these, like the Catharist and the Waldensian, had penetrated deep down into the masses of the people.

The errors with which the Fathers of the Council of Constance were specially concerned were those of Wycliffe adopted by John Huss.

John Wycliffe was born in 1324 in the Yorkshire village[2] from which he derived his name and had studied theology, philosophy, civil and canon law in the university of Oxford,[3] where

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[1] Inscribed: 'The body of Baldassare Cossa, John XXIII, once Pope, is buried here.' It is the last grave of a Pope outside Rome.

[2] On the Tees, just opposite Barnard Castle.

[3] A Balliol tradition makes him Master there about 1358. He naturally went to that college because the lords of Barnard Castle had founded it—about a hundred years earlier.

he had become imbued with the anti-clerical doctrines of Occam, which he still further exaggerated. His treatise, *De ultima aetate ecclesiae* is chock-full of apocalyptic reveries foreboding the imminent end of a world corrupted to the core by the clergy. In the conflict between the English Parliament and the Avignon Popes, he sided violently with the enemies of the Church in writing *Determinatio quaedam magistri Johannis W. de dominio contra unum monachum*. He had been dead some years[1] when the Council, alarmed at the disastrous consequences which had followed his teaching in England and the topical application given to them by his Bohemian disciple, John Huss, who had adopted them, had the works of Wycliffe examined by John Lucke. The examiner extracted one hundred and sixty propositions which the Council almost immediately condemned. A number of them tended to undermine not only the authority of the Church and the lawful constitution of its hierarchy, but the very foundation of civil society, e.g.

1. Unless he is in a state of grace, a man can have no lawful title to property, to the testimony of witnesses, the opinions of judges, the ownership of material things, inheritance or exchange, or all together.

2. Inasmuch as God has granted all good things to man, if a man abuses his possession, he can no longer assert the gift of God as a title: and if he lack such a title, I know not what other he can allege.

3. An unjust man in the possession of a gift of God can have acquired it only by theft, robbery, or brigandage.

4. Any ecclesiastical community or person habitually misusing its or his property may be deprived of it by the civil power, whatever may be the human title to warrant it.

5. Inheritance is not a sufficient title to make a true power lawful, if there be not charity.

6. No person in a habitual state of mortal sin can exercise a lawful power.

7. In the event of one's country being ravaged and laid waste even by barbarians, it were better to suffer every outrage with humility than courageously to repel the aggression.

[1] He died at Lutterworth on the 31st December 1384—hearing Mass.

A prolonged examination of the above propositions is unnecessary to discover them to be a grammar of anarchy. They involved a general denial of the rights of property in favour of a communistic system. Wycliffe's doctrine may in fact be summarized in the two following propositions: (1) Property, if the owner is not in a state of grace, is theft; (2) A state of grace confers a right to property. Two such propositions justify every kind of covetousness and spoliation. For if such a system once acquired the force of law, property owners whose property was coveted, that is to say everybody, would immediately be accused of being in mortal sin, and anarchy would result. And what other meaning can be given to the right of property conferred by grace than the right of everybody to property? Wycliffe, indeed, did not recoil before such conclusions, and in his treatise on the civil power gave expression to the following communistic proposition: 'All things conferred by God ought to be possessed in common and I prove it thus: every man ought to be in a state of grace and, if he is, he is lord of the world and everything therein contained. Now this cannot accord with the manifold diversity of the human race unless everything is held in common: therefore everything ought to be held in common.'

Finally, society's right to preserve itself was rejected by Wycliffe and his followers: for to insist upon a policy of non-resistance in face of the enemy is to make the continued existence of organized society impossible. And so we encounter in the mind of this fourteenth-century English preacher the Utopian and anti-social conceptions of a Tolstoi propagated by contemporary anarchists. Such doctrines, product of a mind quite out of touch with the everyday world, provoked grave social disorders.[1]

John Huss has always been represented as the pupil of Wycliffe who carried on the work of his master: their contemporaries drew no distinction between them, and they were condemned together by the Council of Constance. The close relationship has been confirmed by the French historian who has investi-

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[1] See next chapter.

gated most thoroughly the story of John Huss and the Hussites, Ernest Denis.

John Huss was born in Bohemia in 1369 and had studied in the university of Prague which had been founded by the Dominicans in 1347. He was of a fiery disposition and, clamouring for the reform of the Church, soon began to hurl invectives against the clergy. He therefore read the writings of Wycliffe with interest: they had begun to circulate in Bohemia about 1385. He was an ardent preacher and excited the enthusiasm of the young by his impassioned harangues in Czech; so that, when the Germans withdrew from the university in 1409 in consequence of a dispute with the Czechs, the university, as a sign of its hostility to the Germans, chose for rector the eloquent Czech orator. At the same time as he was setting himself up as a patriotic leader, Huss was also entering into personal relations with the followers of Wycliffe in England. Pope Alexander V summoned the king of Bohemia to take proceedings against those who were spreading the English heresy in his kingdom and a party was formed in the university itself with Jerome of Prague, a faithful disciple of Huss, at its head, to defend the rector John Huss against the archbishop of Prague, who had in 1410 excommunicated him. When the Curia summoned him to appear before its tribunal, John Huss in 1411 appealed from the Pope to the Council. Like Luther later, he began by attacking the Papacy, asserting that it was not necessary to the Church, and he declared that dogmatic authority was to be found in a free interpretation of Scripture, thereby affirming liberty of examination as the core of his system. He next proceeded to deny some of the Sacraments, penance, for example, and many pious practices, such as the veneration of relics, and explained the mystery of the Eucharist in terms closely resembling the doctrine of consubstantiation later propounded by Luther. He ended by becoming more and more imbued with the anarchically communist ideas of Wycliffe.

As he had himself appealed from the Pope to the Universal Council, he appeared before the Council of Constance on the 3rd November 1414, there to defend his doctrine in public and,

as he still continued to defy the Pope, he was imprisoned in the Dominican convent. A committee of inquiry, presided over by Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly, investigated his life and doctrine, but Huss held out stubbornly for five weeks, one day refusing to subscribe to the condemnation of Wycliffe and another denying the errors alleged against him. Pierre d'Ailly, unwilling to push matters to extremes, advised the reformer to place himself unreservedly in the hands of the Council, but Huss grew more arrogant than ever and recommended his condemned books to his friends in Bohemia. On the 6th July 1415 he was summoned to retract; he refused, and was deposed, degraded, excommunicated, and delivered over to the secular arm. In spite of a safe-conduct which he had received from the Emperor he was executed without delay. Huss was burned at the stake.

Jerome of Prague, his disciple, having publicly abused the Council for the execution of his master, was arrested and brought before the Council, where he retracted his errors on the 23rd September 1415, but in the General Assembly on the 23rd May 1416 he defended the memory of John Huss, indicted the cardinals before the Council and was delivered over to the secular arm: he, too, was burned at the stake on the 25th May.

The execution of the champion of Bohemia against Germany made the cause of John Huss a national cause and his heresy a doctrine of patriotism. A great part of Bohemia, therefore, not content with merely adopting his errors, took up arms in defence of them and for the liberty to profess them: hence arose a civil war destined to lay Bohemia waste for many years.

All that remained for the Council to do before breaking up was to elect the Pope under whose authority the reunion of the Church would be achieved. It was decided that each of the five nations should choose among its representatives six persons who, with the addition of the twenty-three cardinals of the three obediences who had rallied to the Council, should form a conclave of fifty-three electors. On the 8th November the Council held its forty-first session to open the conclave in the presence of the Emperor Sigismund and a host of prelates: it

was held in the Merchants' Hall at Constance in the evening. The German electors abandoned every personal ambition and persuaded the English to join with them and the Italians in appointing a Roman Pope: about 11 a.m. on the 11th November the French gave their adhesion and the conclave unanimously appointed Oddone Colonna, cardinal deacon of St. George in Velabro, Pope. It was St. Martin's Day and the new Pope, therefore, took the name of Martin V (1417–31).

On the 11th November 1417 Martin V was elected Pope, and at once declared it impious to appeal to a council against a Papal decision. He took advantage of the national divisions into which the Council had fallen in order to conclude separate national concordats with the various governments. In May 1418 he decreed the dissolution of the Council of Constance, and in 1421 returned to Rome. Gregory XII and John XXIII were by now dead, Benedict XIII was isolated in the fortress of Peniscola. Almost all traces of the schism had vanished.

The next years were mainly filled with the troubles of the Hussite Wars in Germany. The demands of the Calixtines, or moderate Hussites, for the complete liberty of preaching, communion in both kinds, the exclusion of the clergy from all temporal affairs, and the subjection of the clergy to secular law and penalties, were issued in the Four Articles of Prague of 1420. There was further a more extreme wing of Hussites, the Taborites, whose doctrines were those of a general anarchical challenge to the whole order of society.

A series of crusades against the Hussites was instituted. The first three ended in Hussite victories in the years 1420, 1421, and 1422. There was then an interval of some years during which the heretics tried unsuccessfully to patch up an alliance with the king of Poland and the Germans to reform the system of the Empire. In 1427 war again broke out and victory again went to the Hussites. The military organization of Germany was overhauled, but with no result, for a fifth crusade in 1431 was defeated as ignominiously as its predecessors.

This failure to suppress heresy by force gave an enhanced importance to the Council which met at Basel for the reform

of the Church. Martin V was dead and Eugenius IV reigned in his stead. The Council, for its part, determined to avoid the weakness of national divisions which had rendered ineffective its predecessor at Constance.

From the first, Pope and Council were at loggerheads over the question whether the Hussites were to be invited to Basel or not, the Council being in favour and the Pope opposed. Eugenius tried to dissolve the Council, but those in touch with the situation in Germany persuaded him that such a policy could only provoke a fresh schism, and in 1433 the Pope revoked his previous declaration, declared the Council oecumenical and its decrees valid. Among those decrees had been an offered compromise to the Hussites, known as the *Compactata*, by which the right of communion in both kinds was conceded. This compromise had been accepted by the Calixtines but rejected by the Taborites, and the result of it had been to unloose civil war in Bohemia itself—a civil war in which the Calixtines defeated the Taborites at the battle of Lipan in 1434 and acknowledged the Catholic Emperor Sigismund as king of Bohemia.

Encouraged by its Bohemian success, the Council pushed forward with its reforming decrees. Among other things Papal reservations, appeals to Rome, and annates were forbidden. It even declared heretical all appeals from a General Council to the Pope. The earlier decrees Eugenius accepted, but in this last one the Council was widely felt to have overreached itself; even among its own members there showed itself a considerable party of Papal supporters led by the bishop of Taranto.

The menace of the Mohammedan had convinced sane people not only of the necessity of uniting the Catholic Church but also of the great desirability, if it should be possible, of bringing about union between the Catholic and the Greek Churches. The Greeks themselves were willing to pay a certain price for the support of the West. The accident of the division between Pope and Council seemed to throw the schismatics into the curious position of arbitrators between the rival claimants to orthodoxy, and Pope and Council bid against one another for the privilege of negotiating with the Greeks.

In its eagerness the Council made a false move, which went far towards convincing Christendom of the hollowness of its claims to speak for the Catholic Church. Inviting the Greek delegates to Basel it offered a fleet to bring them thither and the whole of their expenses during their stay. In order to raise the necessary money, the Council started issuing indulgences, thus proving that their objection was not so much to financial exactions as to financial exactions which went into Roman pockets rather than their own. A further large party, a prominent member of which was Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II, swung over to Eugenius' side and supported the demand for a new Council to negotiate with the Greeks, and to meet at either Florence or Udine or Pavia.

In September 1437 Eugenius issued a Bull dissolving the Council. One by one all the partisans of the Papacy drifted back over the Alps to Italy, and in 1438 a new Council met first at Ferrara and afterwards at Florence to negotiate with the Greeks. The four admissions demanded of the Greeks were the *Filioque* clause in the Nicene Creed, admitting the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son as well as the Father, the use of leavened bread in the Sacrament, the Catholic doctrine of Purgatory, and the Papal supremacy. All these admissions the Greeks were induced to make, and on the 6th July 1439 a decree for the union of the two Churches was drawn up.

Meanwhile there had remained at Basel an obstinate remnant under the archbishop of Arles. It still looked for support both in France and Germany, but it was soon obvious that the secular authorities in those countries preferred to use the difficulties of the Papacy to extort practical concessions rather than to espouse schism. In 1438 the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges was drawn up, by which the French clergy thought to guard themselves against the practical interference of the Papacy with their freedom of conduct. In the next year the Pragmatic Sanction of Mainz made for Germany claims similar to that which Bourges had made for France.

The rump of Basel meanwhile was amusing itself by decreeing the deposition of Eugenius IV. Its anxiety was to discover as

his successor a man so rich that he would be able to live off his own and would not need to impose any form of taxation. Its choice fell on the retired duke of Savoy, who ascended his so-called Papal throne as Felix V. Rich as he was, he, however, showed from the first that he did not at all share his electors' notion that he should live on his own income. He compelled the Council to grant him one-fifth of all ecclesiastical revenues for a year, and, though that one-fifth was not paid anywhere outside his hereditary dominions of Savoy, yet this concession of it was sufficient to deal a last blow to the vanishing prestige of the Council. Felix himself quarrelled with it and went to live at Lausanne.

Eugenius' triumph was complete. In 1443 he returned to Rome. France, Italy, Spain, and England accepted his authority. The accession of a new Emperor, Frederick III, in 1440 opened possibilities of a reconciliation with Germany. An agreement was come to in 1445 and, though there was some resentment among the German princes at what they considered betrayal of German liberties, the diplomacy of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini was able to smooth this over, and the last of Eugenius' quarrels—that with the archbishop of Cologne and Trier—was settled by him on his death-bed in February 1447. His successor, Nicholas V, the great patron of learning, succeeded to the rule of a reunited Christendom.

As one of the conditions of the Imperial-Papal agreement, the remnant of the Council of Basel was expelled from Imperial territory and transferred itself to Lausanne, whence by the mediation of the French king, they made their terms of submission to the Papacy. Felix V resigned his claim and received in its stead a cardinal's hat. The great jubilee of 1450 was fittingly celebrated as the festival of the triumph of the Papacy.

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THE FORMATION OF MODERN STATES IN THE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE AND ENGLAND

THE great crises which convulsed the nations in the course of the fifteenth century served also to emphasize the evolution which for the past hundred years had been transforming the political and social state of Europe. The influence of the lawyers and the increase of national consciousness all over Europe contributed largely to the decline of the feudal system and the progressive centralization of all supreme power in the hands of the king. In the course of the fifteenth century, more particularly immediately after the Great Schism in Italy, the Hundred Years' War in France, the Wars of the Roses in England, and the expulsion of the Arabs from the Iberian peninsula, the monarchical houses succeeded in imposing their sovereign authority on the descendants of the great feudal houses or the 'appanaged' princes, asserting their authority over the clergy, the nobility, and the bourgeoisie of the towns and organizing the systems of administration necessary for the exercise of their power. So there emerged out of the Christian Europe of the Middle Ages, over which the Pope and the Emperor had presided, the great monarchical States of the Renaissance.

This evolution took place most rapidly in France, for the reason that, as early as the fourteenth century, the ground had already been prepared there by the lawyers of Philip the Fair and Charles V; Charles VII, once free of the war with England, gave it a fresh impulse. He reduced the 'appanaged' nobility which, in the attempt to make itself independent of the sovereign to whom it owed its origin and influence, sought to establish, not infrequently with foreign help, a new feudal system. In February 1440 a number of the great nobles at court, the duke of Bourbon, La Trémoille, the dukes of Vendôme and Orleans, Dunois, the bastard of Orleans, and the duke of Alençon, the two faithful companions of St. Joan, revolted and appointed Louis, the young dauphin, regent of France, a lad barely sixteen

years of age, who already began to stand out in formal opposition to his father. The king appealed to the loyalty of the good cities of the kingdom and the Third Estate which nearly always rallied round royalty against the princes; he had recourse, also, to the sword of the constable de Richemont who pursued the rebels in Touraine and Poitou, while Charles VII took the field against them in Auvergne. The coalition of nobles promptly dissolved and in July the ringleaders surrendered.

They rebelled again, however, in the following year with the support of the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy, and on this occasion demanded a greater share in the government of the realm and the convocation of the States-General. Charles VII sowed division in their ranks and by the bestowal of favours won over a number of them; the dukes of Orleans, Vendôme, Alençon, and Angoulême were granted pensions, the count of Maine was made a member of the Council, and the duke of Bourbon was appointed governor of Languedoc. In 1452 it was the dauphin who revolted again with the support of the duke of Savoy; after a show of patience and of acceptance of the mediation of Pope Nicholas V and the kings of Castile and Aragon, Charles VII had Dauphiné invaded by Daumartin (Antoine de Chabannes), while Prince Louis in 1456 fled for refuge to the duke of Burgundy. Charles VII repaid his cousin Burgundy in kind by giving asylum to the count of the Charolais, who had rebelled against his father, Philip the Good.

In 1455 John V of Armagnac revolted and the king deprived him of his county and annexed it to the Crown. In the following year, the duke of Alençon, forgetting the lessons of St. Joan to resume the tradition of Charles the Bad, came to a secret understanding with England, promising to deliver to the English Domfront in the Orne, Falaise in Calvados, and Granville in the Manche; letters written by him to the duke of York and intercepted by the king's agents attested the treacherous design. Alençon was arrested by Dunois and subjected to a lengthy trial before the court of Paris which the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy and the constable de Richemont himself refused to attend. He was condemned to death, but the sentence was commuted to

FRANCE IN THE XVth CENTURY

FRANCE IN THE XV CENTURY

- — ∙ — ∙ — English possessions before the treaty of Bretigny
- ∙∙∙∙∙∙∙∙∙ English possessions after the treaty of Bretigny
- — — — Boundary of territories occupied in 1428, to the North by the English, to the South by Charles VII (except the Atlantic coastal zone within the boundary shown thus — ∙ —
- ▪▪▪▪▪▪▪ Boundary of France

English Miles
0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140

4° Longitude West of Greenwich

one of imprisonment for life, while his duchy and other possessions were annexed to the royal domain.

The task of reducing the nobility to order, thus begun by Charles VII, was carried on with still greater zeal and success by his most resolute and unscrupulous opponent, his son, the Dauphin Louis, on his accession to the throne in 1461 as Louis XI (1461–83).

Delicate in health, ugly, undersized, and timorous . . . dressing like one of the people in close-fitting garments and a surcoat of grey canvas with a pilgrim's furry hat decorated with a lead medal . . . loathing ceremonies and speech-making, tournaments and banquets, preferring the cold walls of les Tournelles in Paris or his château-fortress at Plessis-les-Tours[1] to the sumptuous palaces of Valois, the Louvre, and St. Pol . . . travelling on a mule or in a boat with no escort other than a body-guard of a few men-at-arms: lodging in the houses of his officers, dining in taverns at table with the humble folk, his 'gossips', this King was the absolute opposite of a knight and a great feudal noble. He showed the most extreme contempt for convention and developed his hatred of prejudices and men and his own love of power to the furthest extreme; utterly unscrupulous in his choice of means, he recalled still less his ancestor St. Louis. He was a politician of the school of Machiavelli long before Machiavelli was born, a type reproduced by the Renaissance in large numbers.

The character of this singular personage has been fixed for ever for the English reader in Sir Walter Scott's *Quentin Durward*.

The duke of Burgundy, who had long sheltered Louis as dauphin, and the great nobles, whose confederate he had been, imagined that under his reign they might be able to check the progress made by the royal house and recover for themselves a quasi-independence. The first acts of the new king disillusioned them and, in 1461, they organized against him a powerful league which they described as of the Common Good or Public Weal, pretending that they were solely concerned to defend the interests and the liberties of the whole nation. After an

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[1] ' . . . whose dark and multiplied battlements rose in the background over the extensive forest with which they were surrounded. These woodlands comprised a noble chase or royal park, fenced by an enclosure, termed, in the Latin of the Middle Ages, *Plexitium*, which gives the name of Plessis to so many villages in France.' Cf. *Quentin Durward*, by Sir Walter Scott, ch. ii.

indecisive engagement at Montlhéry in the Seine-et-Oise, on the 16th July 1465, Louis XI granted the rebels all their demands; his brother, Charles, was given Normandy; Charles the Bold, count of the Charolais, who had become duke of Burgundy by the death of his father, Philip the Good, received the towns in the valley of the Somme, while the duke of Bourbon had for his portion a veritable vice-royalty in the centre of France by the union under his government of Poitou, the Limousin, and the county of La Marche over and above his personal possessions.

Louis XI, however, conceived that he might be able to nullify his promises by transferring his brother to Guienne and instigating the towns of Dinant and Liége to revolt against the duke of Burgundy, who was also count of Flanders. But he fell into the hands of Charles the Bold at Péronne in 1467 and was compelled to make the most humiliating concessions as the price of his liberty. He went back on his promises a second time, entered into an alliance in England with the Lancastrian party against the king, Edward IV of York, the ally of Charles the Bold and his brother-in-law, and attacked the duke of Burgundy. Originally successful, he was on the point of being driven back on Paris when the death of his brother and the stubborn resistance which Beauvais opposed to the duke of Burgundy induced the latter to ask for a truce in order to realize his vast ambitions. The duke's desire was no less than to establish a vast kingdom of Burgundy or grand duchy of the West to include the counties of Flanders, Artois, Ponthieu, Boulogne, Hainault, Zeeland, and Holland, the duchies of Brabant, Gueldres, and Luxemburg, his possessions in the north, the counties of Nevers, the Charolais, and the two Burgundies, his possessions in the east, to be rounded off by the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine; his dominion would therefore extend from Macon to the Zuider Zee and from Strasburg to Troyes.

While Charles the Bold was thus immobilized by such a soaring ambition, Louis XI played havoc with the nobility. The duke of Alençon, having again revolted, was again condemned to death and pardoned, but his estates were confiscated for good and all, in 1472; the constable of St. Pol, who had

plotted with Charles the Bold, was decapitated and his property confiscated, in 1475; the same fate befel the duke of Nemours. Against the duke of Burgundy the crafty diplomacy of Louis XI organized a confederation of all who saw a menace to themselves in Burgundy's ambitions, Austria, the Swiss cantons, the free cities of Alsace, and the duke of Lorraine, so that Charles the Bold, thus enmeshed in the web woven by the king, whom Comines described as the great spider of France, was defeated by the Swiss at Grandson in the canton of Vaud in 1475, at Morat in the canton of Freiburg in 1476, and finally killed in the following year, on the 5th January, in an attempt to capture Nancy.

Louis XI promptly invaded his states to annex them from the heiress, Mary of Burgundy, who, for protection, married Maximilian of Austria, the son of the Emperor. By this marriage the great 'appanaged' house of Burgundy, which had been created by John the Good and strengthened by Charles V, after having been the faithful ally of England throughout the latter part of the Hundred Years' War became united with the house of Austria which, to preserve its inheritance, was destined to persist right on to the eighteenth century as the formidable enemy of France. 'Behold the cause of all our wars!' said Louis XV, in 1745, before the tombs of Charles the Bold and his daughter in the cathedral of Notre Dame at Bruges. On the death of Mary of Burgundy in 1482, Maximilian kept Franche Comté and Artois, Louis, Burgundy, as the dowry of Maximilian's daughter, Margaret, who, then a child of three, was contracted to marry the dauphin. This was, however, only a provisional solution, made in the third Treaty of Arras on the 23rd December 1482, and a year later it was annulled by the Treaty of Senlis.

Louis XI died on the 30th August 1483, in his château at Plessis-les-Tours. His son and successor, Charles VIII (1483-98), was as unlike his father as could be. Passionately devoted to stories of adventure, indulging extravagant dreams of conquering Italy, Greece, the Ottoman Empire and the kingdom of Jerusalem, he stood rather for that chivalrous gallantry and

those daring exploits which had brought France to the verge of ruin in the reign of John the Good. The positive, practical mind of Louis XI and Charles V was found again, however, in his daughter by Charlotte of Savoy, Anne, duchess of Beaujeu (1460–1522). She governed during the minority of her brother and suppressed a coalition which had been formed round the duke of Orleans, later Louis XII, and included Francis II, duke of Brittany, Alain, lord of Albret, and the duke of Lorraine, by defeating them on the 28th July 1488, at the battle of Saint-Aubin-du-Cormier,[1] which put an end to that 'Mad War' and paved the way for the union of Brittany and France by the marriage of the king, Charles VIII, to Anne of Brittany, the daughter and heiress of the duke, Francis II.

By its violation of one of the articles of the Treaty of Arras in 1482, which had stipulated that Charles should marry Maximilian's daughter, this wedding raised once more the question of the succession to Charles the Bold. Maximilian, moreover, claiming the return to him of what he had been forced to cede to Louis XI, formed a coalition against France which included also Henry VII, king of England, and Ferdinand, king of Aragon. A fresh war of short duration was brought to an end by three treaties: by the Treaty of Étaples, of November 1492, France paid a large indemnity in cash to the king of England; by the Treaty of Barcelona, of January 1493, Roussillon and Cerdagne were restored to the king of Aragon, and by the Treaty of Senlis of May 1493 the archduke Philip the Fair, son of Mary of Burgundy, took back Franche Comté and Artois.

Towards the end of his reign Louis XI had acquired another inheritance, that of the house of Anjou which had sprung from the second son of John the Good; for the head of it, René d'Anjou, titular king of Jerusalem and the Two Sicilies, though he lived regularly at Angers, left only one male heir, his nephew, Charles of Anjou, count of Maine. The successive deaths of René in 1480 and Charles in 1482 allowed the king of France

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[1] A few hundred English archers under Lord Scales, governor of the Isle of Wight, brother-in-law of Edward IV, and the uncle of Henry VII, took part in this battle. They were all killed.

to annex to the Crown not only Anjou and Maine, but also Provence, where female succession was, nevertheless, admitted; Louis XI, however, disregarded the claims put forward on his mother's behalf, she being the daughter of King René, by René II, duke of Lorraine. This inheritance comprised also the claims which, since the time of Louis I of Anjou, the adopted son of Queen Joanna II, this second house of Anjou had preferred to the kingdom of Naples. Louis XI, being a man of prudence, had suffered these claims to lie dormant: but his son, Charles VIII, a fanciful megalomaniac, had no sooner emancipated himself from the tutelage of Anne of Beaujeu than he revived them. Such was the origin of the Italian expeditions which were continued right on to the sixteenth century at the cost of considerable sacrifices and with no corresponding political advantage to France.

At the invitation of Ludovico il Moro and Cardinal Julian della Rovere (the future Pope Julius II), the declared enemy of Pope Alexander VI, who hoped with the help of France to further their private policies, Charles VIII crossed the Alps on the 2nd September 1494. He encountered no opposition, and his expedition was an excursion which took him in a few months through Turin, Asti, the property of the duke of Orleans, Pisa, and Florence, whence the Medici had just been expelled by the influence of Savonarola. The king made his entry into Rome on the 31st December 1494, and was warmly welcomed by Cardinal della Rovere's faction, while the Pope shut himself up in the Castle of Sant' Angelo; Charles left Rome on the 28th January 1495, taking with him the son of Alexander VI as a hostage for the due fulfilment of the treaty he had recently concluded with the Pope, and a few days later entered Naples, without fighting. He remained there only three months. A great coalition called the 'Holy League' had been formed against him in his absence and included Venice, the duke of Milan, Alexander VI, the Emperor Maximilian, and Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Aragon, a close relative of the dethroned king of Naples. Charles VIII deemed it prudent to return to France for reinforcements and left a viceroy behind him to

govern Naples. His return was accomplished with greater rapidity than his departure. He encountered only one obstacle on his way, a Venetian army under the command of the duke of Mantua, which was lying in wait for him at Fornovo di Taro at the foot of the Apennines, which he routed on the 6th July 1495. Back in France again, he was preparing to launch a fresh expedition when he died in 1498. He left no direct heir.

Charles was succeeded by Louis XII (1498–1515), the grandson of the duke of Orleans whom John the Fearless had murdered and the prime mover in the 'Mad War', but, Louis, simultaneously cautious and fanciful, resolved to consolidate the union between Brittany and France by getting an annulment of his marriage with Joan of France, the daughter of Louis XI, on grounds of consanguinity in order to marry Anne of Brittany, the widow of Charles VIII; at the same time, however, he resumed the designs of his predecessor over Italy and to the claims of Charles VIII to Naples added claims of his own to Milan on the pretext of his descent, on the side of his grandmother Valentina Visconti, from the Visconti family which had been ousted by the Sforzas. Believing that by his diplomacy he had secured the support of Venice, Savoy, and Alexander VI, he entrusted the command of an expeditionary force to the Italian *condottiere* Trivulcio, who in twenty days overran the Milanese; Louis XII came and took possession of it and organized a government in which, in 1499, he installed his minister, the cardinal Georges d'Amboise, archbishop of Rouen. He then in 1500 negotiated the Treaty of Granada with the king of Aragon, the high contracting parties dividing the kingdom of Naples between them. They conquered it together but soon fell to quarrelling among themselves, and war broke out between the French under the duke of Nemours and the Spaniards under Gonsalvo di Cordova, 'el gran capitan'. After the defeats of Nemours at Cerignola on the 28th April 1503, and the Garigliano river in the Abruzzi on the 28th December 1503, where Bayard covered himself with glory (he is said to have held the bridge single-handed against 200 Spaniards), Louis was forced to abandon the kingdom of Naples by the Treaty of

Blois of September 1504, which guaranteed him investiture of the Milanese by Maximilian on condition that Charles of Austria, the grandson of Maximilian and the future Charles V, married Claude of France, the daughter of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany, the heiress therefore of Brittany, and received as his wife's dowry, in addition to Brittany, Burgundy and the county of Blois. Louis XII thus proposed to sacrifice the unity of France to his personal claims to the Milanese; but the States-General of Blois, more concerned for the interests of the country, in May 1506 declared Brittany and Burgundy inalienable, and the king, abandoning all idea of the Austrian marriage, made Claude marry Francis, duke of Angoulême, the heir presumptive to the Crown and the future Francis I. The union of Brittany and France was once more assured.

Meanwhile Cardinal Julian della Rovere, the old enemy of Alexander VI had, after the short-lived pontificate of Pius III, become Pope with the title of Julius II (1503–13). This warrior Pontiff's object was on the one hand to deprive Venice of the towns which the republic had annexed from the Church and on the other to expel Caesar Borgia, the protégé of the king of France, from his possessions in Romagna, in order to distribute them among his own nephews. He therefore negotiated, at the instance of Machiavelli, an alliance with Florence which, with the accession of Maximilian, Louis XII, and Ferdinand the Catholic, was formally constituted as the League of Cambrai on the 10th December 1508. The French army immediately invaded the States of Venice and through the remarkable skill and courage of Bayard gained the battle of the Agnadello in Lombardy on the 14th May 1509, with the result that nearly all the territory of the republic of the Doges fell into the hands of Louis XII. Having received satisfaction from Venice, Julius II made peace with the republic by abandoning his own league on the 24th February 1510, and shortly afterwards, abruptly changing front, formed a new coalition directed this time against Louis XII. It included the king of Spain, who was invested by the Pope with the kingdom of Naples, Henry VIII, king of England, Venice, and the cantons of Switzerland. Louis

retaliated by gathering the French hierarchy round him at Tours, as Philip the Fair had done in his quarrel with Boniface VIII, in the expressed intention of reforming the Universal Church, a process which might involve the deposition of Julius II and portended schism. He carried the war also into the Papal States, and Bologna, revolting against the Pope, declared for him.

Louis XII then made the mistake of attacking Julius II on spiritual grounds and convoked an oecumenical council at Pisa for the reform of the Papacy. The Pope retaliated by declaring anathema against the Council which met at Pisa, excommunicating the king of France and immediately afterwards convoking a universal council of his own at the Lateran. Thereafter he represented the coalition against France as a 'Holy League' whose principal object ought to be the maintenance of the unity of the Church thus imperilled by the schismatical attempts of Louis XII. Maximilian hesitated for a moment between the two councils but finally came down on the side of the Pope and joined the 'Holy League'. The conquering advance of Gaston de Foix, the nephew of Louis XII, chased the Papal troops out of Bologna, and the cause of the Pope, from whom this young warrior of twenty-two had wrested Romagna, seemed desperate; even the loyalty of Rome was shaken. But Gaston de Foix fell in a battle won over the Spaniards at Ravenna on the 11th April 1512, and Julius II, taking the field again in a vigorous offensive, rallied to his banner a number of Italian princes and Maximilian, and conducted operations with such energy that by the end of the year the French were not only driven out of the province of Bologna but had also lost the Milanese. The banished Sforzas were reinstated in their city. Determined to expel all foreigners from Italy, and therefore the Spaniards from the kingdom of Naples, Julius II was contemplating a fresh change of front and a new coalition, when he died on the 21st February 1513. As cardinal, he had called the French into Italy in 1494; as Pope, he had exerted all his considerable ability as a soldier and his cunning as a diplomat to drive every foreign power out of the country.

Leo X, the new Pope (1513-21), belonged to the Medici family which had been driven out of Florence by the arrival of the French in 1494. He continued the struggle against Louis XII despite the defection of the Venetians. An English army, meanwhile, had invaded the north of France and Henry VIII, with a large German contingent under the Emperor himself, secured an easy victory over the French at Guinegate, in the Pas de Calais, in a panic rout called 'The Battle of the Spurs'. Louis XII was compelled to ask for peace. It was granted, but at the price of abandoning Italy. A few weeks later, the king of France died on the 1st January 1515.

The kings of France were moved to undertake these great expeditions—they were not uniformly successful—against the confederated forces of the Empire, England, and Spain, by the confidence that they felt in their power and authority. They had acquired that confidence both by the final defeat of the great feudal and 'appanaged' families and by the solid organization that they had given to their government. The States-General which, in 1356, had come near to reducing the royal house to servitude, were humbly submissive throughout the fifteenth century; they granted Charles VII all the subsidies that he required for the conduct of the war against England and the reorganization of the country. The Estates which assembled in 1484, during the minority of Charles VIII, had indeed talked of popular sovereignty as the source of the royal authority and passed a resolution that they should meet every two years, but Anne of Beaujeu had the wit to keep their aspirations in check and suppress them before they became too dangerous. The assemblies which met in the reign of Louis XII were devoted supporters of the royal policy even against the Pope.

The king had attempted to reduce the clergy under his complete control by the famous Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges which the Papacy ever refused to acknowledge precisely because of the power it gave the king to select prelates among the clergy and to distribute ecclesiastical benefices. Gallicanism which had developed during the eclipse of the Papacy in the course of the Great Schism and had found such vigorous expression at the

Councils of Constance and Basel, placed at the disposal of the monarchy all the influence over the national clergy which the Holy See had lost. The concordat signed at Bologna between Francis I and Leo X in 1516, by dividing the government of the Church in France between the Crown and the Papacy, put an end to the disputes which followed the Pragmatic Sanction.

Philip the Fair and the early Valois kings had substituted royal armies of mercenaries and permanent financial revenues for the precarious and limited support of feudal levies and the pecuniary 'aids' which vassals in certain well-defined circumstances owed their overlords. Charles VII advanced the royal power still further forward in the sphere of military service and finance. We have already seen what dangerous servants the Great Companies were to their employers, more particularly when, being out of work in peace, they continued to earn a livelihood by holding the countryside to ransom. In the reign of Charles V, Du Guesclin had to rid France of them by leading them to war against Castile; in 1439 and 1444, Charles VII had to get rid of hordes of *Écorcheurs* ('Flayers') by dispatching them to fight the Swiss who slaughtered them in droves. By a statute passed in 1438, he authorized all his subjects to take proceedings at law against men-at-arms for damage done and even to arrest their leaders. He exerted himself, also, by statutes passed in 1439, 1445, and 1448 respectively, to create a permanent army under the absolute control of the king. The statute of 1445 organized unattached troops, each composed of 600 horse paid by the king and solely for his service; a royal regiment of cavalry was thus recruited independent of the old feudal chivalry of ban and arrière-ban[1] which was now relegated to form a reserve. The statute of 1448 organized an infantry of 'free archers'; 'each of the sixteen thousand parishes in the kingdom was obliged to equip and maintain one foot soldier for

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[1] In the feudal system a lord setting out to the wars had the right to summon by his 'ban', i.e. proclamation, his immediate vassals, but he could not summon the vassals of his vassals, that is to say, in technical language, although he had the 'ban', he had not the 'arrière-ban'. In French military language to-day, by derivation, the ban is that part of the population first liable to be called out in case of war, and the 'arrière-ban' is the reserve.

every fifty hearths and the soldier so selected was declared free of all tax, paid four *livres tournois* a month in time of war, but obliged to go into training in arms once a year in the chief town of the castle-ward'. There was this further innovation. The brothers Bureau, John and Gaspard, the former a financier and a sapper, the latter a sapper and master gunner, developing the use of gunpowder and bombards which had been brought into action at Crécy—it was John's three hundred (!) pieces of artillery, large and small, which decided the day at Castillon in 1453—organized companies of bombardiers for sieges; this was the first regular regiment of artillery, an arm in which the French excelled in the wars of the second half of the fifteenth and all through the sixteenth century.

Expenditure, likely to be permanent, necessitated income no less permanent and so the States-General of Orleans enacted in 1439 that a tax should be levied—a land-tax—on all glebe land in the kingdom which brought in 1,200,000 livres yearly; the tax so imposed became perpetual and continually increased until in the reign of Louis XI it produced an annual revenue of 4,700,000 livres. In addition to this direct tax, the king collected indirect taxes, 'aids' or salt-taxes and taxes on sales of articles of food and drink. A general statute passed at Saumur on the 25th September 1443 codified all this reorganization of the finances of the kingdom.

It came to be more and more generally acknowledged that supreme control over the administration of justice was a royal prerogative and the king's judges multiplied cases which brought even the subjects of vassals within the jurisdiction of the royal courts; the *Grande Ordonnance* of 1498, completed in 1536 by the Edict of Cremieu, proclaimed the superiority of the *baillis* and *séneschaux* of the king—terms indicating different degrees of the royal jurisdiction—over the *prévôts, châtelains*, and inferior judges of manorial tribunals. All appeals were of course to the Parliament and, to make such appeals easier and therefore more numerous, new provincial Parliaments were set up in Toulouse in 1443, in Grenoble in 1453, in Bourdeaux in 1462, and in Dijon in 1477. In proportion, as the royal power

and centralization under the monarchy increased, so did the different organizations which served them as instruments grow more extensive and far-reaching. Modern monarchy thus superseded by successive stages the old feudal kingship.

The same transformation took place also in England but much more slowly on account of the civil wars which, following on the Hundred Years' War, compelled Englishmen to confine their attentions to domestic problems and reduced them to playing only a secondary role on the Continent. The English civil wars, like those of the same date in France, were provoked by the rival ambitions of princes of the blood round whom the great nobles gathered in opposing factions. As early as the end of the fourteenth century, they had resulted in the deposition of Richard II and the accession of the house of Lancaster in the person of Henry IV, whose reign like that of his son and successor, Henry V, was disturbed by rebellions and conspiracies.

The power of the princes and the quarrels of parties became only the more marked during the long minority of Henry VI, the government being carried on in the King's name by his uncles. The Council was then divided, after the death of Bedford, by the antagonism between Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, whom Parliament had appointed to be protector in 1435, and his uncle, Cardinal Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester. Henry VI had no sooner attained his majority than he openly showed his dislike for his uncle Gloucester and bestowed his favour on William de la Pole, earl (later duke) of Suffolk. Fresh fuel was added to the fire of competition and it blazed merrily. Gloucester was beaten: arrested by order of Suffolk, he was impeached before Parliament for high treason and was on the point of being condemned when he most opportunely died—in 1447. It was believed (but with no evidence) that he had been poisoned. Suffolk, on the other hand, who was popularly credited with responsibility for the losses suffered by England in France, was also impeached and the king sought to save him by ordering him to go into exile in France. He obeyed, but, as he crossed the Channel, he was seized by the mutinous captain of the royal ship and put to

death on the 2nd May 1450 in a boat on the high seas off Dover. A wild revolt then broke out in Kent under the leadership of Jack Cade, an Irishman, who assumed the name of Mortimer and demanded the appointment as chief advisor to the king of Richard, duke of York, the descendant on the distaff side of Lionel, duke of Clarence, the second son of Edward III—his mother Anne being the sister of Edmund Mortimer, the last earl of March.

Henry VI, however, chose for chief advisor not the duke of York but Edmund, duke of Somerset, the head of the Beaufort family, who was popularly disliked on account of the defeats that he had suffered in Normandy. This appointment provoked a fresh division in the king's Council which the duke of York had recently joined. The queen, moreover, Margaret of Anjou, was a Frenchwoman, the marriage having been one of the conditions of the treaty which, in 1444, had sealed the collapse of the English power in France, and the ascendency which her energy, high spirits, and wit had won her over the weak mind of her husband was noticed with indignation and resented. Finally, Henry VI, the grandson through his mother, Catherine of France, of Charles VI, was seized with an attack of madness immediately after the loss of Guienne and his incapacity seemed to point to the perpetual regency of his wife. The duke of York took advantage of the eclipse of the poor king's mind in 1451 to have Somerset arrested and himself proclaimed protector. The king, however, had a lucid interval and recalled Somerset, but Richard raised an army to maintain his power. On the 22nd May 1455 a fight took place at St. Albans: the little body of the king's supporters was dispersed by the Yorkist army, Somerset was killed, the king's person was captured, and Richard became once more 'Protector and Defender of the Realm'.

Three years of a false truce had passed, during which Richard was again deposed from the regency, when a rebel army, under the command of Warwick, a partisan of Richard's who had left Calais of which he was governor, marched up north where the king stood with his standard and a large armed force. The issue was joined at Northampton on the morning of the 10th

July 1460, and decided in half an hour. The king was captured, but the queen and her boy of seven, Prince Edward, the Lancastrian heir, escaped. This time, the duke of York, who was too late to join the battle, publicly announced his claim to the crown of England, on the ground that, if Henry VI was the descendant of the duke of Lancaster, the third son of Edward III, he, Richard, was the descendant of the duke of Clarence, the second son of Edward III. He thus asserted the superiority of the title by primogeniture of his own house of York over that of the house of Lancaster represented by the person of the king. The badge of the house of York was a white rose, that of Lancaster a red rose,[1] and the dynastic struggle which ensued came to be known, therefore, as the Wars of the Roses. Henry, through weakness of mind, disinherited his own son, acknowledged Richard as his successor, and granted him the principality of Wales, just as Charles VI had disinherited his dauphin at Troyes. The queen, however, would have nothing to do with such a compromise, gathered a large force, took the fortunes of the house of Lancaster into her own hands, and defeated the Yorkist army at Wakefield on the 30th December 1460, Richard being among the dead. She continued her advance and on the 17th February 1461 surprised and routed Warwick in an engagement known to history as the second battle of St. Albans. Meanwhile, young Edward of March, the son of the dead duke of York, after defeating and killing Owen Tudor at Mortimer's Cross, near Wigmore, in the marches, on Candlemas Day, 2nd February 1461, had swiftly marched on London and, on the 4th March, had himself crowned king. He then pursued his enemies north, fought and won a great victory at Towton Moor in a snow-storm on Palm Sunday, the 29th March, and drove the king and queen fugitive before him into Scotland. The position of Edward IV seems to have been consolidated by his victories in the field, when by an unlucky blunder—his marriage in May 1464 with the young widow of Sir John Grey, Elizabeth, the daughter of Richard Woodville, who had married Jacquetta of Luxemburg, the widow of Bedford—he alienated Warwick.

[1] Why, nobody knows. Cf. Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Pt. I,* Act II, sc. iv, ll. 30–42.

Warwick had been in France, where he became reconciled to Margaret of Anjou through the mediation of Louis XI, and, returning with the queen, had taken London by the 13th September 1470. The bulk of his supporters deserted the new king, and Edward IV fled for refuge to the court of Charles the Bold, his brother-in-law in Burgundy. Henry VI was restored to his throne again in October 1470.

The struggle was resumed a year later in close connexion with the rivalry on the Continent between Louis XI and Charles the Bold, the former subsidizing the house of Lancaster, the latter, rather less generously, Edward of York. Edward landed at Ravenspur on the 14th March 1471, and marched on London to seize the capital and the king. He entered the city and put Henry into the Tower on the 12th April while Warwick was marching on London. Two days later he went out to meet him —at Barnet, on Easter Sunday, the 14th April 1471—routed the earl's army and killed him. Then he turned west—Queen Margaret had landed at Weymouth on Easter Eve—and marched to meet her, to prevent her joining forces with Jasper Tudor in Wales. He caught her, after forced marching, at Tewkesbury on Saturday the 4th May, and in the battle which followed, the queen fell into his hands. Edward, the young prince of Wales, was also taken and murdered on the field. The conqueror returned to London on the 21st May 1471. On the following day, the dead body of King Henry VI, the prisoner of the Tower, was exposed in St. Paul's. He, too, had been done to death. The White Rose had triumphed.

The twelve years of the reign of Edward IV thereafter were peaceful and secure enough. He died at Windsor on the 9th April 1483, at the early age of forty-one, and his eldest son, a boy not thirteen years old, was proclaimed King Edward V, but under the guardianship of his uncle, Richard, a man of thirty-three years who bore the title of duke of Gloucester. This Richard also constituted himself protector. The two princes, Edward V and his brother Richard, were imprisoned in the Tower and done to death, how, when, or by whom we know not, and on the 6th July, the protector was crowned as

Richard III. Two years later, however, Henry Tudor, a young man of twenty-seven, the son of the Edmund Tudor who had escaped to Brittany with his uncle Jasper after Tewkesbury—he had been created earl of Richmond by his half-brother Henry VI—sailed from Harfleur on the 1st August 1485 with money supplied by Anne of Beaujeu and a French force some 4,000 strong. He landed at Milford Haven within the week, marched across the country, and on the 22nd August defeated and killed Richard III at the battle of Bosworth, a small market town in Leicestershire. That day saw the end of the Plantagenets. The triumphant usurper entered London on the 3rd September 1485, and on the 18th of the following January 1486 married Elizabeth of York, the eldest daughter of Edward IV, so uniting the White and the Red roses and putting an end to the feud between the rival houses of Lancaster and York.

The new king, Henry VII, had a number of revolts to suppress, more particularly one headed by Lambert Simnel, the son of an Oxford joiner, who gave himself out to be young Edward, earl of Warwick, then a prisoner in the Tower, and another, more serious, led by a young man known to English history as 'Perkin Warbeck', that is to say, 'Peterkin', a contemptuous form of Peter, of Warbeck or Osbeck, near Tournai in Flanders, who declared that he was the boy duke of York who had not been murdered in the Tower. The unsolved mystery about this claimant is that he was acknowledged by James IV, king of Scotland, who gave him in marriage to his own kinswoman, Catherine Gordon, the daughter of the earl of Huntly, by Charles VIII of France and by Margaret, dowager duchess of Burgundy, the sister of Edward IV, who kept her court in Malines. She recognized him as her nephew. The battle of Stoke, on the 16th June 1487, settled the fate of Lambert Simnel. Henry made him a servant in his kitchen, later a falconer: he lived on until the eve of the Reformation and died in the course of nature. Warbeck, however, attacked Exeter on the 17th and 18th September 1487, failed to take it, and fled for sanctuary to Beaulieu, off Southampton Water. He surrendered on promise of pardon, was subjected to an easy

imprisonment, escaped in the following year only to be caught again at Sheen in June 1498. He was shut up in the Tower with Edward, earl of Warwick, a young man of twenty-three, who, being the son of the kingmaker's daughter and Clarence, the younger brother of Edward IV, was true Plantagenet and the rightful male heir. An *agent provocateur*, one Cleymound, was set on the two young men and to him they confided the plan for their escape which he himself had proposed. Perkin Warbeck was hanged, drawn, and quartered on Saturday, 23rd November 1499; the prior of the Charterhouse at Sheen pleaded in vain with Henry for his life and five days later, young Warwick was taken out, disembowelled, and quartered alive.[1]

The chief characteristic of Henry's reign was that, once peace had been restored, England was able to resume political activity in Europe and play an important part in the coalitions formed against France in the reign of Louis XII. It has already been seen with reference to France how Henry VII allied himself on several occasions against that country with the kings of Castile and Aragon, the Emperor, and the Pope, Julius II.

But—and this was more important than anything else—Henry VII accelerated the transformation of England into a more centralized and powerful executive, which was one consequence of the Wars of the Roses.

That long civil war, in which no quarter was given or taken, had played havoc with and impoverished the nobles. 'The royal treasury . . . was filled as it had never been filled before by the forfeitures and confiscations of the civil war. In the one bill of attainder which followed Towton (29th March 1461)', observes John Richard Green in his *History of the English People*,[2] 'twelve great nobles and more than a hundred knights were stripped of their estates to the King's profit. Nearly a fifth of the land is said to have passed into the royal possession at one period or other of the civil strife.' As the conflict was decided between the opposing factions by force of arms and fighting in

[1] Bacon sententiously observes: 'Thus did this winding ivy of a Plantagenet kill the true tree itself.' Cf. James Gairdner's appendix to *History of Richard III* (1878).   [2] Cf. vol. ii, p. 7, 1878.

the field, Parliament played a very secondary part. There was no need to convoke such an assembly to grant subsidies which the king reaped in abundance from forfeitures and confiscated property; and the result was that, whereas in the reign of Edward IV, Parliament assembled only at rare intervals, in the last thirteen years of the reign of Henry VII it met only once. That king was expert in amassing money without recourse to the sanction of Parliament. He alleged the pretext of an impending war with France so as to continue to raise taxes which had once been sanctioned for that purpose; he revived financial privileges of the Crown, which seemed to have long ago fallen into desuetude; he raked into his coffers large subsidies from abroad, such sums, for example, as he received from Charles VIII on the conclusion of the Treaty of Senlis in 1483; finally he devised the highly ingenious system of 'benevolences', contributions apparently voluntary but in fact extorted from his richer subjects by the dilemma known as 'Morton's fork'. It was Archbishop Morton, his chancellor in 1486, who fathered the device: 'He told those', says Hallam, 'who lived handsomely that their opulence was manifest by their rate of expenditure. Those again, whose course of living was less sumptuous, must have grown rich by their economy. Either class could well afford assistance to their sovereign.' The argument in the mouth of a chancellor who was also primate was unanswerable.

Like Charles VII in France, he made important reforms in the army system which gave the executive immense power to hold the forces of the nobility in awe. He improved his army greatly by developing the infantry and above all the revolutionary new arm of artillery of which he held a monopoly; at the same time by his sumptuary laws he brought about the dissolution of the vast military establishments maintained by the great aristocratic families; finally, he strengthened the powers of the royal courts of justice even to the extent of abolishing trial by jury in cases of high treason.

To complete the work of centralization under the royal authority all that remained for Henry VII to do was to extend the influence of the sovereign over the Church; the omission

was destined to be fulfilled by his successor, Henry VIII, who forcibly tore the Church in England from the unity of Christendom and proclaimed himself supreme head. When the rupture had been completed during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Queen Elizabeth, England had passed through Caesaro-papism from the parliamentary régime to monarchical absolutism.

Henry VII set out very timidly on the path which was to end in England's becoming the great maritime and colonial power she remained from the sixteenth century down to our own day. Shortly after the discovery of the Antilles by Christopher Columbus (Henry might have used Columbus, whose brother sought his patronage long before serving Spain), John Cabot (or Cabotto), a Venetian pilot who had settled in Bristol as a merchant, received a grant of 'letters-patent' from the king for the discovery of new lands in the west, the object being to discover a passage to India. Cabot sailed from Bristol in 1497, accompanied by Louis, Sebastian, and Sancho, his sons, on the first voyage of exploration ever undertaken in the name of England, to find new countries to colonize. Their two ships sighted Cape Breton Island and Nova Scotia on the 24th June 1497. 'Letters-patent' were again granted on the 3rd February 1498 for a second voyage which led to the discovery of Hudson's Bay. Cabot then sailed along the American coast as far as the St. Lawrence river according to some accounts, as far as the Carolines according to others. Henry VII, however, found these expeditions too costly for his avarice—he was absolutely blind to the commercial possibilities of the time—and showed such little favour to the great projects of John and Sebastian Cabot that he suffered them to offer their services to Portugal. England, therefore, for the moment yielded pride of place upon the sea to Portugal which, during the sixteenth century, was to divide with Spain the maritime and colonial supremacy of the world.

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THE FORMATION OF MODERN STATES IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY: GERMANY AND SPAIN. THE EMPIRE OF CHARLES V

THE fifteenth century was for Germany, as for most of the nations in Europe, a period of anarchy and civil war. The greater part of the preceding century had been occupied with the contest between the house of Bavaria under the excommunicated Emperor, Louis of Bavaria, and the house of Luxemburg under Charles IV, king of Bohemia. The latter (1347–78) made an attempt to reduce the German anarchy to order, and with a view to lessening the competition for the imperial crown made regulations governing the election of the king of the Romans, who duly became Emperor once he had been crowned by the Pope. By his Golden Bull (so called from the gold case in which the seal attached to it was enclosed) of 1356 he restricted the right to vote at the election of the Emperor to seven princes, three ecclesiastics, the archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Trier, and four laymen, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Bavaria, the duke of Saxony, and the margrave of Brandenburg. The Golden Bull eventually grew to be the foundation-stone of the German Constitution down to the Peace of Westphalia of 24th October 1648, but for the moment it merely established an oligarchy which, every time there was a vacancy in the Empire, sold the crown to the candidate at the price of fresh abdications of the imperial power and the concession of fresh privileges called 'capitulations'. The important business of the Empire was discussed in general assemblies in which sat together the ecclesiastical and lay lords and delegates from the towns; but as the Emperor had no permanent source of revenue, nor standing army, nor uncontested judicial power, his authority in the Diet was only shadowy and depended all but entirely on such strength as he derived from his personal possessions; his object therefore was to extend the territorial power of his own house so that it should be in a position to dominate other rival feudal

houses. As in the early days of feudalism, many dignitaries, for the most part of no great importance, declared themselves nobles directly subject to the Emperor and so the dismemberment of Germany continued and authority was dispersed in the multiplication of small, noble houses bent on securing their individual rights by private wars and not by the judgements of the Emperor.

The multiplication of lesser nobles did not strengthen the imperial authority: for the lesser nobility, while professing to be directly subject to that authority, were not so much concerned to obey it as to assert their independence of any other authority.

The towns, on the other hand, felt the need of associating in common and the Leagues or Hansas, which they had already formed during the great interregnum to protect their liberties and commercial operations, became increasingly prosperous; the most important of these was the Teutonic Hansa whose flag flew on a whole fleet of vessels in the North Sea and the Baltic and which boasted a series of warehouses and counting-offices in all the ports and great inland commercial towns from London to Novgorod in Muscovy; mention should also be made of the powerful Suabian League which grouped around Ulm numerous towns in south Germany.

Lacking the reality, Charles IV allowed himself the semblance of authority in grandiose manifestations. He made a number of state entries into Paris, under Charles V, to negotiate with the king of France, who was his nephew, alliances against England which came to nothing; he went to Rome to receive the imperial crown but his coronation gave him no real power over the cities and principalities of the peninsula which was becoming more and more independent of the Empire. He had himself crowned king of Arles at Arles, but this did not prevent the Capetian monarchy establishing itself securely in the basin of the Saône and the Rhône; to accommodate the realism of his policy to the fanciful mind of his uncle, the king of France, Charles V, pre-sented himself to the various populations who acknowledged his authority with the title of Vicar Imperial.

Wenceslas, the son and successor of Charles IV, 'a supine

GERMANY IN THE XIVTH AND XVTH CENTURIES

AUGSBURG	B. 2	HAMBURG	B. 1	PRAGUE	C. 2
AUSTRIA, Archduchy of	C. 2, C. 3	HANOVER	B. 1	PRESSBURG	D. 2
		HESSE, Landgraviate of	B. 2		
BADEN, Margraviate of	A. 3, B. 2	HOLLAND, County of	A. 1	RATISBON	C. 2
BAMBERG	B. 2	HOLSTEIN, Duchy of	B. 1	RHINE, R.	A. 2-B. 3
BASEL	A. 3	HUNGARY, Kingdom of	D. 3		
„ Princip of	A. 3			SALZBURG	C. 3
BAVARIA, Duchy of	B. 2	INN, R	B. 3-C. 3	SAVOY, Duchy of	A. 3
BERG, Duchy of	A. 2	INNSBRUCK	B. 3	SAXONY, Electorate of	C 2
BERLIN	C. 1	KÖNIGSBERG	E. 1	SEMPACH	B. 3
BESANÇON	A. 3			SILESIA, Duchy of	D 2
BRANDENBURG, Electorate of	C. 1	LAIBACH	C 3	SLAVONIA	D. 3
BREMEN	B. 1	LINZ	C. 2	SPEYER	B. 2
BRESLAU	D. 2	LORRAINE, Duchy of	A. 2	STETTIN	C. 1
BRUNSWICK	B. 1	LORRAINE, Lower	A. 2	STRASBURG	A. 2
BRUNSWICK-LÜNEBURG,		LORRAINE, Upper	A. 2	„ Bishopric of	A. 2, B. 2
Principality of	B. 1, B. 2	LÜBECK	B. 1	STUTTGART	B. 2
BUDA	D. 3	LÜNEBURG (Brunswick)	B. 2	STYRIA, Duchy of	C. 3
BURGUNDY, County of	A. 3	MAAS, R.	A. 2	SWABIA	B 3
		MAGDEBURG	B. 1	SWISS CANTONS	A. 3
CARNIOLA, Duchy of	C. 3	MAINZ	B. 2		
CARINTHIA, Duchy of	C. 3	MARIENBERG	D. 1	TEUTONIC ORDERS	D. 1, E. 1
CASSEL	B. 2	MECHLENBURG, Duchy		THURINGIA, Landgraviate of	B. 2
COLMAR	A. 2	of	B. 1, C 1	TOUL	A. 2
COLOGNE	A. 2	MEISSEN	C. 2	TRENTE	B. 3
CONSTANCE	B. 3	METZ	A. 2	TRIER	A. 2
CROATIA	C. 3	MILAN, Duchy of	B. 3	TYROL, County of	B. 3
		MISNIA, Margraviate of	C. 2		
DANUBE, R.	B. 2-D. 3	MOLDAU, R.	C. 2	ULM	B. 2
DANZIG	D. 1	MORAVIA, Margraviate of	D. 2	UTRECHT	A. 1
DENMARK, Kingdom of	B. 1	MUHLDORF	C. 2		
DRAVE, R.	C. 3	MUNICH	B. 2	VAUD	A. 3
		MÜNSTER	A. 2	VENICE, Republic of	B. 3
ELBE, R.	B. 1-C. 2	NANCY	A. 2	VIENNA	D. 2
		NUREMBERG	B. 2	VISTULA, R.	D. 1
FERRETTE, County of	A. 3	„ Margr. of	B. 2-C. 2		
FOUR CANTONS, Lake of the	B. 3	ODER, R.	C. 1-D. 2	WARSAW	E. 1
FRANKFORT (on the Main)	B. 2			WESER, R.	B. 1, B. 2
FRANKFORT (on the Oder)	C. 1	PALATINATE	A. 2	WESTPHALIA	A. 2, B. 2
FREIBERG	C. 2	PASSAU	C. 2	WORMS	B. 2
FRIESLAND	A. 2	POLAND, Kingdom of	D. 1, D. 2	WÜRTEMBERG	B. 2
FRIULI	C. 3	POMERANIA, Duchy of	C. 1	WÜRZBURG	B. 2
FULDA	B. 2	POSEN	D. 1		
GRAZ	C. 3			ZAGREB	C. 3
				ZUIDER ZEE	A. 1

GERMANY IN THE XIV & XV CENTURIES

— · — · — Varying frontiers of the German Empire

Abbreviations:
Episcⁱ princ'ʸ : Episcopal principality
Bishopⁱ : Bishopric
Landᵗᵉ : Landgraviate
Margᵗᵉ : Margraviate

and voluptuous man', was incapable of making peace between the nobles and the Leagues of towns which were at daggers drawn all through his reign, or preventing Switzerland from asserting its independence, or playing during the Great Schism the part incumbent upon the head of the 'Holy Roman Empire'; and the house of Bavaria, which had been ousted from the Empire by Charles IV, took its revenge upon him, and Wenceslas was regularly deposed by the four Rhenish electors, the Palatine and the three archbishops, at Oberlahnstein in 1400. They elected Robert of Bavaria to take his place and his reign from 1400 to 1410 was uneventful. Robert was succeeded by Sigismund, the brother of Wenceslas, whom he succeeded in Bohemia in 1419, and Sigismund was involved as emperor and king of Bohemia in events of the gravest importance. First came the Great Schism, which, with the help of the Emperor who caused Pope John XXIII to be arrested in the course of his flight, was brought to an end by the Council of Constance; and then followed the preaching campaign of John Huss.

Huss had adopted the reforming ideas of the English agitator John Wycliffe, in all probability through contact with Anne of Bohemia's retinue (Anne, it will be remembered, had married Richard II in January 1382), and was conducting a vigorous campaign throughout Bohemia for the reform of the clergy and the abolition of ecclesiastical property, without, however, evincing any tendency as yet to break with Catholic unity. The Germans, who formed a majority in the council of the University of Prague, having had forty-five articles of Wycliffe's teaching formally condemned, Huss appealed to the Czechs, who wished to free Bohemia from German influence, to defend them, and, to inflame popular opinion, ceased writing in Latin and issued his pamphlets in Czech. As the Queen's confessor he was held in high esteem by Wenceslas and obtained from him the grant of a new set of statutes for the University of Prague, ensuring a preponderating influence in its government to the Czechs. The Germans—teachers, and undergraduates alike—promptly withdrew into German territory, more particularly to Leipzig, and set up a university there. John Huss, therefore, exultant in his

victory, assumed the attitude of a religious reformer and posed as leader of the national movement: refusing to subscribe to the condemnation of Wycliffe, he found himself excommunicated in 1410 by Sbynko von Isenburg, the archbishop of Prague, and, the archbishop having died, by Pope Gregory XII in the following year. He protested his submission to the Church but continued to preach doctrines increasingly divergent from orthodoxy and maintained the Bible to be the sole rule of faith. The Pope having caused indulgences to be preached throughout Germany in support of the war which he was waging against Ladislas, king of Naples, John Huss denied their efficacy and declared that the remission of sins was a matter for God alone, not the Pope. As a result of the disturbance and agitation which followed, Wenceslas, at the instigation of his brother, the Emperor Sigismund, abandoned Huss and gave his adhesion to the Council of Constance, which John XXIII had convoked, at the instance of Sigismund, to put an end to the Schism and examine the doctrines of Wycliffe. John Huss was summoned to appear before the Council and, provided with a 'safe-conduct' from the Emperor Sigismund, presented himself before it on the 3rd November 1414. Called upon to recant, he refused categorically and on the 6th July 1415 was led out to the stake and burned; ten months later his disciple, Jerome of Prague, met the same fate.

The death of the heresiarch raised popular feeling against the Church in Bohemia to a high pitch of wrath, and the opposition took two forms. It was, on the one hand, heretical, because it strongly supported the errors of Wycliffe which had been re-published by John Huss, and, on the other, national, because it embraced in one same hatred both the Germans and the Church and venerated in the martyred Huss the teacher and the national leader. The opposition turned into civil war when, on the 30th July 1419, the Hussites, under the leadership of John Ziska, forced the doors of the town hall of Prague and threw the assembled councillors out of the windows (the 'defenestration' of 1419). Wenceslas died a few days later and was succeeded as king of Bohemia by the Emperor Sigismund, now faced with

the necessity of composing the differences between the Catholics and the Hussites, who had formulated their demands in four articles: (1) liberty to preach the word of God in the Bohemian language; (2) the right of the laity to receive communion in both kinds and to have access to the chalice (hence the name of Utraquists or Calixtines applied to them from their claiming communion *sub utraque specie* and the chalice = *calix*); (3) the abolition of ecclesiastical property, a demand which, though the purpose of it might be the restoration of the integrity of evangelical Christianity, yet gained its importance from the fact that it won the support of those who cast covetous eyes upon that property; and (4) the punishment of public sinners. The civil war lasted for seventeen years, from 1419 to 1436, and several crusades were preached by Popes Martin V and Eugenius IV and the Council of Bâle against the Hussites, who were led by John Ziska (1419–22) and later by Procopius surnamed 'the Great'. The heretics weakened their forces by splitting up into a number of sects, and negotiations begun after the battle of Taus in 1431 issued two years later in the 'Compactata of Prague' which were duly signed by the delegate of the Council of Basel on the 30th November. The more fanatical Hussites, called Taborites from their head-quarters—a fortress on Mount 'Tabor' near Prague, refused the compromise, and, in the contest which ensued between them and the Calixtines, were routed at the battle of Lipan near Kölin in May 1434, and left 16,000 dead on the field of battle. Two years later the Emperor Sigismund ratified the 'Compactata' with his signature and negotiations were concluded between the Hussites and the Papacy whereby they were reconciled to the Church, the chalice being conceded to them and Bohemia guaranteed its privileges. The surviving and dissenting Utraquists lingered on and finally became merged in the Moravian brethren.

Sigismund, who had had himself crowned Emperor in Rome on the 31st May 1433 after a journey through Italy which did little to enhance his reputation, died in 1437. He had conquered the crown of Hungary from the Angevin dynasty in the person of King Ladislas, but found himself compelled to cede a province

of the country, Dalmatia, to the Venetians after a war which lasted for twenty years; and the first Turkish invasions of Hungary had already begun. We have already seen in the efforts made by the Popes in the fifteenth century to support by crusades the great campaigns conducted in Hungary and even in the Balkan peninsula by John Corvinus Hunyadi and his son Matthias Corvinus, the national heroes of Hungary.

After the death of Sigismund a new German feudal house, the house of Hohenzollern, in the person of Frederick I, elector of Brandenburg, solicited the imperial dignity; but its ambitions and the means it adopted to secure their realization had already inspired apprehension. The electors, therefore, returned to the house of Hapsburg and appointed a member thereof, Albert, the son-in-law of Sigismund, as less likely to menace their own independence. The result was as they expected. In the reigns of Albert II (1434–9) and Frederick III, his cousin, of the Styrian branch of the family (1439–93), the imperial power remained ineffective. Frederick had not even sufficient energy to preserve the States belonging to his own house, for he was compelled to cede Bohemia to George Podiebrad, a nobleman of the reforming party selected to be king of Bohemia on the 2nd March 1458, and to acknowledge John Hunyadi and Matthias Corvinus, his successor, as the national kings of Hungary. He made an attempt to recover the territories which the Swiss had annexed from the house of Austria and with that object invited the help of Charles VII, king of France. Charles gladly availed himself of the opportunity thus presented to let loose on the territories of the Empire the hordes of *Écorcheurs* of which he wanted to disembarrass his own kingdom. Denmark, in the north, took the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein from the Empire, while the knights of Thorn, which the Emperor had left to its fate, were defeated by the Poles and, by the second Peace of Thorn in 1466, transferred from the suzerainty of the Empire to that of Poland. The elector of Brandenburg, not the Emperor, was the bulwark of the German world against the Slav inroads from the east.

And yet it was in the last fifteen years of this undistinguished reign of Frederick III that the foundations were laid in Germany and the Rhine countries of what was to become fifty years later the immense Empire of Charles V. It was the achievement of the Emperor's son Maximilian, who may be considered as the founder of the power of the house of Austria.

Frederick III had been ambitious to realize, by family alliances and marriages likely to be followed by great inheritances, the dream of universal dominion which for him was contained in the five vowels of the alphabet, each the first letter of the device which he adopted: *Austriae Est Imperare Orbi Universo*: 'It is the task of Austria to rule the world.'

The possessions of the house of Austria were already widespread throughout the Empire, for they included on the east and the south-east: Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Friuli, from the Danube to the Adriatic; extended through the Voralberg as far as Switzerland, and in addition to Alsace on both sides of the Black Forest, the cradle of the great house, included numerous scattered territories. Its possessions in Alsace brought the house of Hapsburg into contact with Charles the Bold, the powerful duke of Burgundy, whose ambition was that Frederick III should raise to the dignity of a kingdom the extensive territories he planned to link up from the North Sea to the Jura by the conquest of the duchy of Lorraine. The Emperor refused to entertain the ambitious project and for a time actively opposed the fiery duke of Burgundy. He ultimately suggested a marriage as the best solution of the difficulty and in November 1473 made a treaty with Charles at Trier by which he contracted his son Maximilian to the Duke's daughter Mary of Burgundy. The marriage was duly celebrated in Ghent on the 18th August 1477, some months after the death of Charles under the walls of Nancy, and Maximilian thus became heir to the vast estates of the house of Burgundy. He was forced to divide them with Louis XI, as we have already seen, but in virtue of the Treaty of Arras of 23rd December 1482 still retained Franche Comté, the Artois, and the county of Flanders with all the provinces which the dukes of Burgundy had added

thereto, viz. Hainault, Brabant, Gueldres, Zeeland, Holland, and Frisia. He succeeded to this inheritance and to its burdens also of perpetual fighting against the towns and the turbulent nobles of the Low Countries who were always in revolt. He thus became involved in a long, drawn-out war with Utrecht, with Guillaume de la Marck ('the wild boar of the Ardennes') and the men of Ghent, who rose in rebellion at the instigation of Anne of Beaujeu's agent, the historian and diplomat, Philippe de Commines, and even seized the person of Maximilian. Charles VIII intervened in the Emperor's favour because he was anxious to secure his support for his own ambitious designs in Italy.

The national king whom Hungary had chosen had not only freed that country from the yoke of Austria but had also conquered Austria itself from Frederick III and, in June 1485, captured the city of Vienna which the Emperor had acknowledged his right to retain. Matthias, however, died in Vienna on the 6th April 1490, and Maximilian not only retook the city a fortnight later but also had himself acknowledged heir presumptive to the throne of Hungary by the new king of the country by the Peace of Pressburg of the 7th November 1491. Maximilian did not live to succeed to that inheritance. It did not fall in until 1526, when it was assumed by Charles V, the grandson of Maximilian. The year before, 1490, Sigismund, duke of Tirol, also bequeathed his estates to Maximilian and, in his own lifetime, made over to him the administration of his duchy; this inheritance was acquired six years later in 1496. The king of the Romans a little later seized the opportunity, presented by the war which had broken out over the succession to Bavaria, to annex a few districts on the borders of Austria belonging to that duchy and, when the family of the counts of Goritz (the modern Gorizia on the Isonzo) became extinct, he annexed their territory also to his own.

The other princes of the Empire clearly perceived that his object was to consolidate his imperial authority by extending his personal possessions; they therefore endeavoured to strengthen the Empire against the Emperor, and a latent conflict thus

ensued between the respective policies adopted by Maximilian
and the princes to suppress the anarchy prevailing in Germany.

On Maximilian's requesting the support of the German
princes against Charles VIII, after the expedition which had
brought the latter down to Naples, the nobles led by Berthold,
archbishop of Mayence, declared that it was more important to
give the Empire a constitution, and with that object they pro-
posed in 1495 the creation of a Council of State (*Reichsregiment*)
to consist of seventeen members, appointed by the ecclesiastical
and secular princes and the towns, with a Supreme Court of
Judicature (*Reichskammergericht*) to try appeals from the im-
mediate subjects of the Empire. Sovereignty would therefore
be exercised not so much by the Emperor as by an organized
oligarchy elected by the nobles and the towns. Maximilian
accepted the proposal but in effect countered it by establishing,
in 1501, an Aulic Council (*Reichshofrat*) sitting in Vienna and
specially devised for the hereditary States of the house of Austria,
although in practice it ceaselessly encroached upon the functions
of the Imperial Council.

An attempt was also made to place the finances of the Empire
upon a proper basis. A Diet held at Worms imposed a general
tax, the 'Common Penny', on all German subjects of the Empire
to help defray the expenses of the *Reichsregiment*, the *Reichskam-
mergericht*, and the crusade which was ever in prospect; it was
the beginning of a permanent tax exacted from all Germans and
was under the control, not of the Empire, but of the *Reichskam-
mergericht*, that is to say, the oligarchy. At the Diets of Augsburg
in 1500 and those held at Trier and Cologne in 1512, a further
step was taken in the organization of the Empire by the division
of its territory into six circles: Franconia, Bavaria, Suabia, the
Upper Rhine, Westphalia, and Upper Saxony, to which were
presently added four more circles comprehending those estates
which had been excluded in the first division, the domains of the
house of Austria, the electors, and the inheritance of Burgundy.
Each circle was to have an executive authority in charge of it,
consisting of a governor with councillors under his control
whose duties were to preserve peace, to quell riot and punish

rioters, and to carry into operation the decrees of the *Reichskammergericht*. In serious cases, however, when the force at the disposal of the local executive was inadequate, the governor of a circle was to appeal to the Emperor, and the Emperor would then convoke the States of the Empire and concert with them whatever measures it might be necessary to take. The Emperor made an attempt to reserve to himself the right to veto or sanction the appointment of governors and councillors in the different circles, but the States hastily rejected any such claim. They also refused to listen to the suggestion put forward by Maximilian, with the object of completing the military organization of the Empire, that a constable with authority over all governors of circles should be appointed who, in the event of foreign war, should be under the sole command of the Emperor.

The Diets, therefore, were perfectly willing that some order should be established in the anarchy of Germany but they refused to entrust the Emperor with the task, partly because they were afraid of his unstable character, and partly because they were determined to maintain the oligarchical system. Their method of keeping Maximilian obedient was to stint him in subsidies, for they were unwilling to give him the opportunity of employing any regular income to pursue wars which would still further increase the power of his house and encourage him to maintain a standing army under his own control. 'The States', wrote Trithème (alias Heidenber), the learned German Benedictine historian, in 1513, 'have the old habit of giving the Emperor but little or nothing of what they promise him. The Sovereign, moreover, has no force at his command; it is absolutely impossible for him to maintain law and justice and to punish the promoters of disorder according to their deserts so that our domestic situation is utterly insecure.'

No truer statement could have been made; during the closing years of the reign of Maximilian and even while the Diet of Trier-Cologne was bargaining as to the price of its support, the Rhine countries were laid waste by wars between brigand knights, the boldest of whom were the notorious Franz von Sickingen and Goetz (Gottfried) von Berlichingen 'of the Iron

Hand' (a cunning piece of mechanism invented by himself). Sickingen with bands behind him of 7,000–8,000 men ravaged the country round Worms and the territories of the duke of Lorraine; the Emperor, powerless, was forced to negotiate with the freebooter and launched him against the rebellious Landgrave, Philip of Hesse. Sickingen, without so much as asking authority, promptly proceeded to lay siege to Metz, and in a few months in 1518 exacted from the populations he held to ransom the equivalent of £1,000,000 in our money. Maximilian died at Wels in Upper Austria on the 12th January 1519. On the accession of his successor, Charles V, Germany presented a picture similar to that of France in the fourteenth century, when she was harried and laid waste by the Great Companies after the defeats of Crécy and Poitiers.

The weakness of the central power, however, did not prevent the forward development of economic life owing to the powerful organization of the towns which associated in confederations capable of assuring their own security. Economic life in Germany had developed almost as much as in Flanders; industry was prosperous and the great cities of the Baltic Hansa, the Rhine Hansa, and the Leagues in the interior of the country were in trading relations with the whole world. In his book on Germany before the Reformation, Mgr. Janssen gives a vivid description of the abundance of riches, the development of luxury in some cases, of comfort in others, and the spread of intellectual and artistic life which were among the most prominent features of the second half of the fifteenth century and the early years of the sixteenth.

This economic power developed still further when, in 1519, Charles V, the grandson of Maximilian, already king of Spain, succeeded to the imperial crown and, along with it, to all the possessions of the house of Austria. It might then have been said with truth that on the Empire of Charles V, which stretched over a great part of Europe and the New World, the sun never set. Had it not been for the conflict in which he engaged with Francis I, king of France, and, above all, for the formidable crisis of the Reformation which appeared immediately upon

his accession, Charles V might have realized to some extent and for a certain time the device which, in spite of his weakness, his great grandfather Frederick III had adopted: *Austriae Est Imperare Orbi Universo.*

The Iberian peninsula, also, was torn by internecine conflicts and civil wars throughout the fifteenth century and achieved its unity only amid the gravest difficulties. In Castile, King Juan II (1406–54), a descendant of Henry of Trastamare, ruled for ten years under the guardianship of his uncle, the king of Aragon, and thereafter under the influence of Alvaro de Luna, whom he created count and constable and whose influence was vigorously combated by the sons of the guardian who had died, Alfonso V, king of Aragon, Juan II, king of Navarre, and Enrique, the grand master of the Order of St. James. The conflict divided the nobility into two factions, while the cities of Castile banded together in a defensive league called *hermandad* (the Spanish for 'brotherhood') to protect their liberties and independence against both. The assembly of the three classes in the nation, the Cortes, presented a similar spectacle of anarchy.

The reign of Enrique IV, the son and successor of Juan II (1457–74), was still feebler, and the king well deserved his nickname of 'the Helpless'. After fourteen years of a childless marriage with Blanche of Navarre, he had had the marriage annulled in order to marry Eleanor of Portugal; but the nobles refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the daughter, Princess Juana, born to him after he had been married for seven years to this second wife, and attributed her paternity to Bertrand de Cueva. They had recourse to arms and proclaimed his brother Alfonso in place of Enrique IV. The King defeated the insurgents but accepted their terms: his wife was banished from court, the little Princess Juana was confined in a convent, and his brother was formally acknowledged as heir presumptive. A year later Enrique IV went back upon what he had done and restored Juana to her rights. The nobles had recourse to arms again and, Alfonso having died, proclaimed the King's sister Isabella, Queen. Isabella was satisfied with the title heiress

which Enrique finally acknowledged her right to possess in 1468.

Isabella, being thus destined to succeed to the throne, had many suitors: the king of Portugal, who in spite of his fifty years would have welcomed the opportunity of uniting Portugal and Castile under his sceptre; two English princes, the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester; the grand master of the great military Order of Alcantara; Charles, duke of Guienne, the brother of Louis XI; and, finally, Ferdinand, son of Juan II, king of Aragon and heir presumptive to the throne. Against the will of her brother Enrique IV, Isabella bestowed her hand on Ferdinand, and they were married at Valladolid on the 18th October 1469. Enrique IV thereupon reasserted the rights of Princess Juana to the succession, but shortly afterwards became reconciled with Ferdinand and Isabella. Aragon like Castile had but recently emerged from a period of crisis. Juan II had begun by being king of Navarre in virtue of his wife Blanche, the daughter of Charles III the Noble, himself a son of Charles the Bad. His brother Alfonso V of Aragon, being busily engaged in disputing the kingdom of Naples with the house of Anjou, Juan administered Castile as well in his brother's absence, until in 1458 he finally succeeded Alfonso. He then quarrelled with Don Carlos, prince of Viana, his eldest son by his first marriage and heir presumptive to the throne of Aragon, and proposed to disinherit him even of Navarre, to which Carlos had inherited his mother's rights. Juan II had been compelled to abandon to him the government of Catalonia when, in 1461, Carlos suddenly died. Public opinion accused the father of having poisoned his son and a revolt of quite exceptional intensity broke out in Catalonia, where the seeds of a serious separatist movement had already been sown. It was at this crisis that in order to receive subsidies and support from Louis XI, king of France, Juan II mortgaged to him Roussillon and Cerdagne which Charles VIII later restored to Ferdinand. The war with Catalonia, Portugal aiding the latter, lasted for ten years. It had scarcely been concluded by the taking of Barcelona in 1472 when a revolt broke out in Roussillon against the French domination. Juan II supported

his former subjects, and so in 1476 embroiled himself in a war with France which brought the French troops across the Pyrenees as far as Ampurias in what is now the province of Gerona. The war was still being fought when Juan II died at Barcelona on the 19th January 1479. His son Ferdinand by his second wife, the Castilian Juana Enriquez, who, since the death of Enrique IV in 1475, was, as husband of the Queen Isabella, king of Castile, became king of Aragon; and so was achieved the union of the area which had formerly been divided into Castile, Leon, Aragon, Catalonia, and the kingdom of Majorca-Valencia. The Moors still occupied the southern extremity of the peninsula, but apart from them there remained only Portugal and Navarre, which, disputed between France and Spain, was finally divided between them in 1512, Spain taking the larger share and the capital, Pampeluna.

Castile and Aragon, although united by the marriage of their sovereigns, were still independent kingdoms and separately governed, Castile by Isabella and Aragon by Ferdinand. On Isabella's death in 1504, her son-in-law Philip the Fair, the son of the Emperor Maximilian, laid claim to Castile in right of his wife Juana la Loca, 'Mad Joanna', the daughter of Isabella. Isabella, however, considering the weakness of mind of her daughter, had appointed her husband the king of Aragon, regent, and Ferdinand quickly suppressed an attempt at revolt encouraged by Philip the Fair. A partition was thus avoided. The union became a fusion when on Ferdinand's death in 1516, his grandson, the heir, through his grandfather, of Aragon, and, through his grandmother, of Castile, held both kingdoms in his hands, and modern Spain was born.

To complete the work of unification all that remained was to drive out of the peninsula the remnants of the Islamic power, against which the Christian kingdoms had for the last seven centuries, from the eighth to the fifteenth, been conducting a crusade both political and religious.

The victories in the thirteenth century of St. Ferdinand of Castile had driven the Arabs south of the Sierra Nevada and the Alpujarra, and they had been able to maintain themselves

only through the wars which divided the Christian kingdoms and the factions which rent those kingdoms throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Mohammedan kingdom of Granada, on the other hand, though small in area, was extremely rich, owing to the abundant resources its fruitful soil provided, its industry, and the trading relations it maintained with the Mohammedans in Africa. The reunion of Castile and Aragon and the restoration of order in the two countries by an authority which became more and more nearly supreme were a sure indication that the days of their prosperity were over.

Boabdil (*Abu Abd Allah*), a son of the king of Granada, had supplanted his father Abul Hasan in a palace revolution in 1481; the result was a series of civil wars between Boabdil on the one hand and the adherents of the deposed monarch and his brother on the other. The usurper had declared himself the vassal of Castile in order to maintain his position with the support of that kingdom, and so lost whatever popularity he might have enjoyed among his own subjects. Ferdinand and Isabella finally summoned him to surrender Granada, and, on his refusal, came with an army and settled down to besiege the place. The siege lasted a long time until the town finally capitulated in 1492 and Boabdil, accompanied by many Moors, withdrew to Africa. The days of Islamic domination in Spain were at an end, and the Catholic world celebrated the victory as a revenge for the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453.

The Moors, who had taken refuge with their brethren on the north coast of Africa, attempted to take their revenge on the Christians by organizing a permanent piratical war against them. This was the origin of the corsair raids from Barbary, which for centuries harried the coasts of the western Mediterranean until they were finally suppressed by the French conquest of Algeria in 1830.

The Franciscan cardinal, Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros (1436–1517), the great minister of Isabella of Castile, her confessor, confidential adviser and organizer-in-chief of the Spanish monarchy, realized that to suppress the menace for good and all it was essential to pursue the Mohammedans into Barbary

and establish the supremacy of the Christians there also by the definitive defeat of Islam. A first expedition dispatched in 1497 captured Melilla; a second in 1505 conquered Mers-el-Kebir. After the death of Isabella, Ximenes persuaded Ferdinand to strike a great blow by sending a third: he put himself at the head of it and spent eleven million pounds of his personal fortune and the income of his various benefices in fitting it out, and to show that it was a crusade he had the cross borne before him. He captured in 1508 the two towns of Oran and Bougie, both commercial and intellectual centres, and in 1509 and 1510 the Mohammedan princes of Algiers, Dellys, Mostaganem, Tlemcen, Tunis, and even Tripoli surrendered before the conquering advance of the Cardinal's army, acknowledged the suzerainty of Spain and freed their Christian slaves. To keep them in awe Ximenes had forts (*Peñones*) erected along the coast.

The Mohammedan menace had no sooner been disposed of than Portugal also began to make conquests across the straits of Gibraltar. In 1415 King João I entrusted the command of an expedition against Ceuta, the base of all expeditions from Morocco against the Iberian peninsula, to his third son Prince Enrique, and the elaborate preparations made for striking this blow ensured its complete success. The town was captured. Appointed grand master of the Order of Christ and governor of Algarvé, Enrique, who was surnamed 'el Navegador' (Henry the Navigator)—oddly enough, as he never set foot on board a vessel in his life except to cross the Straits of Gibraltar—turned the eager spirit of the Portuguese into a new channel of naval expeditions and colonial conquests. In 1419 his mariners established themselves on the islands of Madeira; in 1434 his equerry, Gil Tannez, doubled Cape Bojador on the west coast of Africa and two years later, in 1436, Portuguese ships cast anchor in the mouth of the Senegal River. Putting out to sea from the coast in 1427 they discovered the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands which became Portuguese possessions. Other explorers disembarked on the Dark Continent and penetrated inland. A Venetian in the service of Prince Enrique, one Cadamosto, sailed up the Senegal River, discovered Gambia

and entered into relations with the natives, exchanging his merchandise against powdered gold, ivory and exotic fruit and animals. 'Cadamosto wrote a precious account of his voyages, a model narrative which would not suffer by comparison with that of the boldest sailors of our time.'

Prince Enrique's death in 1460 checked the adventurous spirit of the Portuguese sailors for some time, but a fresh impulse was given to discovery under João II, king of Portugal from 1481 to 1495. In 1482 Diego Cam discovered the mouth of the Congo and sailed still farther south; four years later, in 1486, Bartolomeo Diaz penetrated to the southern extremity of Africa and doubled the Cape of Storms, which was thenceforth called the Cape of Good Hope.

Other mariners, sent out by João II, attempted on the one hand to explore the eastern coast of Africa and on the other to ascertain the traditional passage from the Red Sea to India; thus voyages of discovery were made to Abyssinia, and eastern Africa was circumnavigated as far as Sofala: on the other side they reached nearly as far as the Cape of Good Hope which had already been doubled by Diaz. In 1498 Vasco da Gama, the most famous, perhaps, of all Portuguese navigators, completed the chart of that great channel of world communication. On the 8th July 1497 he set sail from Lisbon with the pilot who had accompanied Diaz on board, and four months later reached the bay of St. Helena; rounding the Cape he reached Natal on the 25th December 1497 (whence the name), and cast anchor for a time in the mouth of the Zambesi River. He next steered eastward across the Indian Ocean, touched at Mozambique, and twenty-three days later, on the 28th May 1498, reached the Malabar coast, near Calicut. He had to fight his way out of the harbour and returned to Lisbon in September 1499.

In the following year, 1500, another Portuguese navigator, Pedro Alvarez Cabral, made to sea with a squadron of thirteen ships and 1,200 men on board and sailed along the coast of Africa to follow the path of Vasco da Gama. He arrived at Guinea, and, sailing too far westward with a following wind, discovered on the 25th April a country of which he took formal

possession, and which he called Terra da Vera Cruz, the land of Holy Cross. It is now known as Brazil. He returned to Lisbon with the news of his great discovery and immediately afterwards set out for Malabar.

The Portuguese seized the opportunity presented by these great discoveries to establish a vast colonial empire, the commercial exploitation of which they hoped would give them immense riches by diverting into their hands the Indo-European traffic, which had hitherto been a monopoly of the Venetians and Arabs. Their objects were: (1) to expel the Arabs from the countries and seas of the East and to take their places in all markets; (2) to obtain a monopoly of foreign trade by treaty or force in all Asiatic States and to establish forts everywhere to secure respect of their privilege; (3) to intercept the Red Sea and Persian Gulf passage so as to direct all traffic to the Cape route and consequently to Lisbon.

Their naval expeditions, now certain of their object, thenceforward assumed a military character; one led by Vasco da Gama, in 1502, founded the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Sofala, another under Albuquerque, in 1503, conquered Goa, Ceylon, and the Malacca peninsula, and a third under Francesco d'Almeida, a great builder of fortresses and factories, and the first to be appointed by his sovereign, Manoel the Fortunate, Viceroy of the Indies, asserted the supremacy of the Portuguese flag everywhere in the Indian seas. The greatest of these Portuguese *conquistadors* was undoubtedly Alfonso d'Albuquerque, who, from 1505 until his death at sea, near Goa, in 1515, established the Portuguese Empire not only in Hindustan but all over the Indian Ocean. At his death the Portuguese were masters at Sofala, Mozambique, Socotra, Ormuz, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, Goa, Calicut, and Cochin, and, five years later, in 1520, their dominion extended in the west as far as Massaouah, the capital at the present day, under the Italian flag, of Eritrea, and in the east as far as the China sea, with forts and factories all over the Coromandel coast, at Pégou in Burmania, in Siam, Sumatra, Borneo, and the Celebes. They penetrated even as far as Canton and all the trade of Asia was

in their hands. Lisbon had taken the place of Venice and had become a great warehouse and entrepôt of every kind of rich merchandise and the largest port in Europe.

King Manoel the Fortunate (1495–1521), in whose reign this rapid commercial and colonial development had taken place, did not neglect the discovery of Brazil which Cabral had made in 1500 and promptly launched a series of expeditions to America. Manoel bestowed his patronage on the expedition which the Tudor Henry VII of England had refused to finance, and had the coasts of Labrador and Newfoundland explored in 1500–1 by Cortereal. In June 1503 he dispatched from Lisbon a squadron of six vessels under the command of Gonzalo Coelho, who had the assistance of Amerigo Vespucci,[1] a Florentine naval astronomer who had quitted the service of Spain for that of Portugal: the object was to explore the coast of Brazil and to discover if there might not be a southern passage round to India. Vespucci was astounded by the riches of the country and particularly by the abundance of the highly prized logwood which was called 'brasil' and from which the country received its name. 'If there be any paradise on this earth,' he observed, 'it cannot be far from here.' Other reconnaissances of the South-American coasts and the interior followed in 1503, under Muno Manoel, who discovered Rio de la Plata and reached as far south as Patagonia, in 1506, under Albuquerque and Tristan da Cunha, who touched there on their way to the Indies round the Cape of Good Hope and, finally, in 1519, by Ferdinand Magellan, who doubled the Cape now called after him, threaded the straits which bear his name from the 21st October to the 28th November 1520 and entered on that vast ocean which he named the 'Pacific' from the fine weather which he experienced

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[1] The story of how his name (or rather the name of the little Umbrian town of Amerino) came to be fastened accidentally on to the great continent is an interesting one. A German cosmographer, Martin Waldescemuller (Hylacomylus), published at St. Dié in Lorraine, in 1507, an inaccurate account of Vespucci's travels, which had first seen the light at Vicenza in 1502, and in which Amerigo was represented to have reached the mainland in 1497—before either Cabot or Columbus. Martin described the new continent by the name of Amerigo. The name was reproduced on maps and the custom was established. Amerigo, who died about 1512, was unaware that his name had thus been perpetuated.

there. Magellan fell in an expedition against the natives of Matan in the Philippine Isles on the 27th April 1521, but his ship the *Victoria* was safely navigated back to Spain by Sebastian del Cano, his lieutenant, and thus completed on the 6th September 1522 the first-recorded voyage round the world. Until 1515 Brazil received no colonists but some deportees and a few Jews, who had been condemned by the Inquisition; it was not until 1525 that colonization on a big scale began.

Queen Isabella of Castile, by recognizing the high intelligence of Christopher Columbus, started Spain on the road of great voyages of discovery and laid the foundations of that country's immense colonial empire. The body of jurors appointed to consider the plan proposed by the Genoese mariner was on the point of rejecting it when, through the intervention of a monk, Juan Perez de Marchena, who had been the Queen's confessor, Columbus was brought in contact with their Majesties and, after seven years of alternate encouragement and repulse, his proposals were finally accepted by the monarchs in the camp of Santa Fè before Granada on the 17th April 1492. On the following 3rd August Columbus set sail from the bar of Saltes, an island near Palos, in command of a small ship *Santa Maria* and two little caravels, the *Pinta* and the *Nina*. He first made the Canary Islands, whence, on the 6th September, he set sail westward to discover a passage to India. On Friday, the 12th October, after thirty-three days at sea, land was descried. It was an island of the archipelago of the Bahamas which Columbus called San Salvador and which is now generally admitted to have been Watling Island. On the 28th October he visited Cipangu in Cuba and another island which he named Hispaniola, 'little Spain' and which is to-day Haiti or San Domingo. He re-entered the port of Palos on the 15th March 1493, was received with the highest honours by the court then at Barcelona, and hailed as admiral of the sea and grandee of Spain.

If we leave out of account the voyages of the Scandinavians to Greenland and, perhaps, the coasts of Labrador as early as the tenth century, Christopher Columbus was the discoverer of America.

The first consequence of the discovery was an intense rivalry between Spain and Portugal, which had anticipated its greater neighbour. As the kings of Portugal for the avoidance of disputes had made Pope Nicholas V invest them at the beginning of their adventurous voyages with all lands which they might discover, so both countries appealed to the Pope Alexander VI to define their respective rights. By a Bull dated the 2nd May 1493 the Pope limited the rival spheres of influence as follows: he awarded to the Spaniards all the land to the west of the degree of longitude which extended from pole to pole for one hundred miles on the other side of the islands of the Azores, and to the Portuguese all that which was situated to the east, a delimitation which was subsequently altered by the Treaty of Tordesillas concluded between the two Powers on the 7th June 1494, the line of division being moved three hundred and seventy Spanish miles to the west on the farther side of the Cape Verde Islands.

Columbus sailed on his second voyage on the 25th September 1493, with three carracks, seventeen small caravels, with 1,200 men on board, and the intention not only to make fresh discoveries but also to make a start with the methodical exploitation of the new countries. Thinking more particularly of preaching the Gospel to the pagan natives of the countries already, and about to be, discovered, the great sailor, who was also a conscientious Catholic, took with him twelve priests. On the 3rd November he sighted the island of Dominica in the West Indies, and thereafter Guadeloupe, Porto Rico, and Jamaica. In the course of a third voyage from 30th May 1498 to November 1500, and a fourth from 11th May 1502 to February 1504, he discovered further islands and sailed down the coasts of Colombia, Venezuela, and Honduras, but this last great voyage was accomplished in the midst of great hardships and many distresses. He was finally abandoned by Ferdinand and died at Valladolid on the 20th May 1506.

During the lifetime of Columbus only Haiti was really colonized: Diego, his eldest son, occupied Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto Rico between the years 1508 and 1512. Exploration was actively

prosecuted before any attempt at regular colonization was made and, in 1512, Juan Ponce de Leon, then broken in health and setting out on a quest for the fountain of perpetual youth, found Florida, landing on the 27th March a little to the north of where St. Augustine now stands; in 1513 Vasco Nunez de Balboa crossed the isthmus of Panama, and on the 25th September obtained the first sight of the Pacific Ocean from 'a peak in Darien' and afterwards visited Peru; finally, in 1518, came the discovery of Mexico.

The exploitation of these immense territories was left to the individual discretion of those who commanded the expeditions, and adventurous spirits who, taking their lives and fortunes in their hands, boldly set out to challenge the dangers of the unknown; the inevitable consequence was a gross abuse of power of which the wretched natives were the victims. The Spaniards, in spite of the edicts of distant popes and kings, considered the exploitation of the conquered races as the legitimate reward of the toils and hardships that they had endured, reduced the natives to slavery and forced them to every kind of labour, more particularly the murderous working of the mines: gold, above all, was the object of their quest in the New World. Two Dominican friars, however, the great Bartolomé de Las Casas, bishop of Chiapa in Mexico, surnamed the Apostle of the Indians, and Montesino, vigorously denounced such abuses to the royal government which, in 1499, 1513, and 1516, took some steps to protect the unhappy natives. It was not therefore in fact until 1541 that the colonial empire of Spain was organized on a proper footing in America.

The creation of this colonial empire placed abundant resources at the disposal of the government and facilitated its transformation into a more and more nearly absolute power. To free the monarchy completely from the irksome tutelage of the great nobles, the originators of the anarchy within the kingdom, their Catholic Majesties (as Ferdinand and Isabella were called after the taking of Granada in 1492) did precisely what the French monarchy had done under Philip the Fair, Charles V, and Louis XI; they appointed to all government offices in place

of the great dignitaries of the realm *letrados*, men bred in the law, like the jurists of France, of middle-class origin and strongly imbued with the theories of the Roman Law in regard to the supreme power of the sovereign. These officials filled the great Councils which controlled the revenue and the active life of the nation. While their functions continually increased, the Cortes, which like the States-General in France and the Parliament in England, purported to represent the upper classes in the nation, found their influence as continually declining. The communes, i.e. the towns of Castile, so powerful when they banded together in great associations (*hermandades*), found themselves placed under the control of *corregidors* who were, in fact, royal officials.

Their Catholic majesties of Spain attempted, like the kings of France, to lay hands on the Church, which became more and more national; they made appointments to bishoprics and other benefices, just as was done in France under the Pragmatic Sanction but, most important of all, the royal executive found a formidable institution ready to hand, whose official function was to defend the Faith, but which tended more and more to suppress any kind of political opposition: that institution was the Inquisition or Holy Office.

Jews and Mohammedans were numerous throughout the Middle Ages in the Christian kingdoms of Spain and played a very important part in the life of the country.[1] They enjoyed a toleration which the German Jewish historian, Heinrich Graetz, acknowledges as follows:

Under Alfonso VIII, the illustrious King of Castile from 1116 to 1214, the Jews held public offices. . . . The King, who was married to an English princess, had for seven years a Jewish mistress of the name of Rachel, surnamed 'La Formosa' on account of her beauty. . . . The Jews of Toledo supported him vigorously in his campaign against the Moors. In Aragon and Castile, Jews lived in complete security and could devote themselves freely to every kind of intellectual work.

Whenever the populace rose against the Jews, the sovereigns protected them and Enrique III, king of Castile (1390–1406),

[1] For the history of the Jews in Europe, see vol. VI.

and Carlos III the Noble, king of Navarre (1387–1425), continued to surround themselves with Jewish doctors and councillors.

The Christian kings behaved in like manner towards the Mohammedan population whom they were concerned to protect, as necessary to the prosperity of provinces which had been wrested from the domination of the caliphs, and Mohammedans were guaranteed respect for their customs and their religion. The code of Valencia prescribed that 'the Moors were neither to be compelled to become nor prevented from becoming converted to Christianity'. When the Christian kingdoms in the thirteenth century had recovered the greater part of Spain, the Arab element in each assumed considerable proportions and in some cases actually predominated over the Christian element. The Mohammedans in such cases not infrequently engaged in conspiracies with the Islamic kingdoms to oust the Cross again from the recently conquered countries and restore the supremacy of the Crescent. The Christian kings, therefore, soon found themselves faced with the necessity of suppressing Arab risings and taking steps to prevent any recurrence. They were therefore compelled to subject the Islamic element to special laws, restricting their political influence and facilitating the supervision of their activities. These laws were extended in course of time to the Jews for the same reasons: for the Jews had taken advantage of the toleration they enjoyed to acquire an influence which, economically and politically, was exceedingly dangerous.

In 1284 Pedro III of Aragon forbade Moors and Jews to be employed on the judicial bench, in the police, or in the administration of finance; the same precaution was taken in Castile by Alfonso XI in 1348 and repeated by Enrique II in 1368, by Juan I in 1388, and by Juan II in 1408. Juan II, in that same year, 1408, deprived the Moors of their national tribunals but stipulated that their cases should be tried according to their own law by Christian *alcades* (Arabic, *al-quadi*; cf. cadi, 'the judge'). Subsequent laws were passed in Castile, Aragon, and Valencia to restrain the increasing economic power of the Moors and the Jews by prescribing sanctions against the usury which the Jews

practised there as elsewhere and which, there as elsewhere, roused the wrath of the populace against them.

To defeat the incidence of these exceptional laws, Moors and Jews considered that their best course was to become Christians; their conversion, however, was a mere matter of form. The Faith which they had embraced involved their participation in the sacraments of the Church and this they made every attempt to avoid; they had their children baptized, but they made haste to wash the forehead which had been anointed by the holy oil, and in the privacy of their dwellings the Jews continued to eat animals slaughtered in accordance with the prescriptions of the Mosaic ritual and to practise every Jewish observance. Public opinion was not deceived by these interested conversions and the Christians detested converted Mohammedans or *Moriscos* much more than those who remained ostensibly faithful to Mahomet; in 1380 Juan I of Castile made it an offence punishable by a fine of 300 *maravedis* and fifteen days' imprisonment to call them *Marraños* (swine). But once the war against Islam was resumed, even the governments finally realized that the *Moriscos* were more dangerous than open and declared Mohammedans because, through the medium of the secret societies which they formed, they were the better able to communicate with their co-religionists in Granada. As for converted Jews, they used their conversion as a cloak under which to escape all observation. It then became a manifest necessity to keep a sharp eye on such conversions of Arabs and Jews, by investigating and punishing such as were merely a political subterfuge. The resulting inquisition, similar to that which in the thirteenth century had hunted out Albigenses who practised their religion in secret, was the origin of the Holy Office in Seville.

The character of the Spanish Inquisition in its early days is clearly apparent from the preceding narrative. It was directed not against Jews but against pseudo-Christian Jews, not against Mohammedans but against pseudo-Christian Mohammedans, the *Moriscos*; its object in the first place was to assure the security of the State and the reconstituted country of Spain against the covert intrigues of both, banded together in secret societies.

The integrity of Christianity was itself at issue inasmuch as the invasion of pseudo-Christians directly compromised both doctrine and practice, while the not infrequent reversions of these neo-Christians to Islam multiplied the scandal of apostasies. The Church, therefore, gave its support to such inquisitions, as the lawful defence of its own interests coincided with the lawful defence of the State.

King Ferdinand was the first to take the initiative in setting up the Inquisition; Isabella, his queen, a woman of gentler temper, hesitated for some time before following him. Finally, Pope Sixtus IV, at the joint invitation of the royal pair, sent them a Brief dated the 1st November 1478, in which

he granted full powers to Ferdinand and Isabella to appoint two or three inquisitors, who should be archbishops, bishops or other ecclesiastical dignitaries of exemplary virtue and prudence, either of the secular or regular clergy, not less than forty years of age and of irreproachable morals, masters or bachelors of theology, doctors and licentiates in canon law and having satisfactorily passed a special examination. These inquisitors were instructed to take proceedings against relapsed baptized Jews and against all others guilty of apostasy. The Pope delegated to them the necessary jurisdiction to try the accused in accordance with law and custom and authorized the Spanish sovereigns to relieve them of their duties and to appoint others to take their places.

The short statement quoted shows how different the Spanish Inquisition was from that which had been established in the thirteenth century. It had a much more official, governmental character, inasmuch as it was their Catholic Majesties and not the Pope who chose and dismissed the inquisitors who, therefore, became at once their most devoted servants. If the medieval inquisition, whose members were directly dependent upon the Holy See at a time when the civil power was less powerful, had nevertheless become the instruments of a political rather than a religious policy in the case of the Templars and the trial of St. Joan, the same consequence was bound to follow *a fortiori* in the case of the Spanish Inquisition, which from the outset was under the complete control of the sovereigns.

Ferdinand and Isabella did indeed appoint the first inquisitors on the 17th September 1480. They were two Dominican friars, Miguel Morillo, provincial of the Order, and Juan San Martino, his vicar-general, with whom were associated Isabella's chaplain, Lopez del Barco, as procurator fiscal, that is to say, public prosecutor, and Juan Ruis de Medina, priest of the collegiate church of Medina de Rio Secco of the Queen's Council. This Holy Office sat in Seville.

On the 20th January 1481 it published its first edict, which was intended to anticipate the flight of those against whom proceedings were about to be taken. It ordered all royal and seignorial officials in Castile to arrest the fugitives, to send them to Seville, and to sequestrate their property; and it punished with excommunication and suspicion of heresy any one who refused to obey. Persons so arrested were subjected to proceedings in accordance with the precise rules laid down in the *Directories* and *Manuals* of former inquisitors.[1]

Juan Antonio Llorente (1756–1823),[2] the historian of the Spanish Inquisition—his *Istoria Critica de la Inquisicion*, four stout volumes, appeared first in Paris in French in 1817–18 and was not published in Spanish in Spain till 1822, because the Inquisition

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[1] Cf. the detailed account of these proceedings given in the chapter relating to the medieval inquisition.

[2] This singular personage deserves a note to himself. Although a priest (he was agent of the Inquisition at Logrono in 1785, canon of Calahorra and secretary to the Inquisition in 1789), Llorente was more addicted to secular studies and on his own confession to the fashionable French philosophy—rationalism—of his day. A dexterous time-server, he was on the high road to a bishopric when Napoleon blocked his promotion. King Joseph, however, rewarded him with sundry posts, all more or less connected with confiscation, until, after the battle of Vittoria, Llorente deemed it prudent to retire to Paris, his life not being safe in his own country. The publication of his famous *History* roused some feeling against him there and he was ordered out of France. He set out for Madrid and arrived after a hasty journey in winter-time, only to die on the 5th February 1823.

In an earlier history of the Basque provinces, written to serve Godoy in his attack on the *fueros*, he had shown himself a venal and unscrupulous fabricator. His accuracy cannot be disputed by an appeal to the original papers of the Inquisition which were given into his hands by King Joseph in 1809, because he destroyed the original papers. But Hefele in his *Life of Cardinal Ximenes* offers many example of his exaggerations and distortions, as does also Prescott in his *Ferdinand and Isabella* (iii. 467–70), and Ranke in his *Fürsten und Völker von Süd-Europa* (i. 242) actually impeaches his honesty.

survived until 1820—alleges that, in the single year 1481 and in the single city of Seville, the Holy Office burned 298 condemned persons, and 2,000 in the ecclesiastical province of Seville and the diocese of Cadiz, and that 17,000 others were condemned to various penalties, many to perpetual imprisonment. The statement is a gross exaggeration due to the anticlerical prejudice of the writer. He quotes another Spanish historian, Juan Mariana of the Society of Jesus (1536–1624), as his authority, but a reference to Mariana's text shows that many of the 17,000 condemned persons were subjected to religious penances, not to corporal punishment, and that Mariana, in mentioning the 2,000 condemned to death, refers not to the single year 1481 and the single province of Seville, including the diocese of Cadiz, but to the whole time during which Torquemada was inquisitor, that is to say, the seventeen years between 1481 and 1498, and to the whole area in which he exercised his functions, that is to say, Aragon and Castile and, after the taking of Granada in 1492, the whole peninsula with the exception of Portugal and Navarre. An exact statement, therefore, on Mariana's authority would give an average not of 2,000 condemnations—Llorente's figure for the single year 1481—but of 125.

Sixtus IV, however, considered that even so, the number was excessive and in a Brief dated the 29th January 1482, and addressed to Ferdinand and Isabella, he blamed the immoderate severity of the Holy Office at Seville, reproaching it for having violated the laws of justice and not having followed the regular course of proceedings. As a result, after consultation with the cardinals, he ordered the inquisitors to conform in future to the rules of law and equity and to act in conjunction with the bishops (like the Inquisition in the thirteenth century). He added that they deserved to be deposed and that he only did not do so in order not publicly to repudiate the confidence which had been reposed in them by the sovereigns of Castile and Aragon in appointing them.

Ferdinand and Isabella, however, pursued their design with method and perseverance. They requested the Pope to extend

the jurisdiction of the Holy Office at Seville over all their States, and to abolish the Inquisition which had been operating there since the Middle Ages. Sixtus IV long resisted the appeal. Their Catholic Majesties became more and more insistent and asked that the appeals which persons condemned by the Holy Office were entitled at common law to make to the Pope should be made not to the Pope himself, but to the archbishop of Seville, the permanent delegate of the Supreme Pontiff, who should adjudicate upon them in his name. Sixtus IV, under pressure of a commission of cardinals, a majority of whom were Spaniards, at last gave way, and by a Brief dated in June 1483 granted an authority which still further accentuated the control of the royal power over the Inquisition, for the sovereigns had more influence over the archbishops of Seville whom they appointed and who were dependent on them than the Pope had.

Sixtus IV seems to have repented his action almost immediately, for by a fresh Brief, dated the 2nd August 1483, he endeavoured to define exactly the functioning of the Holy Office in order to prevent abuses. Addressing himself next to Ferdinand and Isabella he reminded them that mercy shown to the guilty was more pleasing to God than rigour of punishment, and implored them in the name of Jesus Christ to deal gently with such of their subjects as acknowledged their errors, to suffer them to live unmolested in Seville and in all their States, and to retain their property.

The Inquisitor-General whom Ferdinand and Isabella had requested for all their States, they were finally successful in securing through the weakness of the Pope; his name was Thomas de Torquemada, and he was prior of a Dominican convent at Segovia. His appointment was made by agreement between their Catholic Majesties and the Pope on the understanding that his successors should be nominated by the royal authority alone and that the Inquisitors-General should have the appointment of local inquisitors for the various provinces and should themselves adjudicate on appeals to Rome.

Still not satisfied with such a concession, Ferdinand and

Isabella set up by the side of the Grand Inquisitor a royal Council of Inquisition, the members of which, all nominated by royal warrant, were to control and direct the activities and procedure of the Holy Office. Torquemada forthwith proceeded to lay down rules for the operation of this formidable institution in all the countries under his jurisdiction and divided them into several inquisitorial districts of which the capitals were Seville, Valladolid, Toledo, Jaen, and Avila, thereby effectively doing away with all that remained of the old Inquisition.

The detailed account just given of the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition, which was destined to endure from 1481 down to the beginning of the nineteenth century, clearly shows that its jurisdiction escaped almost completely all control by the Pope and ecclesiastical authority, and that it was in the first place a powerful weapon in the hands of the Spanish sovereigns to establish the unity of the kingdom on a unity of faith, and to consolidate, in the name of the Church, the absolutism of the royal authority.

The name of Torquemada has become synonymous with pitiless cruelty, and the reputation that he acquired was in great measure deserved. It should, however, not be overlooked that, if this inquisitor never spared others, the reason was that he never spared himself. He never acted from cupidity or malice but from a passionate love of Catholicism and his country, which made him pursue remorselessly the common enemies of each, the crypto-Jews and the *Moriscos*.

Both made every attempt to prevent the operation of the Inquisition. The Judaeo-Christian party was very powerful at court, where they could rely on the support of the king of Aragon's nephew, Dom Jaime of Navarre. The latter excited strong opposition against the King in the Cortes held at Tarragona in 1484 and a conspiracy, in which he was the ring-leader, did the inquisitor Pedro Arbues to death before the high altar in the cathedral of Saragossa on the night of the 15th September 1485. The wealthy Jews made common cause with the nobles, who were alarmed at the increasing ascendancy of the royal authority, and provoked between 1485 and 1487 a series of

rebellions at Teruel in Aragon, which according to Llorente 'required all the firmness of the King to put them down', and outbreaks in Valencia, Lerida, Barcelona, and Majorca.

The capture of Granada in 1492, on the other hand, raised the problem of the *Moriscos*. In accepting the surrender of Boabdil, Ferdinand and Isabella had promised the Mohammedans liberty to emigrate or to remain under the Christian yoke in the enjoyment of all their liberties, and particularly that of religious worship. But the tradition of toleration and these fresh promises did not endure long before the desire of their Catholic Majesties to unify their kingdoms by eliminating by exile or death such ethnical and religious elements as refused to be assimilated. At the same time as they pursued and expelled the Jews, they pursued and expelled the Moors, once they became convinced that the Moors would never become good and loyal Spanish subjects.

The Holy Office, therefore, handled Jews and Moors with unexampled severity. After the murder of the inquisitor Arbues, more than 300 persons, Jews for the most part, were condemned to various forms of punishment which a number of them, who had made good their escape, suffered only in effigy. The capture of Granada was followed a few weeks later by a royal edict, published on the 31st March 1482, which decreed a general expulsion of all Jews on the ground that many were suspected of having been in treacherous communication with the Mohammedans in Granada; any who, in spite of the edict, remained behind in Spain in concealment were to be hunted out and punished by the Inquisition. Similar measures were taken a little later against the Mohammedans.

These severe repressions were on several occasions denounced to Rome, and Torquemada was summoned to explain them by Pope Alexander VI. His explanations were not considered satisfactory, for the Pope, according to Llorente, weary of the perpetual clamour against Torquemada, would have deprived him of the authority with which he had been invested, but was deterred by political considerations. Alexander VI, a Spaniard himself—he was born at Jativa in Valencia in 1431 and his real

name was Rodrigo Lancol—desired to stand well with the Spanish court. Nevertheless, he deprived Torquemada of a portion of his authority by attaching to him, with equivalent powers, the archbishop of Messina, who was resident in Spain, and the bishops of Cordova, Avila, and Mondognedo. He also revoked former decisions, which had organized the Inquisition, and took from Torquemada the right to judge appeals to Rome in matters of faith, and entrusted it to the bishop of Avila.

The Inquisition seemed to have received a fatal blow by the death of Torquemada on the 16th September 1498; it was vigorously revived, however, by the Franciscan Cardinal Ximenes, the great prelate who, as confessor of Queen Isabella and primate of Toledo, played such an important part in the reigns of Ferdinand, Isabella, and their grandson, Charles V. He appointed his own brother Deza, also a Dominican, to succeed Torquemada and had restored to him by Alexander VI in 1501 and 1502 the powers which that Pontiff had taken from his predecessor. The Cardinal himself worked with such zeal for the conversion of the Moors that on one day, the 18th December 1497, he himself baptized by aspersion a batch of four thousand of them. He had a great pyre erected in Granada in which every Arab book that could be found was burnt. The consequence of such enthusiasm and so many conversions, many of which we may be sure were far from genuine, was a series of insurrections among the Moors in 1499, 1500, and 1501, in what had formerly been the kingdom of Granada. After heavy fighting in the Alpujarras mountains, the insurgents were cruelly suppressed.

It was no doubt the influence of Ximenes which induced their Catholic Majesties, then, to abandon the policy of toleration which they had practised for some time with regard to the Moors. They established the Inquisition at Granada and decreed the expulsion of all the Moors. Such of them as became Christian, the *Moriscos*, were liable, like the Jewish *Marraños*, to have their sincerity suspected and to have proceedings taken against them on that ground by the Holy Office.

The edict of expulsion was not put into operation in the

States under Ferdinand: the nobles, who derived considerable revenues from their Moorish subjects, took them under their protection. At the Cortes of Mouzon held in 1510, they renewed a request which they had already made with success in 1488 and obtained a *fuero* from the king guaranteeing the Moors in the kingdom of Aragon and Valencia full and entire liberty of residence, and of engaging in commerce with the right to practise their religion. This privilege was so well observed under Ferdinand and in the early years of the reign of Charles V, that, when the *comuneros* (the Castilian towns) revolted in 1520, the Moors fought valiantly in the King's armies and so became special objects of hatred to the *comuneros* and the populace. The ephemeral victory of the latter resulted in the death and expatriation of multitudes of Moors and the mass baptism of the remainder to the number of 16,000 in the kingdom of Valencia alone.

After crushing the revolt of the *comuneros* Charles V joined forces with them to compel the conversion of the Moors. He appealed to the Pope, Clement VII, who was then at the mercy of the Emperor, to dispense him from the oath by which he had sworn to observe the *fuero* of Mouzon, and in a Bull, dated the 12th May 1524, the Pope exhorted him to work for the conversion of the Moors but recommended him in a Brief to pursue a policy of moderation. Charles V gave no heed to the advice tendered him by the Pope. He not only considered the Moors who reverted to Islam after their forcible conversion by the *comuneros* as apostates and delivered them over to the rigour of the Inquisition, but also published on the 16th November 1524 a decree abolishing the Mohammedan religion throughout the length and breadth of Spain. All Mohammedans who refused to be converted were to assemble at certain ports and thence, on the following 31st December, were to be deported. The Grand Inquisitor Manrique, at their request, solicited a modification of this edict from Charles V, and, on the 16th January 1525, the Emperor promised that converts would not be regarded with suspicion and that no proceedings would be taken against them except in a case of flagrant apostasy; the ecclesiastical property of Islam was to be distributed to the old religious

heads, the *alfaquis* (Mohammedan doctors of law); the Arabic language and customs were to be tolerated for ten years; particular groups would continue to administer their own affairs without making any contribution to municipal expenditure; in all other respects they would be placed upon an equal footing.

So by a combination of civil legislation and the operation of the Inquisition, the Spanish sovereigns firmly established national unity and monarchical absolutism on the basis of religious unity. It must be admitted that the method they adopted was severe; it had, however, this saving grace that it spared Spain the religious wars which for many long years were to lay Germany and France waste in ruin and bloodshed.

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THE RENAISSANCE IN ITALY

HUMANISM

THE fifteenth century saw the full development in Italy of the great movement known to history as the Renaissance. The word must be understood as including not only a revival of literature and art inspired by a more intimate acquaintance with the models of Graeco-Latin antiquity, but also a transformation of the moral, social, and political ideas, the sum total of which constitutes a civilization. Such a transformation was not effected by the enchanter's wand but took place through a number of generations and affected every nation in Europe.

A movement so widespread and far-reaching was determined by a number of causes; while it made its first appearance as a consequence of the renaissance of classical antiquity, it drew the sap of its growth and fresh energy from the unprecedented events and discoveries which distinguished the fifteenth century. Contributory causes were the institution of princely courts which give hospitality and asylum to artists, men of letters and philosophers; the invention of printing, which placed within the reach of the whole world an intellectual culture which, so long as it had only been possible through the communication of manuscripts, had remained the privilege of the select few; the collapse of the Byzantine Empire, after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, which, by compelling a horde of Eastern scholars and men of letters to emigrate to the West, had brought the Latin world greater knowledge of the civilization of ancient Greece;[1] and, finally, the discovery of new continents which, broadening the horizons of men, profoundly modified current conceptions of humanity.

This renaissance was not, as superficial, ignorant or prejudiced

[1] Although it is a mistake to ascribe the growth of interest in Greek civilization entirely to the fall of Constantinople. It had begun to show itself long before 1453. Witness the attempts at healing the schism with the Eastern Church, or the careers of Manoel Chrysolaras or George of Trebizond or of Gemistos Plethon described later in this chapter.

ITALY IN THE XVTH CENTURY

ITALY IN THE XV CENTURY

English Miles

observers sometimes think, the resurrection of a civilization which had been stifled by the Middle Ages. We have already, on the contrary, seen how vigorously active in the sphere of philosophy and art the age of St. Louis was with its immortal masterpieces, the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas, the Gothic cathedral, and the *Divina Comedia* of Dante. Nor was it the resurrection of antiquity, the masterpieces of which were a frequent source of inspiration to the great artists and most distinguished minds of the Middle Ages. It was rather the worship of classical models which, so long as it accommodated itself to the Christian tradition, formed a civilization whose grandeur rivalled its beauty, but which, becoming more and more perverted into a revived paganism, drove the minds and morals of men to the worst excesses. The various and sometimes contradictory influences, the distinct and often opposite currents, in the movement which is described under the general name of Renaissance, must be carefully distinguished.

As early as the first half of the fourteenth century, ancient literature was held in high esteem at the court of the Popes in Avignon. There lived Petrarch (1304–74), who may be considered one of the earliest as he was certainly one of the most influential promoters of the Renaissance movement. He discovered in Liége in 1333 two new orations of Cicero and, in Verona in 1345, a collection of letters of the same writer. 'Not content with having the works of the ancients copied out by scribes whom he had himself trained, he would transcribe them with his own hand, collate and annotate them. His diligence in the end amassed a collection of nearly 200 manuscripts from which he would never be separated, not even while travelling.' While he wrote in Italian the 366 pieces which compose his *Canzoniere* and are nearly all inspired by his unrequited passion for 'Laura' (traditionally identified with Laure de Noves, who married in 1325 a Hugo de Sade and died in 1348, the mother of eleven children), Petrarch was still more proud of his Latin poems in imitation of the ancient authors whom he most admired. Like St. Jerome, he felt torn between his passion for the pagan writers and the Christian tradition, but it was the ideal

of the Gospel which in the end prevailed. In one of his Latin letters, *De rebus familiaribus et variis*, he wrote towards the middle of the fourteenth century:

Let us admire the genius of the Ancients by all means, but let us keep our homage for the Author of all genius; let us not forget that we have gratuitously, and through no personal merit of our own, been favoured and preferred over our beloved Ancients by Him Who had hidden His mysteries from the wise and vouchsafed the revelation of them to little ones. The true wisdom of God is Christ; it is impossible to philosophize truly without loving and honouring Him above all. In all things and in the first place, a man must be Christian.

This passage shows that in spite of his devotion to pagan antiquity Petrarch remained profoundly attached to his faith, and that even if he deserves to be described as the earliest of the humanists of the Renaissance, and in Renan's phrase as 'the first modern man', he was yet a Christian humanist.

The life of his friend, Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–75), was not unlike Petrarch's own, and it was in honour of Mary, an illegitimate daughter of that Angevin king disguised under the name of Fiammetta, that he composed his *Amorosa Visione*, a poem in fifty cantos on the model of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* in praise of Laura. Like Petrarch, he undertook many journeys in search of manuscripts of classical antiquity and made some precious discoveries in the monastery at Monte Cassino. Boccaccio was a licentious writer, as may be seen from his collection of prose tales in the *Decameron*, and imitated antiquity; his impressive account of the plague at Florence in 1348, with which the *Decameron* opens, is modelled on the vivid description of the plague at Athens in 429 B.C. in the second book of Thucydides' *History*. He attained to Christian humanism only in the declining years of his life when, moved by repentance for past follies, he would have burned the writings of his youth and early manhood, and he ended his days in austere retirement and religious devotion at Certaldo.

It was, however, at the Papal court above all, even in the dark days of the Great Schism, that the disciples of Boccaccio and Petrarch in the cult of classical antiquity were to be found.

Eager to take advantage of the elegance of their Latinity in the composition of their Bulls, the Popes invited numerous humanists to join the college of apostolic secretaries. One of the most distinguished of these amateurs of classical literature in the early fifteenth century was Leonardo Bruni, more commonly called the Aretine, from his birthplace, Arezzo. He too joined in the search for manuscripts containing forgotten works of classical antiquity and, like his fellows, composed in Latin works modelled on the ancient. He was secretary to Popes Innocent VII, Gregory XII, Alexander V, and John XXIII in succession, and had for colleague another humanist, Coluccio Salutati, who has left letters in Latin in a style which he attempted to model on Cicero's; they both became secretaries in turn to the republic of Florence.

Gian Francesco Poggio Bracciolini (1381–1459) was also one of the most distinguished ornaments of learning in the Renaissance.

He became attached [writes Philippe Monnier in *Le Quattrocento*] to the household of the bishop of Bari in 1403, was appointed apostolic secretary by Pope Boniface IX, and, thenceforth, generally in the service of the Curia, with the destinies of which fifty years of his life were linked, he was to be found successively at Constance, in France, England, Rome, Florence, Bologna and Ferrara. At Constance he was present when Jerome of Prague went to the stake on the 30th May, 1416, and during the trip discovered Quintilian at the Abbey of St. Gall; in Italy he followed the peregrinations of Pope Eugenius IV; returning in the end to Rome and settling there with that Pontiff, he placed at his disposal a most accomplished pen, defended him against the anti-Pope Felix, witnessed his death and the accession of Nicholas V.

Poggio availed himself of the opportunities offered by his high office in the Curia, and the various missions confided to him by the Popes, to make many important discoveries. He secured access to the libraries of monasteries which had preserved treasures of literature throughout the early Middle Ages but had forgotten them during the wars of the fourteenth century and the troubles which followed the Great Schism.

The college of apostolic secretaries was increased during the pontificates of Martin V and Eugenius IV by a still greater number of scholars and men of letters. The most illustrious of them was Leo Baptista Alberti who, by the breadth of his erudition and the variety of his talents, remains one of the most typical representatives of the Italian Renaissance; he had not attained his thirtieth year when he was invited, some time before 1433, to the court of Eugenius IV and had benefices heaped upon him. The same Pope appointed the Lombard, Matteo Veggio, secretary of briefs, and in 1444 canon of St. Peter's. Veggio had first devoted himself, in obedience to his father, to the study of law, but later evinced a marked disposition for poetry, which he taught at the University of Pavia, and for the Fathers of the Church. We are indebted to him also for a description of the Vatican, which is all the more precious for having been written on the eve of the pulling down and reconstruction of that venerable monument by Nicholas V.

The majority of the cardinals were, like the Popes, men of letters devoted to Christian and pagan antiquity alike, and it was their passion to surround themselves with humanists. Gerardo Landriano da Como, before taking up residence in the Curia as cardinal in 1439, had discovered at Lodi in 1422 the *De Oratore* of Cicero; he was the friend of Leonardo the Aretine, of Filelfo, who promised to translate for him Philo's *Life of Moses*, of Veggio, who dedicated to him his treatise *De felicitate et miseria*, and of Poggio, who dedicated to him his *De Nobilitate*. When Ambrosio Traversari, the learned abbot of the Camaldolites of Florence, went to Rome, he was welcomed with the greatest hospitality not only by the Pope Eugenius IV, who later asked him to translate St. John Chrysostom and provided him with the means of doing so, but also by most of the members of the Sacred College.

Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini was 'a virtuous priest' with a passion for classical studies; thence he derived the versatility of mind and facility of expression which gave such a pervasive charm to all the advantages of a magnificent presence. He lavished his admiration on the great intellects of pagan and Christian antiquity alike, the writers of his predilection being

Cicero on the one hand, St. Augustine and Lactantius on the other. Cardinal Capranica, also, had accumulated in his palace a well-furnished library, almost as extensive as that in the Vatican, which he generously placed at the disposal of any one desirous of availing himself of its riches, while at the same time he made the most ample use of it himself.

A similar literary life was pursued in every court of Italy. The princes, whether they were the descendants of ancient dynasties such as the kings of Naples of the houses of Anjou and Aragon, or successful soldiers such as the *condottieri* who ruled at Milan (the Visconti succeeded by the Sforzas) or at Ferrara (the house of Este) or at Rimini (the Malatestas) or at Urbino (the Montefeltres), or merchants who had acquired wealth in trading ventures and been carried to power by their supporters such as the Medici at Florence, or elected magistrates like the doges of Genoa and Venice, were all anxious to pose as Maecenases, gathering round them men of letters and artists; their example was followed by the great patrician families and the universities, while the monasteries continued more than ever to be centres of research and study.

The republic of Florence, like the Popes, went for its chancellors to the humanists. It was they who drew up its decrees, the reports of its deliberations and the instructions that the republic issued to its ambassadors. A century before Machiavelli these functions were discharged by humanists such as Coluccio Salutati, Leonardo the Aretine, and Poggio. The Signoria appointed illustrious humanists to professorial chairs in its University. Manuel Chrysoloras introduced Hellenism there and so inaugurated a tradition which lasted for more than a century.

At Milan, under Filippo Maria Visconti, a humanist, a writer of Latin prose and verse, Antonio Loschi, was chancellor of the government and he was succeeded by a rival of his, Uberto Decembrio da Vigevano (1370–1427), formerly an apostolic secretary to Alexander V. The University of Pavia had a whole constellation of excellent wits on its teaching staff, all fervently devoted to antiquity, earnestly studying its masterpieces and

striving to imitate them in their writings and speeches, pre-
eminent above all, both in cynicism and in intellect, Antonio
Beccadelli the Panormite, Lorenzo Valla, and Filelfo.

Beccadelli was born in Palermo, as his title 'the Panormite'
implies, in 1394, of a family which had migrated from Bologna,
and died in Naples on the 6th January 1471. He was a typical
specimen of the men of letters of the time, who travelled from
court to court according to the material advantages offered
them. After beginning his studies in the University of Palermo
and continuing them in several other Faculties, Beccadelli
established himself first at the court of Filippo Maria Visconti,
duke of Milan, who granted him a pension of 800 gold crowns,
and taught in the Lombard University of Pavia. In 1435 he
betook himself to the court of Alfonso I of Aragon, king of
Naples, who took lessons from him in Livy and gave him the
titles of Counsellor and President of the Royal Court. He
founded at Naples a literary academy of the kind which multi-
plied all over Italy at the time of the Renaissance and accumu-
lated a rich library of precious manuscripts. His chief works
are *The Hermaphrodite*, a collection of obscene poems which was
publicly burned by order of Pope Eugenius IV; a book *De dictis
et factis regis Alphonsi*, which is primarily a panegyric of the king
of Naples by the venal pen of his courtier and a budget of corre-
spondence with, and violent polemical diatribes against, other
humanists, more particularly Lorenzo Valla, his rival for the
patronage of the king of Naples. The obscene character of his
Hermaphrodite did not deter him from soliciting also the favour
of the Popes.

Lorenzo Valla was born in Rome in 1415 and died there in
1457. Like his rival, the Panormite, he taught ancient literature
at Pavia and Milan and also in the University of Rome which
had been recently restored by Pope Eugenius IV. He shifted
his quarters from the court of Filippo Maria Visconti to that of
Eugenius IV and finally took himself off to the courts of Alfonso
and Ferdinand, the kings of Naples, and like Beccadelli pur-
chased their protection by flattery. With this object he wrote
an absurdly laudatory history of King Ferdinand.

Although bent on obtaining the patronage of the Popes and their pensions, and although actually appointed apostolic secretary in 1448 by Nicholas V, Valla published the most violent diatribe against Christianity and the Church. Like Rabelais, later, he ridiculed scholasticism in his *Disputationes dialecticae* and violently attacked the religious orders in his treatise *De professione religiosorum*. He went still farther and, denying the very essence of Christianity, argued that the pursuit of pleasure in every form was the end of life.

Filelfo was born on the 28th July 1398 at Tolentino of an artisan family. He studied literature at Padua but was expelled from that university at the age of 18 on account of the depravity of his morals. A year later he was teaching in Venice, where he courted the society of the young and wealthy patrician families and was made a freeman of the republic. At the age of 20 he accompanied as secretary two diplomatic missions sent by the Venetians to John Paleologos, the Emperor at Constantinople. He passed thence into the service of the Byzantine Emperor, who entrusted him with a mission to Sigismund, king of the Romans. During his stay at Constantinople Filelfo learned Greek in the household of Chrysoloras and repaid him by stealing his daughter and his ducats. On his return to Italy about the year 1428, laden with manuscripts, he taught Greek in the University of Bologna, where he came into contact with a group of young humanists who were destined later to play a great part in the Church, the Carthusian, later cardinal, Nicholas Albergati, Cardinal Capranica, Thomas of Sarzano, who twenty years later was to become Pope Nicholas V, and lastly, the young and dissolute Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini who, repenting his follies, lived to become Pope Pius II. From Bologna he migrated to Florence, where he began by flattering the Medici, but his violent attacks on scholars who offended his pride and of whom he was jealous forced him to quit Florence in 1434 and betake himself first to Siena and thereafter in 1440 to Milan, where he lectured on Petrarch. He lavished his interested praise on the republicans and the Duke, Francesco Sforza, alternately, and in honour of the latter composed an epic poem

entitled the *Sforziad*. In 1453 he transferred his talents to the court of Alfonso, king of Naples, who awarded him the laurel crown reserved for poets, and back once more to Rome to the old friend he had made in Bologna, Pope Nicholas V. Nicholas appointed him apostolic secretary at a salary of 500 ducats. He wandered thereafter from town to town and finally died in Florence in 1481.

Through its ships which plied to and from its lagoons and the ports of the Levant, its warehouses and counting-houses in every port of the eastern Mediterranean, its far-reaching commercial relations, Venice was the port of Italy open wide to the Eastern world. Venice, therefore, was the great channel of communication through which Hellenism spread over the peninsula, inspiring the Renaissance with the fruitful energy of life, and it was a patrician of Venice who in 1440 brought to Italy one of the teachers who did most to develop the taste for Greek antiquity, George of Trebizond.

George was born in Candia about 1396 of a family which came from Trebizond, a flourishing sea-port on the Black Sea coast between the sea and the mountains. He was employed by Ermolao Barbaro to copy Greek manuscripts, and his patron had him taught Latin, which George learned so thoroughly that he in his turn became a public teacher of Latin grammar and literature. He lectured at Venice, Padua, and Vicenza in succession and engaged in a lively literary controversy with Guarino da Verona, the Venetian humanist, his old master. He took part in the Council of Florence at which his knowledge of Greek was made use of by Eugenius IV, who shortly afterwards appointed him apostolic secretary and professor in the University of Rome, where he engaged in a violent feud with Lorenzo Valla. A fresh outburst of polemics having occurred between George and Poggio, Nicholas V parted company with the Greek humanist, who finally bestowed all his interested flattery on the Sultan Mahomet II.

George of Trebizond had been accompanied to Venice from the East by his contemporary, Theodore Gaza. He was born in Thessalonica about 1398, fled about 1440 before the invasion

of the Turks, and became the protégé until 1451 of a Maecenas, rivalling the Medici, the Visconti, the Sforzas, and the kings of Naples, Lionel d'Este, marquis of Ferrara. Theodore was teaching Greek in Ferrara when Pope Nicholas V invited him to Rome in 1451 to use his knowledge of Greek in writing to the last Emperor of Constantinople, Constantine XI Dragases. In the closing years of his life Gaza was befriended by his compatriot Cardinal Bessarion, whose interest secured for him a small living in Calabria, and enjoyed the patronage of Alfonso, king of Naples.

Pope Eugenius IV, Gabriele Condolmiere, himself a Venetian, had lived from his boyhood upwards, like his cousin Corrario, in the society of men of letters under the patronage of his family, more particularly his uncle, Pope Gregory XII, Angelo Corrario; he himself had been taught Greek at Bologna by Rinuccio, the apostolic secretary to Martin V. He, therefore, took an active interest in the fate of Constantinople, which was becoming more and more nearly cut off by land and sea by the Ottoman Empire which invested it on all sides. He gave ear to the increasingly urgent appeals which were addressed to him by the Byzantine Emperor, John Palaeologos, and so decided to hold the Council of Florence to work for the union of the Greek and Roman Churches and prepare a great crusade of the West to save the Eastern Empire from the Turks. The Council brought many Greeks to live in Florence, including the Emperor himself, the patriarch Joseph, the delegates of the patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and the monks of Mount Athos, and representatives from the countries of Trebizond, Iberia, Moldavia, and Wallachia. These brought in their train scholars, men of letters, philosophers, and theologians, many of whom took up residence in Italy and, by their teaching and writing, gave a fresh impulse to Hellenism. Such was George Gemistos Plethon, who was destined to exercise a far-reaching influence on Italian thought.

Plethon was already far advanced in life when, as head of the school of Platonism at Mistra, near the ruins of Sparta in the Peloponese, he came to attend the Council of Florence in 1438.

As a disciple of Plato he there combated the scholastic theology which was so largely based on the philosophy of Aristotle, and showed himself an opponent of reunion. Driven out of his country he returned to Florence and was hospitably received by Cosimo de' Medici; there he renewed his attacks on Aristotle and provoked violent controversies between himself and Gennadius, patriarch of Constantinople, and Theodore Gaza, both staunch Aristotelians. Plethon appealed to Plato in the first place, says Victor Brochard, but derived most of his inspiration from the Alexandrian school whose interpretation of Plato he adopted; he was more closely related to Plotinus and Proclus than to the authentic Plato. He borrowed much, also, like his Alexandrian masters, from Stoicism, exalting Stoic morality even above Christianity. His Neoplatonic metaphysics, much influenced by his studies of Oriental religions, more particularly Zoroastrianism, inclined him to a pantheism which was as disturbing as his moral system. In his *Treatise on Law* he indulged in dangerous reveries, attributing souls to the stars, accepting metempsychosis and a social morality derived from natural law, one article of which was polygamy. Gathering round him the votaries of Plato, he founded the Platonic Academy which enjoyed the patronage of Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici and was destined in the latter half of the century to radiate such lustre under Marsiglio Ficino.

Bessarion, a former pupil of Gemistos Plethon at Mistra, was certainly a fervent Platonist, but his philosophy was sufficiently restrained to accommodate itself to Aristotelianism and still better to Christian dogma. As metropolitan of Nicaea he had laboured with the utmost zeal at the Council of Florence to bring his compatriots, the Greeks, back to Catholic unity. When the project failed in the East, Bessarion took up his quarters in the Curia, where he was soon appointed to high office. He was created cardinal by Pope Eugenius IV. For five years he discharged the duties of papal legate at Bologna and was finally appointed dean of the Sacred College. Twice he was nearly elected Pope, but either his partiality for the heathen philosophy or his Greek birth disqualified him. Enjoying the revenues of

many benefices, he devoted his large income to the support of his compatriots whom the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 had driven into exile in Rome and all over Italy, and in collecting a magnificent library (600 valuable Greek MSS.), which he bequeathed to Venice to form the nucleus of St. Mark's Library in that city.

Bessarion, a man of solid and elegant learning, was an enlightened Platonist and had no hesitation in taking part in the controversies provoked by Plethon. When rabid Platonists such as his former master Gemistos or Argyropoulos attacked the philosophy of Aristotle, he defended it, and, the better to defend it, strove to make it known by himself translating the *Metaphysics*; but when, impelled by the acrimony of the contest, ardent Peripatetics such as George of Trebizond wrote virulent diatribes against the 'divine Plato', Bessarion intervened and wrote his treatises *De Natura et arte* and *In Calumniatorem Platonis*,

The philosophical works of Bessarion exercised a most important influence on the movement of men's minds. On the one hand they freed Aristotle from the trammels of Arabian and scholastic commentators, who, in the attempt to explain his philosophy, had distorted and confused it, and they taught the humanists to seek the genuine Aristotelian philosophy in the actual text of the master. On the other hand, he showed by his learned and passionate defence of Plato that the bold speculations of the Academy did not deserve all the suspicion which attached to them throughout the Middle Ages and that it was possible, by following the footsteps of the most illustrious Fathers, to rise from the Platonic philosophy to the truths of revelation. By substituting the works of the Greek genius for an outworn scholasticism and so bringing men's minds back to the pure source of antiquity, Bessarion was the principal author of the philosophical Renaissance.

By the rich collection of manuscripts he accumulated in his library he contributed more than any other to the diffusion of Hellenism, not only during the actual Renaissance, but also in the classical literature of all countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; for the whole world resorted to them in the

lifetime of Bessarion and still more after they had become the nucleus of the library of St. Mark.

Humanism may be said to have succeeded to the throne of St. Peter in the person of Nicholas V (1447–55). The new Pope was born of humble parents on the 15th November 1397, and earned his livelihood in a modest way while pursuing his studies as mere Thomas Parentucelli from Sarzano. He had been forced to leave the University of Bologna at the age of 18 to become tutor in Florence in the households of the Albizzi and the Strozzi, families distinguished alike in politics and literature. He took his arts degree and doctorate of theology in 1419, was ordained priest in 1422 and entered the service of Nicholas Albergati, the saintly bishop of Bologna, who made him comptroller of his household, which was most hospitable to scholars. Thomas, at that time, relates his biographer, Vespasiano da Bisticci, had a marvellous acquaintance not only with modern men of learning, but also with the ancients, Greek and Latin alike; there was no considerable Latin or Greek writer on any subject but he had studied his work thoroughly; he knew the Bible from cover to cover and could quote it on occasion: 'He has been initiated in all the liberal arts', wrote Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (later Pius II) of Nicholas V, 'and knows all the philosophers, historians, poets, cosmographers, and theologians: civil law and canon law, even medicine, have no terrors for him.'

He accompanied Nicholas Albergati in his diplomatic missions to France and Germany and to the Council of Florence, where he once more encountered the literary circles he had frequented as a mere tutor, and he took the opportunity of joining in the search for manuscripts and forming a handsome library.

He spent much more than his income [says Vespasiano da Bisticci in his *Vite di uomini illustri del secolo XV*] in those days and had many of the most skilful copyists in his service and did not consider the price. . . . He never travelled outside Italy without bringing back some new work which was unknown in Italy, amongst others the sermons of Pope St. Leo, the commentaries of St. Thomas upon Matthew and many others (such as the works of Tertullian). . . . There were few books in his library which he had not studied and

annotated with his own hand, for he wrote a beautiful script, midway between the ancient and the modern styles. The library of the Santo Spirito contains a volume which he presented to the brethren, the treatise written by St. Augustine against Julian the Pelagian and other heretics and there is not a page but is annotated in his own hand.

Such was his reputation as a bibliophile that his services were widely in demand for the organization of libraries, and he reorganized at the request of Cosimo de' Medici that of the convent of St. Mark in Florence and others at Fiesole and Urbino for the Montefeltres, at Pesaro for Alexander Sforza and at the convent of Monte Oliveto. On the death of Nicholas Albergati in 1443 Eugenius IV appointed him to his own personal staff as vice-camerlengo of the Church; in the following year he nominated him to the see of Bologna and, towards the end of 1446, gave him a cardinal's hat. Thomas of Sarzano was elected Pope three months later, in 1447, and in memory of Nicholas Albergati took the name of Nicholas V.

The news of this election brought humanists flocking to the Vatican from all parts of Italy: he gave them all the warmest welcome, even such as Valla, who had violently attacked the Church. He appointed a number of them to the college of apostolic secretaries, which thus became more than ever an academy of men of letters.

The object of Nicholas V in thus increasing the number of apostolic secretaries was not only to have his apostolic letters written in elegant Latin, but also to employ them in important literary and philological tasks, the most important of which he conceived to be the translation of Greek authors. He was particularly anxious to have translations made in Latin hexameters of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and appealed successively to Valla. who translated the first sixteen books of the *Iliad* very freely into prose, to Marsuppini, who died in 1453, and to Filelfo, who contracted to leave Milan and take up his quarters in Rome in return for a payment, once the work was done, of 10,000 florins deposited in the meanwhile in a bank; the death of Nicholas V in 1455 put an end to his labours. Valla was suggested by

Bessarion as translater of Thucydides and he produced a slovenly version for which he received 500 crowns; he bestowed greater pains, however, on a translation of Herodotus which, as he had completed it after the death of the Pope, he dedicated to the king of Naples and thus secured payment from both parties.[1]

If Nicholas V admired profane authors, he had nevertheless a marked predilection for Scripture and the Fathers of the Church. He entrusted the translation of the New Testament to Giannozo Manetti, who accompanied his version with a critical essay on the Vulgate, a proof that three-quarters of a century before Luther a Pope was concerned to have Holy Writ translated and explained.

These humanists were also dispatched by Nicholas V to search for manuscripts not only in Italy but also in distant countries, to Pera and Chios and England. Information having been brought to him that a manuscript of Livy had been discovered in Denmark or Norway, he sent Enoch of Ascoli to copy it; it was a fruitless journey, however, for the report was false. Enoch, nevertheless, went on the same quest to Germany with a letter of recommendation from the Pope to the grand master of the Teutonic Order. When Nicholas V found it impossible to acquire any precious manuscripts so discovered, he had them copied and kept a large staff for the purpose, including many French and Germans; he often had the copies they made embellished with illuminations, for he had miniaturists from all countries in his service, more particularly from France and Flanders, where the art of illumination attained such a high degree of perfection.

Nicholas V enriched the Vatican Library to such an extent that he is sometimes regarded as the founder of it. The fact is that even in his day it was of venerable antiquity; even before the Peace of Constantine in about 330, the Popes possessed a collection of books, and in the fourth century Pope Damasus

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[1] It was possible to earn a living at the time by copying alone, and at Milan, about 1300, fifty persons were regularly employed in such work. At Bologna, also, it was an occupation with fixed prices, e.g. for a Bible eighty Bolognese *livres*, three of which were equal to two gold florins: cf. Tiraboschi, *Storia della literatura italiana*, vol. iv. 72-80.

was born in the house which sheltered it; to it St. Gregory the Great had recourse for the liturgical manuscripts which he sent to countries newly converted to Christianity and the Roman use. In the ninth century one of the most important parts at the pontifical court was played by Anastasius the librarian, the keeper, as the name he has retained in history implies, of the Popes' manuscripts. In the fourteenth century the apostolic library followed the Popes to their exile in Avignon and, on their return to Rome, they brought it back with them and devoted themselves to enriching it. An inventory which Eugenius IV had drawn up in November 1443 gives a return of 340 manuscripts: works on theology, ecclesiastical law, and scholastic philosophy.

These books were generously let out on loan, and the inventory shows that they were solidly bound: many were fitted with clasps of silver and even gilt, 'cum clausuris argenteis et deauratis'.

A lover of books from boyhood, Nicholas V greatly developed the apostolic library which he placed in charge of a Greek scholar who, born in Arezzo, had gone to Constantinople in 1435 to learn Greek from Eugenicos, the brother of the famous Mark of Ephesus, the Greek prelate who was to prove the most stubborn opponent of the union of the Churches. The Pope was generous and, placing the library at the disposal of scholars, made it an institution 'pro communi doctorum virorum commodo'.

The princes and great personages of the Renaissance also had their libraries as well as the universities, the chapters of cathedrals, and the monasteries. The library which Charles V, king of France, had formed in the Louvre and which, in 1424, included 843 manuscripts, was well known in the fifteenth century; it contained missals and psalters richly bound and illuminated, many books of devotion but few profane or classical works except Ovid and Lucan. It fell into the possession during the English wars of the duke of Bedford, and Charles VII laid the foundations of the royal library of Louis XIV which is now known as the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris. At Florence the

rich had also made collections of manuscripts and Niccolo Niccoli, a wealthy citizen, founded the public library of St. Mark by the bequest in 1437 of his own collection of 800; Cosimo de' Medici possessed 158 in 1456, but his son Lorenzo went on adding considerably to the store, sweeping the learned monasteries of Greece through his agent, John Lascaris, and laid the foundation of the library still called after his name, the Laurentian; the Visconti bestowed their patronage on and helped to develop the library of Pavia which included 988 manuscripts.

In Rome itself, Cardinal Capranica housed 1,000 manuscripts in the college which he founded and which still bears his name, thus rivalling his brethren in the Sacred College, Orsini and Bessarion, who had accumulated 900. The size of the Vatican Library about that time is disputed. Tortelli, the librarian, estimated the collection at 9,000, while Vespasiano da Bisticci, the famous Florentine bookseller and a friend of the Pope, gives the figure at 5,000. These totals would seem to be exaggerated unless Tortelli takes into account the volumes of archives which were also under his care. Pius II, the humanist, who was such a constant visitor to the library before becoming Pope in 1458, reduces this number to 3,000, a very probable figure. The inventory of the library which was drawn up on the 16th April 1455, four days before his accession, by order of Pope Calixtus III, the successor of Nicholas V, mentions 824 manuscripts, but this refers only to Latin manuscripts to which the Greek and others written in modern languages must be added. Reduced to a total of 3,000, the library of Nicholas V still far exceeded all other collections both in quantity and quality, for while the others included romances, treatises on sports, and works on astrology, Latin and Greek reigned supreme in the sanctuary of austere studies which constituted the Vatican Library.

The humanism of the Renaissance had attained to the full stature of its development in the middle of the fifteenth century, and the various features of its character and the divers, often contradictory, tendencies of the civilization that it produced can then be best defined.

The fanatic devotion to antiquity and the exclusive worship paid to it rapidly diverted many men of letters from Christian ideals. If the scepticism which prevailed among the minds of the educated, says Burckhardt, made such rapid headway, the reason was that the great task of discovering the world and reproducing its likeness in literature and art absorbed nearly all the energies of mind and soul. Such a mood induced many humanists to look back with contempt on the time when the antiquity in which they delighted was not so well known; they came to consider the Middle Ages and Scholasticism, with which they were only acquainted in its decadence, as a stationary epoch in the march of human progress—a parenthesis as it were of several centuries between the full life of antiquity and the resurrection of it which had taken place through their activity. They confused the Catholic Church and Christianity with medieval civilization in the same contempt, and many humanists went to seek their ideas and their philosophy elsewhere—in the wisdom of antiquity.

The philosophy of antiquity, however, taught them naturalism: man appeared to them as having his end in himself and the object of life as merely to assure the full development of his faculties, his aspirations, and his needs. 'Follow nature' was the counsel they derived from Stoics and Epicureans alike. Such a conception widened the gulf which already divided them from Christianity by causing them to reject, along with a transcendental system of morals, the doctrine of an original Fall necessitating divine assistance for the raising of man by grace and penance. Man, again, emerged from the study they devoted to him in ancient literature, a being possessed of all his natural and general characteristics and unfettered either by the duties imposed upon him by the ancient civilization which had disappeared or by those of an uncomprehended Christianity. The production in every one of us of the complete man, made so by the satisfaction of his every instinct, was the moral aim of such a system, and for this reason the civilization which proceeded from it was called *humanist,* and *humanists* the scholars who proclaimed it. The result of such a conception of life was

an individualism which rejected whatever was likely to impede the full development of humanity in each single personality and justified the enslavement, by such as could achieve it, of all those who were incapable of such a development. There followed not only egoism, which found its justification in its own flourishing development, but also an unmoral philosophy, which, making no distinction between the different aspirations of human nature, declared all alike legitimate, and a contempt for every kind of weakness of which, wherever it was found, the strong were to take ruthless advantage. Self-denial, charity or even justice were no longer praised; instead, the end of man was to develop every one of his natural energies. *Virtus* consisted in being a complete *vir*, or natural man. Nothing must be allowed to stand in the way of the production of what was thought a fine type of human being, and thus the pagan humanism of the Renaissance found no room for Christian morality, and charity and justice were ousted by the absolute rights of the self-sufficient, strong man.

The Renaissance, therefore, in order that the complete man should be untrammelled in his development, took all knowledge for its province; it adopted the maxim of Terence that nothing human ought to be alien to it. Hence the universality of tastes and talents which is one of the most characteristic features of its most illustrious representatives. Alberti was a champion at all kinds of sports, athletic games, fives, fencing, javelin-throwing, and riding; he was a mathematician and inventor of optical instruments and wrote treatises on perspective; at Bologna he studied law so industriously that his health broke down. He wrote comedies, one of the first of which, his *Philodoxios*, was in Latin so elegant that the younger Manuzio afterwards published it as the genuine work of a supposed ancient Lepidus; it was published in 1424, when he was only 20. Another, *The Widow and the Dead Man*, was an anticipation of Machiavelli's *La Mandragola* and Bibbiena's *La Calandra*. He wrote poetry in Tuscan and a treatise on literary criticism, *De commodis litterarum atque incommodis*. He extended the range of his curiosity so far as to describe the habits of his dog and the common fly. He was

an artist and speculated on the theory of the arts he practised, writing treatises on painting, sculpture, and architecture (his *De re aedificatoria* was published posthumously in 1845), while at the same time busy building masterpieces in Rome, Florence, and Rimini, of whose most famous church, the church of St. Francis, he was the architect. He had the same universality of genius as the following age was to admire in the most remarkable figure of the Renaissance, Michelangelo (1475–1564), the painter of the Sistine chapel, the architect of St. Peter's in Rome, and the poet whose verses alone would be sufficient to secure him immortality, both by their literary beauty and the philosophic and religious feeling which inspires them, and in Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), the painter of 'The Last Supper' and 'La Gioconda', the philosopher who determined the laws governing scientific experiment, the man of learning who, before Galileo, laid down the principles of mechanics and studied geology, botany, physiology, and anatomy, the engineer who invented machines of the most different kinds from dredgers to explosive bombs, and who, like Roger Bacon, was acquainted before his time with the laws of aeronautics and, lastly, the hydrographer who drew up plans for the canals of Lombardy.

These heroes of the Renaissance unfortunately conceived themselves entitled not only to know everything, but also to think what they liked and to express their thoughts as they pleased to such an extent that ungoverned curiosity in many cases developed into unbridled licence. They attacked the most sacred things, they shook the most essential principles, and their minds found pleasure in dwelling upon the most shameful imaginings. This is the explanation of the obscenity which disfigures the writings of many humanists, the *Hermaphrodite* of the Panormite, the *Liber Facetiarum* of Poggio, the disgusting verses of Valla, the licentious *contes* of Boccaccio and Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini. They went still further: they gloried in their cynicism and succeeded in imposing it upon society, always in virtue of the freedom which they sought in pagan antiquity. The Panormite boasted that in writing his odious *Hermaphrodite* he had taken Plato, Sappho, and other erotic writers of Greece

and Rome for his models. Poggio presented his filthy *Facetiae* as a form of recreation necessary for a wit, untrammelled by the morality binding on ordinary people, and they succeeded in having their doctrine approved, if a judgement is permissible from the complaisance shown to their work, even by the most respectable personages. From shameless depravity of mind and imagination there was but a step to flagrant immorality, and the step was quickly taken with the help of the theory which declared everything to be good which satisfied man's natural inclinations to sensual pleasure, which in the naturalist morality of pagan humanism was the supreme good. Lorenzo Valla wrote a complete treatise to prove it. It would, therefore, be impossible to describe the excesses committed by many representative characters of the Renaissance, Maecenases such as the Italian kings and princes, living only too frequently surrounded by courtesans and reserving their favours as often as not for the numerous offspring of their adulteries, writers parading their sensual passions and not hesitating even to indulge in unnatural vice, which was widespread throughout Italy in the fifteenth century.

They were determined to enjoy, along with lechery, every other form of material gratification and to procure at all costs the riches and honours which were its price. The Panormite declared that he would rather give up literature and philosophy than live in poverty, considering money absolutely necessary for poets. The greed of Poggio was insatiable. He cadged assistance and pensions from every prince in turn, attaching himself to the highest bidder, only to abandon him when another made a more tempting offer. He laid under contribution, one after the other, Cosimo de' Medici in Florence, Malatesta Novello, lord of Cesena, Sigismund Malatesta, one of the most abominable tyrants of his day in Italy, Alfonso, king of Naples, and Popes Eugenius IV and Nicholas V. To secure their bounty, he lavished the meanest kind of flattery on the cruellest and most contemptible of his patrons, flattery which turned into the grossest form of insult when he failed to secure all he had hoped for. These bravoes of the pen engaged in duels of vituperation

and calumny when they fell foul of one another; they hurled at one another ribald pamphlets which they termed 'Invectives' and which became one of the most productive literary *genres* of the Renaissance. Poggio hurled invectives against Filelfo and Filelfo against Poggio; Poggio hurled invectives against Guarino; Leonardo the Aretine hurled invectives against Niccolo Niccoli; Lorenzo Valla hurled invectives against Poggio and Poggio against Valla, against Enoch of Ascoli and Perotti and over and above they all affected a withering contempt for the common herd and humble folk, the one point on which there was any unanimity among these 'mandarins of literature'. They poured out insults on the populace which had remained faithful to the practices of the common morality; they jeered at it, vilified it, spat upon it. 'They abandoned it to its fables, its errors, its prejudices, its dialect, its dunghill. It was beyond the pale of truth and reason. Its rights, needs, strivings, sufferings, the stuff and substance of its life, were all so many dead letters.'

All these ugly sentiments gradually transformed their original indifference towards Christianity into a violent animosity against it. They denied the dogmas of revealed religion and substituted for the worship of Christ the worship of great men, for charity the most ferocious egoism, and for humility the pursuit of glory by any and every means. Religious especially were the butts of their ridicule, the poverty and abnegation of the friars at opposite poles to their cupidity and self-absorption.

Not all the scholars of the Renaissance, however, answer this description. A few Christians were to be found among them, and even saints found no difficulty in combining the love of pagan antiquity with the utmost candour of faith and an exquisite piety. Such were Petrarch, Ambrose the Camaldolite, Nicholas V, Nicholas Albergati, Bessarion, and Angelo Corrario. Both forms of humanism, therefore, the pagan and the Christian, developed side by side, even in the household of the cardinals, even at the Papal court, at one time tolerating each other, at another clashing in violent controversy. The Church showed an extreme complaisance towards the pagan humanism. Although Eugenius IV caused the *Hermaphrodite* to be burned, he and his

successors admitted into their circle, and heaped favours upon, the bitterest opponents of the Christian ideal in the hope of bringing them back by a policy of indulgence; only the monks raised a cry of alarm against the offensive launched by pagan immorality in the eloquent sermons of popular preachers from St. Bernardino of Siena to Savonarola.

Nicholas V was succeeded by the Spaniard, Calixtus III (1455–8), Alfonso de Borgia, born at Jativa, near Valencia, who seems to have had no strong inclination towards humanism; his successor Pius II (1458–64) was a humanist who knew by experience the two tendencies struggling for the control of men's minds. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini was born at Corsignano, near Siena, in 1405, and embarked at an early age on a clerical career, without, however, being ordained priest. His taste for ancient literature, his eloquence and the grace of his Latin compositions soon earned him a place in the first rank of humanists. Brought into intimate contact with the Curia through the patronage of Cardinal Cesarini, at the age of 26, he was employed by Domenico da Capranica, bishop of Ferno, as his secretary at the Council of Basel. He soon developed a genius for diplomacy and, from 1432 to 1435, was sent on missions to England, Scotland, and the Germanies. He allowed himself to be carried away by his love for ancient literature and led a life of unrestrained self-indulgence, writing licentious poems, letters, and at least one loose Latin novel—*Euryalus and Lucrezia*. At the mature age of 40 his passions had burned themselves out and he was ordained priest. Nicholas V appointed him bishop of Siena and Calixtus III gave him a cardinal's hat. He therefore knew by experience the perils to which pagan humanism exposed faith and morals. He continued to cultivate his literary talents even on the throne of St. Peter, and in the course of a busy pontificate found time to write in his semi-autobiographical *Commentaries* a great part of the history of his time. He also invited to his court, more particularly to the college of secretaries, humanists such as Agapito de' Cenci, Platina, and Giacomo Ammanati. The works of Pope Pius II were published at Basel in a single folio volume in 1551 and consist

mostly of historical dissertations, but the most interesting of his writings are his letters, which throw a vivid light upon their age.

Ammanati was born in 1422 and took part at an early age in the literary movement in Florence, and from it derived his comprehensive culture. He came to Rome during the pontificate of Nicholas V and joined the household of Cardinal Capranica which was literary without ceasing to be Christian. Calixtus III had appointed him apostolic secretary, and Pius II, happy to find in him what he had himself become, after the dissipation of his youth, a Christian humanist, nominated him bishop of Pavia and cardinal. Ammanati became the Pope's trusted confidant and completed his *Commentaries*.

Pius II appears to have exercised greater prudence in his successive choices among the humanists than Nicholas V. He kept Filelfo at a distance and banished many writers of dissolute morals, notably a certain Contrario. He carried on the great enterprises of translation and the augmentation of the Vatican Library which had been begun by Nicholas V, but he enriched his own private library with Christian authors and carefully avoided every profane allusion in his writings and speeches. Scepticism and criticism, he declared, ought to be silent before the sovereign authority of the Church.

Pagan humanism, however, in spite of these precautions, became more and more dangerous and had to be suppressed by the successor of Pius II, Paul II, Pietro Barbo, a nephew of Eugenius IV, who reigned from 1464 to 1472. It was discovered during his pontificate that fanatical votaries of antiquity were in the habit of holding secret meetings in the house of one of their number, a Calabrian, who had adopted the ancient name of Pomponius Laetus.

He lived in antique style, in haughty poverty like a second Cato. . . . The vivacious little man might frequently be seen wandering alone through the ruins of ancient Rome, suddenly arrested, as if in a rapture, before some heap of stones, or even bursting into tears. He despised the Christian religion and passionately inveighed against its adherents. As a deist, Pomponius believed in a Creator, but, as one of his most devoted disciples tells, as an antiquarian, he revered

the 'Genius of the City of Rome'. His house on the Quirinal was filled with fragments of ancient architecture and sculpture, inscriptions and coins. Here in an atmosphere charged with the spirit of heathen Rome, he assembled his disciples and friends. Disputations were held on ancient authors and philosophical questions, discourses and poems were read, comedies of Plautus and Terence were sometimes performed and an infatuated admiration for the old Republic was cherished.[1]

It was not, however, to purely academic pastimes that the little band of scholars in the villa on the Quirinal exclusively devoted themselves. The worship of ancient Rome and its history had developed throughout Italy in the fourteenth century a republican spirit and a special hatred of clerical government. Cola di Rienzi, an enthusiast who may have had Jewish blood in his veins, had attempted in the middle of the fourteenth century to suppress the temporal power of the Popes and to set up in its place a republic, complete with consuls, dictators, tribunes, a senate, and popular assemblies, as in the age of the Gracchi or Cicero. It was with the object of destroying this very power in its alleged origin that Lorenzo Valla had declaimed against the authenticity of the donation of Constantine and attributed this hypothetical charter to the unscrupulousness of the clergy. Finally, in the pontificate of Nicholas V, Stefano Porcari had summoned the Romans to revolt in order to restore the ancient Roman republic to the Capitol. Pomponius Laetus and his associates, Platina, and a certain Callimachus Expericus, had formed their Roman Academy, not unlike the 'Societies of Thought' and the Masonic lodges of the eighteenth century, which under the cloak of an apparently exclusive devotion to literature sowed the seeds of revolution, to conspire against the State with a similar intention. They found adherents even in the immediate entourage of the Pope, in that college of secretaries or apostolic précis-writers which was becoming more and more a citadel of pagan humanism whose object, according to Rafael di Volterra, a contemporary writer, was the eventual overthrow of religion.

[1] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, trans. by F. I. Antrobus, vol. iv, p. 42.

Pomponius Laetus and several of his friends, including Platina, who had attempted to rouse the secretarial college against the Pope and so to throw the whole administration into confusion, were arrested and imprisoned; Pomponius tried to exculpate himself with a poltroonery which bore no resemblance to the conduct of Brutus, for he threw all the blame on his associates. They were sentenced, however, to short terms of confinement and eventually released.

This conspiracy revealed to the Pope the evil consequences which might follow from the fanatical worship of pagan antiquity. 'Children', said he, 'can scarcely reach the age of ten without learning much wickedness, even before going to school. It may well be imagined what further filth must fill their heads when they are made to read Juvenal, Terence, Plautus and Ovid.' He took steps accordingly to restrict the study of such authors in schools.

Such preventive measures, however, should not cause Paul II to be considered an enemy of the literary Renaissance. He invited scholars and humanists to Rome and appointed one at least, the Florentine, Leonardo Dati, to be bishop of Massa and later cardinal. But his greatest claim to fame is the patronage he bestowed on the printing-press, the great invention popularly attributed to John Gutenberg (c. 1400–68), a native of Mayence, who had settled in Strasburg, an invention which was to put at the disposal of everybody, by a diffusion destined to change the face of the world, the works of all thinkers and writers, good and bad, beneficent and harmful.

The first printing-press in Italy was set up in 1465 in the Benedictine abbey of Santa Scolastica, at Subiaco, a small town near Rome, by Conrad Schweinheim and Adolf Pannartz, two workmen from Prague who had been employed by Gutenberg's wealthy partner, the goldsmith Johannes Faust or Fust. The first books they printed, with the encouragement and at the expense of the monks, were the little Latin grammar of Donatus, the *De Officiis* of Cicero (which, however, bears no date), and an edition of the *Institutiones* of Lactantius. Two years later, in 1467, they published the *De Civitate Dei* of St. Augustine and

the *De Oratore* of Cicero. About the same time Cardinal Torquemada, commendatory abbot of Santa Scolastica, brought Ulrich Hahn (or Gallus) from Subiaco to Rome.

The cardinals followed the example set up by Torquemada and the Pope and bestowed their patronage with such cordiality on the new invention that, between 1467 and 1500, thirty-eight printing-presses were set up in the city of Rome alone. Sixtus IV, Francesco della Rovere (1474–84), was no less zealous a patron of printing than his predecessor. Gian-Filippo da Lignamine, who had left Messina to set himself up as a printer in Rome, was employed by the Pope to harangue the king of Naples on his arrival within the Papal States in 1475, and sent on diplomatic missions to Mantua and Sicily. Nicholas Jenson, a Frenchman from Sommevoire in Champagne and one of the earliest printers in Venice, was nominated Count Palatine by Sixtus IV, who thus made the practice of printing a title to nobility.

The severity of the measures adopted by Paul II drove the humanists to breathe the more congenial atmosphere of Florence under the protection of the Medici. The whole family were devoted to literature and the arts and more than any other contributed to make their city the Athens of Italy, by drawing scholars and artists there and covering it with masterpieces. With Cosimo (1389–1464), surnamed Il Vecchio ('the Ancient'), the glorious epoch of the family began; although the form of government still remained republican and his all-powerful influence was not explicitly recognized in the State, Cosimo was master of the town and filled the public offices with his partisans.

He patronized beauty not only because it was an intelligent way of establishing his authority in a city of art and industry, but also because he was genuinely fond of it. He was happy to see walls rising from the ground, happy to see shelves becoming well filled with books, rejoicing in the beautiful pictures, beautiful statues and beautiful books which were shown him. Uncomely, sparing of words, according to the account given of him by Vespasiano da Bisticci, answering in monosyllables or else giving equivocal replies, detesting mountebanks and buffoons, fond of playing chess, culti-

vating his vines and reading Plato, he died, in 1464, while listening to Plato read to him by Marsiglio Ficino, whom he had the merit of having educated.

Let it be added that he was also the friend of St. Antonine, his archbishop, with whom he discussed spiritual themes in a cell in the convent of St. Mark, where it was his custom to go into retreat.

He had given his grandson Lorenzo, 'Il Magnifico' (1448-92) —his son, Piero I, surnamed 'Il Gottoso', the Gouty, was too feeble in health and character to administer the State—the most careful education. Lorenzo, who assumed the reins of government in 1469 while still a lad of 21, knew Latin and Greek, had been soundly disciplined in history and philosophy and was fond of all the arts and exercises in all manner of sports.

He was a prince who loved magnificence and pomp like a future *roi-soleil*, and at the same time a bourgeois with the canny virtues of his ancestors, the merchants; he was a philosopher who delighted in the sheer ecstasy of Platonic dialectic and at the same time a diplomat whose hand controlled the delicate wires of contemporary politics. He was a Christian who sang the litanies of the Church while riding on horseback under the sun, and a pagan 'wondrously disposed to the worship of Venus' as described for us by Machiavelli. He was an accomplished poet, sensitive to the most delicate shade of the richest emotion, and at the same time the cruel despot who commanded the sack of Volterra, robbed orphan girls of their dowry, and ordered men to be tortured and hanged.

Lorenzo was one of the most finished products of the Renaissance with all its brilliant qualities, its vices and its contradictory aspirations. His tastes were shared by his mother, Lucrezia Tornabuoni, who was as adept in literature as in managing her household, his wife Clarissa Orsini and his children; Pietro, who was later driven from Florence and deposed from participation in the government, and Giovanni, who, elevated to the papal throne with the title of Leo X, maintained in the see of St. Peter the literary and artistic tradition of Lorenzo Il Magnifico.

He was the patron of that Platonic Academy which Gemistos

Plethon had founded in 1460. It was divided into three classes: the patrons (*mecenati*) including the Medici; the hearers (*ascoltatori*, a reminiscence of the Greek acroamatics); and the novices, or disciples, formed of young aspirants to philosophy. Ficino presided over the whole in a spirit more Christian than might have been expected. Born in Florence on the 19th October 1433, the son of Cosimo's principal physician, this philosopher had been educated in the universities of his native city and Bologna. The study of Plato was the absorbing passion of his life. He made a complete translation 'at once literal, perspicuous and in good Latin' of all the Greek philosopher's works, which he completed with translations of the Neoplatonic philosophers of the Alexandrian school, Plotinus in 1492, and Jamblichus in 1497, but the great work of his life, his *Theologia Platonica seu de immortalitate animarum ac aeterna felicitate*, was consecrated to Plato. Ordained priest at the age of 42, he was appointed to a canonry in San Lorenzo, the church of the Medici, and laboured to effect a reconciliation between the philosophy of Plato and the doctrine of Christianity by showing that while Christianity proclaims the love of God, Platonism reveals His wisdom. Seeing nothing incompatible between Christianity and Platonism, he considered Plato as a precursor of Christ and so broke with the irreligious system of his master, Gemistos Plethon. Such were the doctrines which he had taught his pupil, Lorenzo de' Medici, and which he professed in the academy until his death in 1499.

The works of Angelo Poliziano, born on the 14th July 1454, whose real name Ambrogini was, in accordance with the common practice of the Renaissance, changed for the latinized form of the name of his birthplace, Montepulciano in Tuscany, were more varied. He had been taught Latin by Landriano, Greek by Andronicus Callistus of Thessalonica and Argyropoulos, philosophy by Argyropoulos and Marsiglio Ficino. Lorenzo de' Medici, who had been a fellow pupil with him in the Academy under Ficino, appointed him tutor to his two sons, Pietro and Giovanni afterwards Pope Leo X. At the age of 26 he became in 1480 professor of Greek and Latin in the University

of Florence, and the fame of his lectures drew students from every part of Europe.

Like the humanists of the first half of the century he made translations of the *Iliad* into Latin hexameters, which it had been the ambition of all the Italian humanists to achieve, of Moschus, Callimachus, Herodian, and Greek prose-writers; but he surpassed his predecessors in his critical work which puts him in the very first rank of Renaissance philologists. His edition of the *Pandects* of Justinian is still regarded by modern scholars as excellent, even when tried by the latest tests, and gave a powerful impulse to the study of jurisprudence. He also wrote in Latin and even in Greek many light or occasional verses, a history of the conspiracy of the Pazzi, and a considerable volume of letters. He was one of the best Italian writers of his time with his mythological play *Orfeo*—the first secular drama in the language—which was performed at Mantua in 1471 before Galeazzo Sforza, his *Stanze* in imitation of ancient and modern poets published in 1475 and his *Rime*, a collection of ballads, sonnets, and songs, some of which are models of grace and elegance. 'His excellence in all these various *genres* is determined not so much by the substance, of which there is little, but by his absolute mastery of form. He has the restraint, the harmony, the supreme grace of the Ancients, his models.'

The learning of Pico della Mirandola, the 'Phoenix of the Wits' as his friend Poliziano called him, was still more extensive. Born in 1463, the son of Francesco Pico, count of Mirandola and Concordia, an imperial fief in the Modenese, he had studied the *Decretals* at Bologna, but, after two years, felt an inexhaustible desire for more elevated, though less profitable, sciences, and at the age of 18 visited the chief universities of France and Italy, amassing an enormous library for himself and acquiring a knowledge of law, scholastic and profane philosophy, Greek, Latin, and Oriental languages. He arrived in Rome in 1486, just over 23 years of age, and propounded his famous nine hundred theses, logical, ethical, mathematical, physical, metaphysical, theological, magical, and cabalistical, in fact *de omni re scibili*, challenging all comers to debate with him, and, lest poverty

should reduce the number of his antagonists, offering to pay their travelling expenses. The challenge was not taken up, for the Church smelt heresy in his propositions, and Pope Innocent VIII, though he had at first authorized, was persuaded to prohibit their discussion by a Bull, dated the 4th August 1487. Thirteen were selected for examination by a committee of theologians and were pronounced heretical. Pico attempted to vindicate himself in an *Apologia* written in hot haste and dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, but this only brought him into further trouble and excited fresh attacks which continued to harass him until Pope Alexander VI, by a Bull dated the 18th June 1493, pronounced him free from any blameable intention and assured him of immunity from further annoyance. He had meantime receded from some of the bolder opinions of his youth, and, doubtless under the influence of Savonarola, withdrew from all worldly distractions at the age of 25 to spend the remaining six years of his short life in the pious practice of an austere devotion. Pico's problem was essentially the same as had tortured the most powerful and ingenious minds of the Middle Ages—the reconciliation of theology and philosophy, of Aristotle and Plato. Theology he conceived, like Dante, to be the queen of the sciences and the true end of man to be so to purify the soul by the practice of virtue and the study of philosophy—moral and natural—that it might become capable of the knowledge and love of God. He died of a fever at the age of 31 on the 17th November 1494, on the very day that Charles VIII made his entry into Florence. The corpse, invested by Savonarola's own hands with the habit of the Order of the Preaching Friars in which he had ardently desired to enrol Pico during his life, was buried in the church of St. Mark. The tomb was inscribed with an epitaph composed by Hercules Strozza:

> Joannes jacet hic Mirandula: cetera norunt
> Et Tagus, et Ganges, forsan et Antipodes.[1]

[1] The life of this chivalrous, generous, and versatile man, 'John Picus, earl of Mirandola, a great lord of Italy, an excellent cunning man in all sciences and virtuous of living', was translated, 'with divers epistles and other works of the said John Picus full of great science, virtue and wisdom, whose life and works be worthy and deign to be read and often to be had in memory', as a new year gift for his

Pico had thus attempted to combine medieval scholasticism with philosophical humanism; two of his contemporaries, the brothers Luca Pulci (1431–70) and Luigi Pulci (1432–84), sought inspiration for their poetry both from the poets of antiquity and the poets of the Middle Ages. Born of parents engaged in trade, they engaged themselves and failed; Luca died in prison, but his brother Luigi, who survived him, lived to enjoy the protection of Lorenzo de' Medici. His chief work was a famous poem *Il Morgante Maggiore* ('Morgante the Giant'), a burlesque epic, composed between 1460 and 1470 at the request of Lucrezia Tornabuoni, the mother of Lorenzo de' Medici. The story in twenty-three cantos, to which five were subsequently added, tells how Roland was banished from the court of Charlemagne and, attended by the good giant Morgante, whom he had baptized *en route*, and who comes to his help on perilous occasions armed with an enormous bell clapper, set out through the world in quest of adventure. The most marvellous adventures befall Renaud, Oliver, and other paladins of Charlemagne's court who go to look for him, both in their struggles with the Mayence family and the malevolent Ganelon who persistently slanders the paladins to the Emperor Charlemagne. *Il Morgante Maggiore*, from which Ariosto later drew the inspiration for his *Orlando Furioso*, is the earliest prose epic of the Italian Renaissance and one of the most valuable sources for the early Tuscan dialect. It invests the ingenious adventures which formed the theme of the *chansons de geste* with an element of caricature, a note of irony, congenial to the sophisticated refinement of the Renaissance *dilettanti*.

In the works of Niccolo di Bernardo dei Machiavelli (1469–1527) the political literature of the Renaissance attained its highest degree of perfection. He made his first appearance in public life in June 1498, when he was elected to fill a subordinate secretaryship in the department of the ten chosen to direct the military and diplomatic affairs of the republican government of

'right entirely beloved sister in Christ, Joyce Leigh', by Sir Thomas More, from the life written by Pico's nephew, Giovanni Francesco, count of Mirandola, and has been admirably reproduced and edited by Mr. J. M. Rigg, London, 1890. There is also a graceful but trivial sketch in Walter Pater's *Studies in the Renaissance*.

Florence, a post which for a century past had been reserved to men of letters. As such, he was employed in numerous diplomatic missions in 1500, 1506, and 1510, to the court of Louis XII in France, in 1501 to Pistoja, in 1503 to Urbino to the court of Cesare Borgia, duke of Valentinois, 'il Valentino', whom he thus had an opportunity of narrowly observing, to Rome where he attended the conclave which elected Julius II, in 1506 to the court of that Pope and, in 1509 to the Emperor Maximilian. When the Medici, who had been driven out of Florence in 1494, returned to power in 1512, Machiavelli was involved in the downfall of his patron, the Gonfalionere Soderini, arrested on a charge of conspiracy in 1513, imprisoned and even put to the torture; he employed the leisure of his enforced retirement in the composition of his two chief works: *The Prince* and *Discourses on Livy*. Both are the mature product of his political experience and an excellent reflection, therefore, of the spirit and feelings which governed the relations of parties and the Italian States in his time. They derive their inspiration also from the political ideals of ancient Rome for which the salvation of the people was the supreme law, transcending even the laws of individual and social morality; pagan humanism therefore was affirmed without disguise or reticence in the ideas and political judgements of the Florentine secretary.

His admiration [writes Jeanroy] for the political theory of ancient Rome inspired him with his fundamental maxim that the State must be exalted above everything and may dispose of everything as the general interest dictates; religion itself is to be an instrument in the hands of the State and what is of supreme importance in religion is not that it shall be true but that it shall be useful. . . . Wherever the populace is corrupt, a tyrant must necessarily arise and it is the ideal type of tyrant that Machiavelli depicts in *The Prince*. He pulls to pieces the ideal of the Prince which preceding generations had evolved. If man were good, he declares, the Prince might be virtuous, but man is naturally bad, and, where law fails, recourse must be had to force. Necessity compels a man to be both lion and fox, to act without scruple but to preserve appearances; virtue must be only a mask worn to conceal vices. The ideal type of Prince is Cesare Borgia, of whom Machiavelli constitutes himself the apologist and

whose downfall he attributes simply to ill fortune. Such are the principles to which Machiavelli has bequeathed his name: they are abominable and the undisguised gusto of approval with which he exposes them makes them still more revolting.

Such principles are at opposite poles to the policy practised by St. Louis and the doctrines of St. Thomas Aquinas but the exact expression of the pagan and unmoral sentiments of a time which produced despots such as Cesare Borgia, Malatesta di Rimini, and Ludovico il Moro; they were the logical outcome in the social sphere of the humanist theories which asserted the satisfaction of every instinct and passion to be the sole law governing the individual and society.

The other principalities of Italy, although incapable of rivalling Florence, yet had also their men of letters in the courts of princes or academies of learning. The dukes of Ferrara of the house of Este boasted the presence of Matteo Maria Boiardo, count of Scandiano (1434–94); the court of King Ferdinand at Naples had a whole pleiad of poets who took Petrarch for their model. Venice possessed the illustrious Barbaro family which seemed to produce born humanists and poets of whom the most distinguished writer was Ermolao. He was crowned with the laureate wreath of poetry at the age of 14 and exchanged correspondence with Angelo Poliziano and Pico della Mirandola. He lectured on Aristotle to the gilded youth of Venice in his patrician palace, but his chief merit was the restoration of the text of ancient writers. He boasted that he had corrected above five thousand passages in the *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder, while at the same time fulfilling many diplomatic missions. Nor should the names of Mario Lippomani and the Cardinal Pietro Bembo (1433–1519) be omitted from the roll of scholars.

Venice at that time was the first city of the world in the book trade, both by its importance as an international market for books and the high literary reputation enjoyed by its publishing houses. Two hundred printing-presses were set up between 1470 and 1500, while in the latter year there were fifty working at the same time. The most famous of all was undoubtedly that of Aldo Manuzio, which was controlled successively in the

fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by Aldo the Elder (1450–1515), his son Paul (1512–74), and his grandson Aldo the Younger (1547–97). This distinguished house of printers and publishers found precious help and support in the humanists who associated in the Aldine Academy for amicable discussions and the choice of books to be printed, and in many literary cardinals who placed their erudition at the printers' disposal. Pietro Bembo prepared the edition of the *Canzoniere* of Petrarch from a manuscript in the Vatican, while Cardinal Alexander, the friend of Sadoleto and an accomplished Greek scholar, acted as proof-reader and corrected many of their publications.

The prosecutions directed against many of its adherents by Paul II had driven humanism from Rome. The advent of Sixtus IV, Francesco della Rovere (1471–84), brought it no consolation, for Sixtus was a member of the Franciscan Order which had denounced on numerous occasions the dangers to which certain tendencies of humanism had exposed Christianity. But once he had become Pope, the former friar, doubtless under the influences of his nephews, the two Cardinals Riario, who were steeped in the corruption of a society which had grown more and more pagan, showed a blind confidence even in those whom his predecessor had suppressed. He organized the Vatican Library which in 1475 included 2,527 volumes, 770 Greek, and 1,757 Latin; another 1,000 were acquired during his pontificate. Platina, one of the conspirators who had been put in prison by Paul II, was appointed keeper of the books in 1475 and composed a history of the Papacy full of anti-clerical bias and insatiable rancour against Paul II. The Roman Academy reopened and resumed its labours under the direction of Pomponius Laetus and the aged Filelfo was fully justified in his observation that humanists truly enjoyed in Rome 'incredible liberty'.

Sixtus IV was not content with merely retaining those who had previously taken up their quarters in the Curia; he invited others from all over Italy and even from distant countries: he took Argyropoulos and several other scholars from Florence and appointed them to professorships in the University of Rome, where they had among other pupils the famous John Reuchlin,

who was later, in his implacable hatred of the Church, to be one of the precursors of Luther in Germany. The sincerely Christian among these latter humanists, scholars like Sigismondo Conti, became increasingly rare. The successors of Sixtus IV, Innocent VIII (1484–92), Alexander VI Borgia (1492–1503), Julius II (1503–13), and Leo X threw the doors of the Vatican wide open to a humanism which was absolutely pagan, if not in its tenets, at any rate in its morals. Pomponius Laetus, its quasi-official representative, having expressed the desire to perform the immoral plays of Plautus, more particularly the *Menaechmi*, certain cardinals, more particularly Raphael Riario, a nephew of Sixtus IV, placed their palaces at his disposal.

Under Alexander VI [says Pastor[1]] plays, for the most part of an extremely objectionable character, were a prominent feature of all court festivities; in 1502 the Pope had the *Menaechmi* performed in his own apartments. Fortunately, the warlike tastes of Julius II for a moment checked the stream, but under Leo X it flowed freely again. He was not ashamed to be present at a sumptuous representation of Cardinal Bibbiena's play *Calandra* which was put on the stage for the first time at Urbino during the Carnival of 1513.

Though the supreme pontiffs remained silent, many voices in the Church were raised to denounce the growing paganization of morals and ideas which was the inevitable consequence of an increasingly anti-Christian humanism; they made themselves heard in the fifteenth century, when Cardinal Giovanni Dominici condemned the paganism of Coluccio Salutati and grew, more insistent until they culminated in the thunder of Savonarola, not only against the depravity of Medicean Florence, but also against the corruption of the court of Alexander VI. The Florentine friar found an echo in Gian Francesco Pico della Mirandola in the pontificate of Leo X at the Lateran Council.

Leo X, however, in spite of his devotion to literature, perceived the extent of the danger and took fright when, in his own circle, the philosopher Pomponazzi, sustained by the patronage of Cardinal Bembo, publicly denied the immortality of the soul. The Pope considered it necessary to restore shaken belief by

[1] *History of the Popes*, English translation by F. I. Antrobus, vol. v, p. 124.

having the dogma proclaimed by the Council of the Lateran. The Reformation recalled the Popes to a sense of reality by showing under their eyes the profound harm which the Renaissance of paganism had caused the Church and the necessity of eliminating it. This was the achievement of the great Popes of the sixteenth century and the Council of Trent, continued and completed by the Christian humanism of the seventeenth century.

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THE RENAISSANCE IN ITALY

THE ARTS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Nicholas V

THE arts had thrown a radiant lustre over twelfth- and thirteenth-century Italy as the great names of Giotto (1266?–1336) and Niccolo Pisano (1206–78) are sufficient to prove. The Renaissance in the fifteenth century must not, therefore, be considered as the resurrection of an artistic life which had expired, but rather as the recrudescence in all spheres of art of the inspiration of antiquity; a recrudescence, not an establishment *de novo*, for the influence of Graeco-Roman art never disappeared entirely in Italy and traces of it may be easily detected in the fourteenth century. It acquired such an ascendancy, however, in the fifteenth century as to produce far-reaching modifications both in the conception and execution of works of art. The artists, like the humanists, worshipped antiquity, some even to the point of fanaticism, with the result that paganism penetrated into their very various activities and overflowed just as in literature; and the same conflict presently ensued, as has been described in the preceding chapter in another sphere, between the pagan ideal and the Christian ideal, typified to the highest degree at the height of the Renaissance by the saintly and Blessed Fra Angelico.

The towns were few indeed in Italy which did not offer to the curious fragments of Roman antiquity in a more or less excellent state of preservation; ruined temples, triumphal arches, amphitheatres, colonnades, sarcophagi, altars of the pagan deities decorated with garlands and adorned with skulls of oxen, which became more and more the objects of careful study. The *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, the diaries of travellers who had journeyed to Rome in the Middle Ages, show them to have taken careful note of the ruins which were so numerous and sometimes of such importance in that ancient capital of the pagan world; many artists came from all over Italy to study and seek inspiration

from them. Early in the fifteenth century the Florentine Coluccio Salutati recommended his young friend Poggio, who had recently arrived in Rome, to collect ancient inscriptions; and Poggio, taking the advice to heart, by the discoveries he made in Rome and the researches he persuaded many of the Franciscan friars, whom he was later to calumniate by accusing them of ignorance, to undertake in Greece and the islands of the archipelago, got together his 'gymnasiolum': a collection of antiques, including statues and marble busts, engraved precious stones, and coins. His example was soon followed all over Italy by wealthy private individuals, princes and Popes, who considered it a point of honour that they, also, should have their private museums.

Archaeological excavations were undertaken to increase them and many were carried out at Rome by order of Eugenius IV, notably at the Pantheon in 1444 and in the Lateran. Cardinal Prospero Colonna, the nephew of Martin V and lord of Nemi, made an attempt to empty the lake of Nemi to find the sunken galleys of Tiberius and Caligula in the hope of discovering *objets d'art*.

Cyriacus of Ancona, Ciriaco dei Pizzicolli (1401–67), who combined the two roles of commercial traveller and archaeologist, scoured the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, loading or unloading the merchandise of his family and at the same time studying the antiquities which he had learned to appreciate, by admiring the triumphal arch of Trajan which may still be seen erect before the harbour of Ancona: he could explain them through his encyclopaedic knowledge of ancient authors and the manuscripts of their works. Towards the end of his life he had accumulated a complete museum of inscriptions, statues, and ancient coins. He describes all the searches he had undertaken and their results in a volume which he entitled *Itinerarium* and which he dedicated to his principal patron, Pope Eugenius IV. Cyriacus died in 1467 at the age of 66.

The artists were not satisfied with having models to copy and new aesthetic problems to solve; their activity required for its proper manifestation a society capable of understanding their

aspirations and providing them with the means of realizing their conceptions in masterpieces of all kinds. The tastes of Italian society in the fifteenth century, as described in the preceding chapter, fully answered the needs of the artistic world. The nobles, who nearly everywhere had taken the place of municipal magistrates, were, like all the men of the Renaissance, eager for, and appreciative of, renown. Their ambition was to commemorate their recent rise to power by establishing courts which should surpass in brilliance those of the elder dynasties and by bequeathing monuments to posterity which should bear witness of their glory to future generations. They commissioned the artists to execute them as they inspired the humanists to compose panegyrics. Their example was followed by the more distinguished families which, if they did not enjoy power, still possessed wealth, or, as in the republics of Genoa and Venice, were elected to occupy the highest posts in the State.

The Popes placed themselves in the van of the movement because their object was both the glory of God and their own renown, for they also were no less ambitious to leave their arms as a memorial on the buildings they erected, to have themselves depicted in the pictures which they commissioned, and to enjoy the obvious allusions to the achievements of their pontificates which posterity would detect in subjects borrowed from the Old and New Testaments. In the high priest driving Heliodorus out of the Temple, Julius II would be recognized driving his enemies out of the States of the Church; the column of the Colonnas, the ox of the Borgias, the oak of the della Roveres, the balls of the Medicis would testify that the masterpieces which displayed them had been commissioned by Popes Martin V, Calixtus III, Alexander VI, Julius II, and Leo X; and their example was followed by the princes of the Church, especially at a time when the practice of nepotism gave many of them considerable wealth and important fiefs. The republics, and even the humblest municipalities, cathedral chapters, and religious orders, followed the movement which multiplied Maecenases and works of art.

The monuments in Florence prove that there was no breach

of continuity between medieval works of art and those of the Renaissance. Brunelleschi (1377–1446), the creator of the Renaissance style, was, like every innovator, an artist in a time of transition. The education he received in the old Florentine school had made him Gothic, and his first considerable work, the dome of Santa Maria dei Fiori, the cathedral of Florence, is a masterpiece of Gothic architecture, but the sober decoration with which he adorned it already reveals the influence of the new art.

His pupil Michelozzo (1391–1472) was also one of the official artists of Cosimo de' Medici. Besides giving him work to do in Florence, Cosimo also sent him to several other Italian cities such as Venice and Milan to design buildings at his expense, and so helped to spread the artistic influence of Florence through other parts of the peninsula. Michelozzo was as distinguished in sculpture as he was in architecture and built a number of monuments less ambitiously conceived which he decorated himself; in 1427, 1437, and 1442, he worked under the direction of Donatello on the gates for the baptistery of Florence. This master's work, both in building and decoration, was entirely classical.

The history of Renaissance sculpture opens with the famous competition which the Signoria of Florence inaugurated in 1401 among sculptors for the second bronze gate of the building which the Florentines were so proud of that they called it 'il bel San Giovanni'[1]—their baptistery. The first gate, which had been completed sixty-five years earlier, was the work of Andrea Pisano (1270–1349), a pupil of Niccolo. A jury of thirty-four judges, chosen from among the connoisseurs of Florence and the neighbouring towns, was empanelled to select the seven artists who should take part in the competition. There were finally appointed two Siennese, Jacopo della Quercia and Valdambrini, two Aretines, Spinelli and Lamberti, Simone da Colle di Val d'Elsa and two Florentines, Brunelleschi, better known at the time as a sculptor and goldsmith than as an architect, and Ghiberti.

[1] Cf. Dante's *Inferno*, xix. 17.

Jacopo della Quercia (1371–1438) was, like Brunelleschi, an artist of the transitionary period: of Gothic art he retained the frequently squat appearance of the figures, but he gave evidence of a considerable personality.

He left Siena, his native place [writes Marcel Reymond in *L'Architecture de la première Renaissance*] to reside at Lucca, and there designed the magnificent tomb of Ilaria del Caretto; he migrated thence to Bologna where he designed bas-reliefs for the door of San Petronio and a statue of Our Lady which has been compared to the work of Michelangelo. He returned to his native town on the 22nd January, 1409, and began work on the *Fonte Gaia*, the 'fountain of joy', for the principal piazza in Siena, which his fellow citizens were so proud of that they called the artist himself Jacopo della Fonte. . . . It was not completed until 1419. A great basin on the ground opened towards the Palazzo Pubblico and was enclosed on the other three sides by a parapet, divided on the largest side into five panels with bas-reliefs of the Blessed Virgin and the Child, flanked by two angels and the theological and cardinal virtues, which were continued all along the other sides with the creation of Adam and the expulsion from the Garden of Eden.

The marble *Fonte Gaia*, now in the Piazza del Campo, is a copy made in 1868 of Jacopo della Quercia's masterpiece which was taken down in 1858, reconstructed in 1904, and is now preserved in a loggia of the Palazzo Pubblico.

Lorenzo Ghiberti (1378–1455) was preferred over Jacopo della Quercia in the competition for the gates of the baptistery of Florence. Like most Florentine sculptors, Ghiberti had begun as a goldsmith in the workshop of his step-father, a skilful artisan, and was already well known when he won the prize over della Quercia. The subject was the sacrifice of Abraham. He took twenty-one years to finish this second bronze gate of the baptistery. When Ghiberti had completed this great work, his fellow citizens entrusted him, on the 24th April 1425, with the execution of a third gate, to rival the two already adorning the baptistery. The panels of this third gate are very much larger and many of the bas-reliefs adorning it are much more extensive pictures, some with more than a hundred characters. These two gates were Ghiberti's masterpieces. Michelangelo, who

studied them often as a lad, said that the latter was 'worthy to be the gate of Paradise'.

Ghiberti derived much of his inspiration from Greek art; in the *Commentaries* he wrote towards the end of his life, he expressed the great admiration he felt for Lysippus and Polycletus. Like Leonardo l'Aretino, Poggio, and Cyriacus, he had gathered a fine collection of antiquities, mostly made up of Greek marbles. With him the current of the artistic Renaissance flowed already in full tide.

Ghiberti had among his fellow workers a sculptor who was his junior in years but whose 'impetuous genius' soon brought him into the front rank as one of the most original and prolific artists of the Renaissance. This was Donato di Betto Bardi, better known by the affectionate diminutive of 'Donatello'. He was born in 1386, the son of a wool-merchant, and after serving an apprenticeship first with a goldsmith, probably Bartolo, the step-father of Ghiberti, and then with a painter, went to Rome to study the ruins of antiquity and the decorative motifs in ancient sculpture. He imported them into his work, while still retaining, as in the St. John the Baptist that he designed for the cathedral of Orvieto, a realism of expression at times brutal in its intensity. The statues which decorate the campanile at Florence, portraits of Florentine citizens for the most part, are vividly realistic, especially the 'David', so called because, when the David which originally stood there was moved to the north side, the name remained attached to the plinth. It is said by Vasari to be the portrait of a Florentine merchant, one Barduccio Cherichini, and for centuries it has been known as Il Zucchone, 'the pumpkin', from its bald head. The head of Jeremiah is the powerful head of a real man, covered with wrinkles.

He worked also at Padua, Rome, Ferrara, Venice, Mantua, and Sienna, where he carried on the work of Jacopo della Quercia in the baptistery and carved a series of bas-reliefs of which the most notable is the Festival of Herod. His sojourns in different cities by making known his art which became more and more classical in course of time without ceasing to be original, contributed much to the diffusion of the artistic ideals

of the Renaissance. He returned to Florence to die on the 13th March 1466, and was buried in San Lorenzo, in the same vault which was to receive Cosimo de' Medici only two and a half years later. His fame was such that sculptors, painters, and goldsmiths of renown vied with one another as to which should have the honour of carrying his coffin, and Andrea della Robbia in later years boasted that he had been one of the pall-bearers.

Like architecture and sculpture, painting in Umbria and Tuscany passed through a series of transitions from the medieval tradition, of which Giotto was the most illustrious representative, to the classicism of the Renaissance. Among the earliest promoters of this development may be reckoned the Florentine Masolino (1383–1440), the pupil of a contemporary of Agnolo Gaddi (1350–96), the son of Taddeo. His pupil Masaccio, 'slovenly Tommy', whose proper name was Tommaso Guidi (1402–29) and with whom Masolino is sometimes confused, was bolder than he. 'His small paintings no less than his monumental frescoes', says Mr. Berenson, 'reveal the fervent creator and propagandist of the heroic style; he despises individual expression and is careless of beauty. He never feels any tender emotion but is always majestic, profound and almost terrifying.' He painted little pictures but his chief work is the frescoes with which he decorated the Carmine Church in continuation of the work of Masolino after the latter's departure for Hungary. He depicted incidents in the life of St. Peter, and 'the figures of Christ and His apostles', writes M. Pératé in *La Peinture de la première Renaissance*, 'were invested with a solemn beauty, what one might call an authority, which had never been seen, in spite of all the genius of Giotto, since the earliest mosaics of the Roman basilicas'.

The artistic tradition inaugurated by Masolino was continued in Florence by Fra Angelico da Fiesole. Guido Petri da Mugello, as he was known in the world, was born in 1387 at Vicchio, in the Tuscan province of Mugello, and in 1407 entered the Dominican convent at Fiesole, already famous as a painter. He had made his début, like many masters of the French and Flemish school, by working in miniature. The friars of his con-

vent had refused to acknowledge Alexander V, the Pope of the Council of Pisa, and Fra Angelico with the rest was forced to leave his house for nine years, from 1409 to 1418; he spent four at Foligno, becoming acquainted with the painters of Umbria (Assisi, Perugia, Fabriano, and Gubbio), and worked for five years at Cortona, decorating the Dominican church; he thus became imbued with the peaceful serenity of the Umbrian landscape which he reproduced later in many of his pictures.

But the pious inspiration of his art welled up and overflowed in the first place from his profoundly religious soul. One of his brethren in religion wrote concerning him:

Fra Giovanni was a very simple soul of the saintliest character, as witness this incident which reveals the goodness of his heart. Pope Nicholas V would have offered him breakfast one morning but his conscience forbade him to eat meat without permission from his superior; the thought never entered his head of the Pope's authority. ... He might have had office and honours among his brethren and in the world, but he cared nothing for them and declared that the only honour he coveted was to escape Hell and make his way to Paradise.... Some say that Fra Giovanni never took up his brushes without first saying a prayer. He never painted a crucifix but the tears ran down his cheeks; so the goodness of his sincerity and his great devotion to the Christian religion may be seen in the expression and attitude of his figures.

It was in this disposition of soul that he painted a number of pictures for his convent at Fiesole and the famous 'Last Judgment' which he was commissioned to do for the Camaldolite monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli, one of the glories of which was the devout humanist, Ambrogio Traversari. He derived inspiration for his representation of Paradise from a hymn attributed to the Franciscan mystic, Jacopone da Todi: 'There is a ring formed in Heaven of all the saints in that garden, where the Divine Love is on fire with that love. The angels and saints all come and go in that ring and dance round about that Spouse for love. They are clad in divers garments, white, rose, and variegated, they have wreaths upon their heads and they look like lovers.' The Guild of Drapers commissioned him to

paint a tabernacle for them in 1433 which represents the Blessed Virgin holding her divine Son and surrounded, on the inside of the panels, with innocent and graceful figures of angels playing musical instruments.

The restoration of the convent of St. Mark at the expense of Cosimo de' Medici was begun in 1436 by Michelozzo; while the architect was building the cloisters, Fra Angelico decorated with frescoes all the conventual rooms and every cell, notably that set apart for Cosimo de' Medici and now numbered 38. The 'Adoration of the Magi' was painted there at Cosimo's request to remind him of the humility becoming in a ruler and as a subject for his pious meditations. The beauty of these frescoes has converted the monastery into a museum or rather a sanctuary through the tender mystical piety they inspire. It is impossible to forget after once seeing them the fresco at the entrance to the cloistered apartments of St. Peter Martyr with the knife of his martyrdom buried in his shoulder and his finger on his lips expressing the enforced silence in the sacristy, that above the guest-house representing our Lord being welcomed by the pilgrims to Emmaus in the habit of Dominican friars, that in the chapter-room representing the Crucifixion and saints expressing their grief in acts of adoration and devotion, that in the refectory of our Lord Himself giving communion to His apostles. Every humble cell in the monastery contains its little fresco depicting an incident in the Gospel contemplated by a kneeling monk or nun, an inspiration to the pious prayers of its occupant.

These works of art are painted with extreme simplicity and no deliberate striving after the picturesque or elegance or effect; but they reveal a genuine experience of art and their colours in softness and light—Fra Angelico was a master of light—are in harmony with the emotions they cannot fail to arouse. In giving Friar John of Fiesole the designation 'Angelic', posterity has happily characterized the nature of his life and work, and, in proclaiming him 'blessed', the Church incites our attention to the union in him of artistic power with supernatural inspiration.

The Popes who succeeded one another, after the Great Schism, during the first half of the fifteenth century lived for a

time in Florence. Martin V spent several years there before taking possession of Rome. Eugenius IV, driven from the Vatican by political troubles, came to seek refuge with Cosimo de' Medici and held at Florence the council which it was hoped would bring the Greeks back to unity. Nicholas V there spent the greater part of his youth. These Popes were as devoted to aesthetic beauty as to literature and, filled with admiration for the magnificent development of the artistic Renaissance, invited the masters of the works they admired so much to come to Rome. The ancient splendours of the capital of Christendom had fallen into neglect during the exile of the Papacy at Avignon and suffered still more during the troubles of the Great Schism, and the Popes were ambitious to revive them. But Rome boasted no schools of art and they had therefore to have recourse to the schools of Florence.

Martin V (1417–31) had been struck on his arrival in Rome by the dilapidated state of the churches and other public monuments in the city and appointed a committee to consider ways and means of restoring them. The Lateran was the first to be taken in hand, and the decoration of the basilica was entrusted to Gentile da Fabriano and Vittore Pisanello. Gentile, as his name implies, was a native of Fabriano, where he was born between 1360 and 1370, possibly earlier; he had abandoned his native town at an early age to work in Brescia for Pandolfo Malastesta. He then shifted to Venice and painted a great fresco in the palace of the Doges to commemorate the naval defeat inflicted on the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa by the galleys of the republic, which so pleased the Senate that they conferred on him the dignity of a patrician and a pension of a ducat *per diem* for life. This picture was unfortunately lost in the fire which destroyed the ducal palace in 1574. Association with the Venetian artists gave Gentile a taste for rich embroidered clothes and a facility for handling gold. Enrolled in 1422 among the Florentine masters, he was at the height of his talent when Martin V summoned him to Rome to decorate the basilica of St. John Lateran. There he painted in the nave, between 1426 and his death in 1428, figures of the Prophets in *grisaille* and

frescoes from the life of St. John the Baptist. His work had the merit of commanding the attention of, and study by, Roger van den Weyden and Michelangelo.

Masaccio, also, came to Rome. If Vasari's account is to be trusted, Martin V commissioned him to paint for Santa Maria Maggiore a picture of Pope Liberius, with the features of Martin V, drawing in the snow which had strangely fallen during the month of August the plan of the church, the Basilica Liberiana, which he ordered to be built.

Martin V only began the work of restoring the basilica of St. Peter which was to be continued by his successor: he had the pavement of the porch relaid. In a brief dated in September 1423 he instructed the cardinals of St. Mark and St. Vito to inspect the Pantheon and on their report ordered the dome to be restored; finally, he had his palace of the SS. Apostoli and his villa at Genazzano decorated by artists. The example given by Cardinal Branda and the Pope was followed by the members of the Sacred College.

In spite of the troubles which broke out during his pontificate and his long residence in Florence, Eugenius IV continued the work of restoring the monuments of Rome under the direction of a famous Venetian architect named Riccio. He repaired the Pantheon which was threatening to fall to pieces, the basilicas of the Vatican, St. John Lateran, Santa Maria Maggiore, San Paolo, San Sebastiano, the churches of the Santo Spirito and Santa Susanna, and finally the Vatican palace, his residence in Rome.

The most important reconstructive work was carried out in the Vatican, the pitiful state of which is described in the *Roma Instaurata* of Biondo Flavio. The atrium of the basilica and its fountain, the mosaics of the façade and the roof were all repaired, and instead of rebuilding the bell-tower, the Palazzo della Moneta was erected. Inside the church, far down on the south, Eugenius IV rebuilt a chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin in which Cardinal Barbo, his nephew and heir (later Pope Paul II), raised his tomb, which has now been transferred to San Salvatore in Lauro. It is the work of Isaia di Pisa.

These restorations disappeared in the reconstruction of the Vatican which was begun by Nicholas V and are now only known to us from record. One relic, however, remains: the famous bronze doors; they were ordered by Eugenius IV for the old basilica and have been retained in the new. They are the work of Antonio Averulino, a Florentine architect and sculptor, whose passion for Greek antiquity and the fashion of the time induced him to change his name to the other by which he is more commonly known, Filarete (1400–69). Averulino had been employed with many others, under the supervision of Ghiberti, on the gates of the baptistery at Florence; Eugenius IV admired them so much that he invited the sculptor to make gates no less magnificent for St. Peter's in Rome.

At the Lateran, also, Eugenius IV continued the restorations which had been begun by Martin V. He reconstructed from top to bottom one of the convents which served the basilica and so was able to carry out archaeological excavations. He rebuilt the columns in the nave, the portico connecting the palace with the basilica and the *Sancta Sanctorum*, and the apse, leaving intact the mosaic of Pope Nicholas IV, and installed a new organ. The decoration of the nave with frescoes which had been interrupted by the death of Masaccio was in 1432 entrusted to a Venetian painter, Vittore Pisano or Pisanello. This artist was born at Verona about 1380 and had frequented the courts of Milan, Ferrara, Mantua, and Naples, before settling finally in Rome, where he died in 1455. The frescoes he painted in the Lateran disappeared in the course of subsequent renovations, but some idea of their nature may be gathered from surviving frescoes of his in Verona. Pisanello is still better known by his medals which reproduce the features of many Renaissance Maecenases such as Filippo Maria Visconti, duke of Milan, Nicholas and Lionel, marquises of Este, Luigi Gonzaga of Mantua, Alfonso V, king of Aragon and the Malatestas; humanists such as Decembrio, Aurispa, and Vittorino da Feltre; and a *condottiere* Piccinino—and not least the profile of his own intelligent and good-humoured face.

The plans proposed by Nicholas V were on a much more

ambitious scale than those of Eugenius IV. He abandoned the idea of merely restorative work and resolved to build a new city to be the capital of a new world. If the account given by his biographer, Giannozzo Manetti, may be taken as trustworthy, his object was to repair the walls, the aqueducts and the bridges, to renovate the forty indulgenced churches, and entirely to rebuild the basilica of St. Peter and the Vatican palace. Already concerned with the rational laying-out of streets and buildings, which we call 'town-planning', he determined to arrange the streets of Rome, which up till then had been an inextricable maze, in parallel lines and to multiply public squares. These *piazze* in his scheme were to be connected with one another by arcades so that it should be possible to walk from one to the other under cover of the sun or in shelter from the rain. The Borgo and the Vatican quarter were to be cut off from the rest of Rome and form a Papal city reserved for the residence of the Pope and his court and the palaces which it was proposed to build to house the cardinals and the official staffs of the government of the Church and the Papal States. So the old Leonine city, as it had existed in the ninth century, was to be revived in anticipation, five hundred years earlier, of the scheme which established the Vatican City of our day. It was to begin where the Ponte Sant' Angelo issues on the right bank of the Tiber and have three great streets running through it, lined with arcades and palaces. The middle street was to end in front of the basilica, that on the right at the Papal palace, that on the left at the palaces which were to cover the lower slopes of the Janiculum. An important share in the elaboration of the design is attributed to the great architect Alberti, and the attribution is not improbable, as close relations of long standing had bound the Pope and Alberti since the days when they had known one another in Florence, and Alberti, though in priest's orders, regarded the most sacred monuments, such as the ancient basilica of St. Peter, with the greatest contempt because they had not been designed according to the classic rules laid down by Vitruvius. An architect less fanatically addicted to the cult of one particular period of antiquity would have hesitated before sweeping away

the venerable church of Constantine which had been erected to commemorate the triumph of the Church over the persecutions of paganism and stood erect to testify to a past then more than a thousand years old. It should be added, however, that architects were agreed that the old basilica was so far decayed that its restoration had become impossible. Such is the opinion recorded in the seventeenth century by Grimaldi, one of the historians of the basilica.

The same authority tells us also that the architect in charge of the reconstruction was the Florentine Bernardo (di Matteo) Rosselino (1409–64). It would rather appear that this artist was merely an assistant in the great undertaking to his master Alberti. The round temple of Probus which was attached to the church and formed one of the chapels was first demolished. 'It was an imposing building,' says Matteo Veggio, 'of vast dimensions, supported on numerous marble pillars; but it was neglected and nobody ever went inside. The ignorant multitude believed that it had been the *confessio* of St. Peter and, while he lived, his residence.' Excavations were undertaken in course of the demolitions and revealed early Christian tombs and subterranean chambers which had doubtless formed part of the primitive catacombs of the Vatican. For the reconstruction huge monolithic columns, which stood near the church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva and the Pantheon and had once formed part of an ancient temple, were transported; and the ruins of the great monuments of antiquity such as the Colosseum and the buildings in the Forum were quarried for blocks of stone and travertine. The work of reconstruction was begun in the apse, and the chapel of Our Lady of the Fevers was also rebuilt. The death of Nicholas V in 1455, when the walls had risen to the height of only 4–5 feet, brought the work to an end and it was not seriously undertaken again until half a century later under Julius II.

More progress had been made with the work of rebuilding the apostolic palace under the direction of the Florentine Antonio di Francesco, who has not yet been identified. He had the assistance of, amongst others, a French architect Pierre Corneille,

Pietro Cornelio dalla Francia. They built the Belvedere, then separate from the rest of the buildings, part of the library, the *Sala dei palafrenieri*, or grooms' chamber, where the arms of Nicholas V (two keys saltire-wise) may still be seen, the chapel of Nicholas V, which was destroyed during the restorations carried out by Pope Paul III in the sixteenth century, the study or workroom of the Pope which remains intact to this day, finally, the *Appartamento Borgia* and the famous *stanze* or State apartments in which the frescoes executed by Raphael in 1509–20 are now to be admired and which still preserve the arms of Nicholas V on the ceiling. The whole palace was surrounded with walls and towers capable of offering a stout resistance. One survives. The façade was completed in 1454. Decorations may still be seen in these buildings which date back to the time of Nicholas V and bear that Pope's arms, for example, the mosaic pavement and marble windows of the *Camera della Vigna* but, most important of all, the frescoes executed by Fra Angelico in the study which has since become the Chapel of St. Lawrence.

During his residence in Florence, Eugenius IV had seen the Dominican artist at work in the convent of St. Mark and invited him in 1447 to live successively in Orvieto and Rome; Fra Angelico was then considered 'the most illustrious of all Italian painters'. Assisted by a number of pupils, the most notable of whom was Benozzo Gozzoli, also destined to attain the height of fame, he began in 1447 by decorating two panels of the vaulting above the altar in a chapel, the *cappella nuova*, of the cathedral of Orvieto, one representing Christ sitting in judgement amid the angels, the other the choir of the prophets. The work was interrupted and the walls had to wait until the end of the century (1499–1502), to be finished by the frescoes of Luca Signorelli.

Fra Angelico had been summoned to Rome by Pope Nicholas V to decorate his study. There he painted two series of frescoes divided by stucco, composed of garlands of leaves and roses from the midst of which emerge the arms of the Pope and lovely heads of children. Fra Angelico's frescoes portray the vocation, apostolate, and martyrdom of the two deacons, SS. Stephen and Lawrence. The most beautiful are well known: St. Stephen

preaching, St. Lawrence distributing alms and his ordination by Pope Sixtus II (with the features of Nicholas V).

The work of Fra Angelico in the study at the Vatican, or in St. Mark's in Florence, is profoundly Christian in its mystical sweetness, in the poses of the characters depicted, which are true to life but at the same time impregnated with gravity and serenity even at the prospect of torture. The influence of antiquity becomes more and more apparent with the Roman eagle above the throne of Decius, the Emperor questioning St. Lawrence and the niches filled with Roman statues. The art of Fra Angelico thus harmoniously combined a Christian basis with ancient ornamentation.

The work was interrupted by the return of the painter to Florence, where in 1445 his brethren in the convent of St. Mark had elected him prior. He was recalled to Rome again by Nicholas V and died there ten years later. The Dominican church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva contains his tomb inscribed with an epitaph said to have been composed by Nicholas V.

The rooms in the palace were at the same time covered with frescoes, obliterated at the end of the century to make room in the *Appartamento Borgia* for those by Pinturicchio and in the *stanze* for the work of Raphael. They were the work of two Florentine painters at the height of their fame, Andrea del Castagno (1390–1457) and Piero della Francesca (1406–92). The former, a contemporary and compatriot of Fra Angelico, was nearing the end of his career; the latter was at his zenith, which was to last into the summer of the Renaissance.

Andrea was both sculptor and painter, which explains the strong relief with which the figures in his paintings stand out, especially when they represent isolated characters such as the *condottiere* Niccolo da Tolentino in the cathedral of Florence, and Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio in the frescoes of the Villa Pandolfini at Legnaia. His most important work was the decoration of the refectory in the monastery of Sant' Appollonia in Florence, representing the Last Supper, the Crucifixion, the Deposition into the Tomb, the Resurrection and a Pietà. His talent in its vigour and somewhat crude realism of expression is

in striking contrast to that of Angelico; and Nicholas V, in inviting him in 1454 to decorate the *stanze*, showed an eclectic taste.

Piero della Francesca was born at Borgo-San-Sepolcro on the borders of Tuscany and Umbria and had settled in Florence in 1439, where he collaborated with the Venetian painter Domenico Veneziano, Andrea del Castagno, and Baldovinetti, in decorating Santa Maria Novella with frescoes. He was the favourite painter of Sigismund Malatesta, lord of Rimini, whom he painted in the church of St. Francis on his knees before his patron St. Sigismund, when Nicholas V invited him to Rome in 1454 along with Bramante from Milan. Together they decorated the walls which now represent the Imprisonment of St. Peter and the Miracle of Bolsena by Raphael. Their frescoes must have portrayed incidents in contemporary history, for the characters, of which Raphael made drawings on his own account before effacing them, had all played important parts in the religious, military, and intellectual life of Italy during the pontificates of Eugenius IV and Nicholas V: Charles VII, king of France, the *condottieri* Carmagnola and Fortebraccio, Antonio Colonna, prince of Salerno, Cardinal Vitelleschi, who was also a warrior, and Cardinal Bessarion, the humanist. Piero della Francesca went from Rome to Arezzo where he devoted himself to a task which occupied him until 1468, the decoration of the Santa Croce Chapel in the church of Saint Francis; the magnificent train of attendants escorting the Queen of Sheba on her visit to Solomon and the vision of Constantine, 'in which Italian art for the first time employed the resources of chiaroscuro', are specially admired. Piero della Francesca was also a portrait painter, as the drawings which Raphael preserved of his frescoes in the Vatican prove; among his masterpieces mention may be made of the portraits of one of his wealthy patrons, Federigo da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, and Battista Sforza, his second wife, whom he married in 1459.

The decentralization of Italy in the fifteenth century and the establishment of princely courts, even in less important cities, such as Rimini under the Malastesta, Forli under the Sforza, Siena, and Urbino under the Montefeltre multiplied artistic

centres which, without rivalling the brilliance of Florence, nevertheless deserve to be recorded. The Umbrian school produced at Gubbio, Ottaviano Nelli, the painter of the Trinci family at Foligno; and, at Fabriano, Gentile whose career in northern Italy and Rome has already been mentioned; the Sienese school, Sassetta (1392–1450) 'who deserves a place in the history of his art similar to that accorded to Gentile da Fabriano and above all Masolino in the art of Venice and Florence'. It was the Umbrian Gentile da Fabriano who was the inspirer to the Venetian School, which was to flourish so magnificently in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and his work the inspiration of the pictures and altar-pieces of the Vivarini, of Pisanello da Verona especially, whom we have already seen at work in Rome, and Jacopo Bellini, the head of an illustrious dynasty of painters.

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THE RENAISSANCE IN ITALY

THE ARTS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

THE first generation of great Renaissance artists disappeared from Florence in the middle of the fifteenth century but was succeeded by a still more prolific crop, especially when Lorenzo, a still more enthusiastic devotee of art than his grandfather Cosimo, earned his title of *Il Magnifico* by the manner, as generous as it was intelligent, in which he encouraged artists and stimulated their activity by his munificent patronage. There dwelt in the Carmine of Florence, where Masolino and Masaccio worked, about 1425, a Carmelite who had taken the habit with no sort of religious vocation, as witness the disorders of his life, but who had derived a passion for, and instruction in, art from the frescoes of his two illustrious predecessors; this was the celebrated painter Fra Filippo ('Lippo') Lippi (1406–69). Some time before 1431 he painted for Cosimo's chapel the 'Adoration of the Shepherds' which established his fame.

It is in truth one of the purest marvels of Florentine art. The immaterial delicacy of the fifteen-year old Virgin, the blond, dimpled grace of the Child, are equalled only by the beauty of the flowers strewn upon the ground and the vivid green of the underwood surrounding the scene. Such a feeling for nature in spring-time, as veracious in representation as it is intense in perception, had never before charmed the eye.

He painted thereafter a number of pictures such as the 'Coronation of the Virgin' now in the Louvre, which were more and more attractive by the human beauty of the characters represented and the harmony of the composition.

Towards the end of his life he painted his masterpiece on the choir walls of the cathedral at Prato: two great frescoes illustrating the lives of St. John the Baptist and St. Stephen in which, in accordance with a custom which became increasingly widespread, he represented among the characters of his composition,

notable citizens of Prato and Florence, in particular Cardinal Carlo de' Medici—and himself.

The tradition established by Fra Angelico was maintained by his pupil Benozzo Gozzoli (1420–98), who inherited and continued the grace with which the Dominican artist depicted human subjects, but not his mystical inspiration.

Andrea del Castagno was the master of Baldovinetti (1427–99), who himself numbered among his pupils three of the most distinguished artists of the Renaissance: Domenico Ghirlandaio, Andrea del Verocchio, and Pietro Pollaiuolo.

Domenico Curradi, nicknamed 'Il Ghirlandaio', the garland-maker (1449–94), acquired his reputation by the frescoes which he painted in 1475 in a chapel of the Augustinian church at San Gimignano which had been decorated by Benozzo Gozzoli: he painted there two frescoes, one representing the apparition of St. Gregory to St. Fina, the patron saint of the country, on her death-bed, and the other, her funeral. On his return from Rome, where he had been working between 1482 and 1484 for Pope Sixtus IV on the Sistine chapel, he was employed by a rich Florentine banker to paint a fresco in a chapel of the church of the Holy Trinity in Florence: he painted ten scenes from the life of St. Francis, for which he sought inspiration, notably in the picture of the funeral of the Saint, from the earlier frescoes of Giotto. He painted also the portraits of distinguished characters of the time, Lorenzo de' Medici between Sassetti and one of his children, Lorenzo's sons, Pietro and Giovanni (the future Pope Leo X) and Giuliano with their tutor, Angelo Poliziano. Domenico Ghirlandaio kept an academy of painting; there entered it in 1488, a youth of 14 whose name was Michelangelo.

There died about the same time an artist who was both painter and sculptor and the master of Leonardo da Vinci—Verocchio (1435–88); he painted many pictures. We shall meet him again and with him the two Pollaiuoli, Antonio (1435–98) and Pietro (1443–96).

Under Botticelli art advanced still farther in the direction of pagan naturalism. The allegories, the voluptuous, not to say immoral, feeling inspiring his compositions and the wistfulness

(*morbidezza*) which gives an appearance of cynical disillusion to the young and even to characters such as the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, which ought to radiate the candour of innocence, are unaffectedly pagan. The painter is already poles apart from Fra Angelico.

Botticelli (Alessandro Filipopi, to give him his real name) was born in Florence in 1447. His picture of 'Fortitude', painted in 1470, one of the Pollaiuoli's series of the Virtues for the Court-room of the Mercatanzia and intended to symbolize the life and character of his best patron Piero de' Medici, is impressed with a wistful melancholy; his St. Sebastian is a study in the nude modelled on the *ephebi* of antiquity. Botticelli became one of the Court painters to the Medici, and Lorenzo *il Magnifico* commissioned him to paint an 'Adoration of the Magi' to hang in Santa Maria Novella as a thank-offering for Piero's escape from the conspiracy of Luca Pitti in 1496; hence the presence in the picture of Lorenzo on the left, Piero in the middle, and Giuliano, the second son, on the right. Botticelli returned to Florence towards the end of 1482 from Rome, where he had been working in the Sistine chapel and became the most accomplished interpreter in art of the light-hearted and voluptuous life of a society consumed by an insatiable thirst for pleasure. This elegant paganism inspired two of his masterpieces, the 'Allegory of Spring' (the *Primavera* in the Academy of the Fine Arts in Florence) and the 'Birth of Venus' of which it has been justifiably said that: 'There is a strange voluptuous feeling in the smile of this gentle, mystical, pagan woman and her eyes, veiled as it were by some foreboding, as she draws near to the unfamiliar shore to which she is wafted under a rain of roses by the breath of the Zephyrs in a loving clasp.'

Filippino, the son of Filippo Lippi, was but a lad of 10 when his father died in 1457. He received his earliest education from Fra Diamante, the brother in religion and collaborator of Filippo, but at the age of 16 was entrusted by Diamante himself to Botticelli, who had been a pupil of Filippo. He was only 25 when he painted a masterpiece—an altar-piece depicting the apparition of the Blessed Virgin to St. Bernard, now in the Badia

at Florence. His father's former brethren then invited him to complete the fresco decoration which Masaccio had left unfinished in their convent of the Carmine. His reputation spread, and he painted two pictures for Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, who would have kept him at his court, and decorated with frescoes the Caraffa chapel consecrated to St. Thomas Aquinas in the church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva in Rome. His work became more and more agitated as it declined in religious inspiration, although the subjects he handled were almost exclusively religious. After his death and the departure of Leonardo da Vinci to Milan, the progress of the Florentine school was for a time interrupted.

The successors of Nicholas V in the latter half of the fifteenth century followed his example. Unable to rely on a non-existent school of art in Rome, they appealed to foreign artists, more particularly in Florence and Umbria, to help them with their ambitious schemes. The pontificates of Calixtus III (1455–8) and Pius II (1458–64), the immediate successors of Nicholas V, were short and their absorption in the crusade which they contemplated launching allowed them no time in which to continue his work. Paul II (1464–71), however, was a patron of art. Devoted to antiquities, he had repaired the triumphal arches of Titus and Septimus Severus in the Forum and the statue of Marcus Aurelius. Before his accession, when still merely Cardinal Pietro Barbo, he had formed a collection of precious objects of which he had a catalogue drawn up in 1457, and which included Flanders' tapestries (*arazzi*, so called because they were manufactured chiefly in the city of Arras), pieces of Florentine goldsmith's work, vases, and all kinds of jewels. He ordered many important public works to be undertaken in the city and the restoration of many churches, thus continuing the work which Nicholas V had begun. His most important achievement was the building of the palace of St. Mark, the modern Palazzo Venezia, which was started in 1455, when he was cardinal of Venice, and completed in 1466, after his accession to the Papacy. It still retains the exterior aspect of a fortress but is furnished within for a life of luxury on the grand scale and it indicates the

transition from the medieval castle to the Renaissance palace; it was constructed according to the canons of Vitruvius. Paul II at the same time carried on the building of the apse of St. Peter's and the apostolic palace.

The true spiritual successor of Nicholas V was the Franciscan cardinal, Francesco della Rovere, Pope Sixtus IV. We have already seen what patronage he bestowed on humanists, even pagan humanists, such as Pomponius and Platina; he surrounded himself also with artists. He adopted and continued the great designs which had been conceived and whose execution had been begun by Nicholas V, restored churches, rebuilt the hospital of the Santo Spirito in the Borgo, and renovated the castle strongholds, more particularly the fortress of Ostia.

Giuliano da San Gallo (1445–1516) had come to Rome at an early age to study architecture according to the principles of Vitruvius and the ruins of antiquity, and under Paul II had been appointed master-mason in the building-yards of the Vatican and the palace of St. Mark. The San Gallo family, thenceforth, provided the Popes with architects for more than three-quarters of a century. The plans for the reconstruction of the Santo Spirito hospital, however, were drawn by the veteran Alberti.

Sixtus IV employed another Florentine architect, Giovanno de' Dolci, to build a new chapel in the apostolic palace which is known to this day as the Sistine chapel. It is of modest dimensions, 133 feet long, 43 feet wide, with six windows on either side. Beautifully decorated screens of white marble separate the space set apart for the clergy from that occupied by the laity; in the wall to the right is the projecting gallery for the singers, with a handsome balustrade of elaborately sculptured white marble. The Pope invited the most celebrated artists to decorate the walls of this chapel, but of the fifteen panels which they painted only twelve now remain, the three above the altar having been effaced to make room for 'The Last Judgement' of Michelangelo.

The work brought together in competition the masters of the Florentine school at the height of its glory and those of the

Umbrian school. Ghirlandaio, the distinguished Florentine painter, had already come to Rome in 1475 to decorate, with the help of his brother David, the *stanze* which Sixtus IV had recently added in the library to those which had been built by Nicholas V; between the signing of his contract on the 27th October 1481 and his return to Florence, he painted in the Sistine chapel the 'Vocation of St. Peter and St. Andrew', 'a superb composition designed with nobility and clarity', and reminiscent in parts of Masaccio. Botticelli was responsible for three scenes, each grouping several incidents without any unity: episodes in the history of Moses, of which the most admired are Moses with the daughters of Jethro, the punishment of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram with the Arch of Constantine and the *Septizonium* in the background, and the Temptation of Christ in which the principal episode is the cleansing of the leper which gave the painter 'an opportunity for drawing marvellous portraits of great nobles, men of letters seated or standing in animated conversation round a flaming altar in front of which a young Levite in a lace alb brings the high priest the sacrificial laver'.

The life of Moses was also dealt with by another Tuscan painter, Luca Signorelli (1441–1523). He was born and died at Cortona and worked mostly for Lorenzo *il Magnifico* and Pope Sixtus IV. 'A draughtsman of supreme eminence, endowed with a powerful imagination and an apt gift for dramatic expression', he may be considered as the immediate precursor of Michelangelo. 'A breath of passion inspires most of his works; his characters are enraged or indignant or distressed because they are born to suffer or to struggle . . . he is as skilful in depicting the emotions of the soul as in representing the movements of the body. . . .' Signorelli had already acquired great fame through a number of pictures painted in Florence.

The Umbrian school sprang from the combined influences of Siena, Florence, and Venice, but whereas the artists of these cities rapidly developed in the direction of realism, the Umbrian school adhered so faithfully to the suavity of Fra Angelico and Benozzo Gozzoli as to become almost mawkish. The suavity of

Perugino, devoid of the mystic element which had been predominant in the early masters, degenerated into mere affectation; it disappeared completely in the painter whom the school produced but who surpassed it—Raphael.

Perugino was born at Città della Pieve, near the Lake of Trasimene in Umbria, of humble parentage and drew his early inspiration from the works of Piero della Francesca. He attended the studio of Verocchio in Florence and there met Leonardo da Vinci; having acquired the reputation of a master, he was invited to Rome in 1481 to take part in the decoration of the Sistine chapel. There he painted part of the wall, now covered by the Last Judgement of Michelangelo, with a fresco representing the saving of Moses from the waters, the Nativity, and the Assumption. All that now remains of his work is the Baptism of Our Lord and 'Christ giving the keys to St. Peter'. Many of the characters in the latter fresco are, according to the custom of the time, people of the day and the features of Pinturicchio are clearly discernible.

This fresco [observes M. Pératé, in *La Peinture italienne à la fin du XVème siècle et dans la première moitié du XVIème siècle*] contains all Perugino, his best qualities and his defects: the drawing of the feet and the hands is poor and weak, the folds of the draperies are angular and stiff; but there is an admirable variety of expression in the features ranging from the pensive, dreamy, half-ecstatic appearance which is thenceforth the distinguishing characteristic of the Umbrian school to the most vigorous realism, as in his own portrait which is a marvel.

Pinturicchio of Perugia was Perugino's assistant in the Sistine chapel. A commission he received from the Franciscan church of the Ara Coeli to paint in a chapel scenes from the lives of St. Francis and St. Bernardino enabled him to take up residence in Rome, where he became the favourite painter of Popes Innocent VIII (1484–92) and Alexander VI (1492–1503). The former, according to Vasari, 'made him paint certain rooms and *loggie* in the Belvedere palace of the Vatican where (*inter alia*) he painted a *loggia* of landscapes and reproduced Rome, Milan, Genoa, Florence, Venice, and Naples in the Flemish manner, a form of decoration which, being unprecedented, was greatly

admired; and he painted also a fresco of Our Lady in the same place on the threshold of the principal entrance'. Members of the Papal court, the cardinals especially, showered commissions on him, and so he came to paint a great fresco of the Nativity for the church of Santa Maria del Popolo and decorated the Colonna palace with medallions in which sacred and profane subjects alternated with *motifs* of ancient art, griffons, chimaeras, fauns and tritons, which with his picture of Apollo and Marsyas now in the Louvre and long attributed to Raphael, proved his taste for pagan antiquity.

Alexander VI lavished even more favour on Pinturicchio than Innocent VIII had done. He entrusted him with the decoration of the four rooms in the Vatican which had been added by Nicholas V and which, being used as his domestic quarters, were known as the Borgia apartments. The artist painted the arches of the walls with a number of religious subjects, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Resurrection, the Ascension, the Descent of the Holy Ghost, and the Assumption; in the second room the life of St. Catharine of Alexandria (with the features of Lucrezia Borgia) and monks and nuns of the Thebaid, the Visitation, the martyrdom of St. Sebastian, the story of the chaste Susanna, allegories borrowed from the legendary histories of the arts and sciences and mythological subjects, among which is the story of Isis and Osiris culminating in the apotheosis of the bull, a reference to the arms of the Borgias. Gilded stucco ornamentation in relief enhances the subjects, many of which are set in pleasing landscapes or framed in ancient architecture. This considerable work took the two years from 1492 to 1494 to complete. It was no sooner finished than Alexander VI ordered the artist to execute a similar one in the castle of Sant'Angelo. The frescoes which Pinturicchio painted there have disappeared, but they were in glorification of the pontificate of the Borgia Pope and depicted such incidents as Charles VIII, king of France, doing obeisance to the Pope, swearing an oath of allegiance to him in consistory, serving his Mass and then going off to Naples escorted by Cesare Borgia, the son of Alexander VI.

The Borgia Pope was succeeded by Pius III, the nephew of the celebrated humanist, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, who had become Pope with the title of Pius II. While still Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini in 1492 he built a library next to the cathedral of Siena, his native city, to house the writings and relics of his uncle. When the building had been completed, the cardinal commissioned Pinturicchio to cover the walls with frescoes representing scenes from the life of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini and incidents in his pontificate. The work was begun in 1503 and not completed until 1508: it is a marvel of harmonious execution. Each of the ten pictures is framed in pilasters decorated with arabesques, with vistas of buildings or landscapes in the background. 'They are illuminations on a large scale, limpid and joyous', dazzling with light and the gorgeous colour of the garments.

For its monuments, the tombs of its Popes and other great personages, its own glorification in medals and statues, the Papacy had recourse once more to Florence. From Donatello to Michelangelo sculpture was at its zenith in that city of carvers and goldsmiths where the same artists practised all the arts indifferently with the same success. Contemporary with Donatello in 1427 came Luca della Robbia, the first of a dynasty which for a century and more was to cover Tuscany and Italy with bas-reliefs and coloured terra-cottas.

When the illustrious Alberti was invited to Rimini by Sigismund Malatesta to transform the church of St. Francis into a monument to his own glory and that of his mistress, Isotta, without destroying its sacred character, he took with him from Florence the sculptor Agostino de Duccio, whose task was to express in bas-relief the verses which Sigismund had composed in honour of Isotta. Such profane subjects, jostling allegorical representations of the cardinal and the theological virtues and the statue of St. Sigismund, already reveal in the fifteenth century the promiscuity of sacred and profane, of Christianity and paganism, which is characteristic of the Renaissance in its literature as in the arts. A similar medley may be found at Perugia in the decoration of the oratory of St. Bernardino which

was carried out by Duccio in 1461. The Franciscan virtues of chastity, poverty and humility are draped in flowing or close-fitting garments, equally pagan in both cases.

The Popes in the first half of the fifteenth century had enlisted the help of the Florentine sculptors; their successors continued the tradition.

Mino da Fiesole, who has left such a considerable volume of work, served both his native town of Florence and Rome. He designed many tombs. The most important work entrusted to him and executed by him with the co-operation of the Dalmatian sculptor, Giovanni Dalmata, was the tomb of Pope Paul II, the remains of which are still preserved in the crypt of St. Peter's.

Never before [writes André Michel in his *Histoire de l'art*] had any tomb been designed with such a comprehensive iconographical scheme of plastic decoration. The two fragments of the lower pedestal now preserved in the Louvre together measure over sixteen feet; Mino appears to have sculped the Last Judgement, Faith, Charity, the Creation of Eve, and the Temptation, while Giovanni Dalmata was responsible for the Resurrection, Hope and pretty little figures of angels. No monument was more significant from the point of view of the architectural development of the great Roman tombs on the eve of the sixteenth century.

It was Andrea del Verocchio, one of the most distinguished sculptors of the Florentine school (1435–88), who designed the tomb of Cardinal Fortiguerra, the friend of Pope Pius II. Like the most illustrious of his brethren, his friend Alberti especially, Verocchio was a universal artist, goldsmith, painter, sculptor and even architect. His greatest work is the equestrian statue which the republic of Venice raised to its great *condottiere*, Bartolommeo Colleoni da Bergamo, 'the finest thing of its kind in the world'; he had finished it when he died prematurely in 1488. His tomb is in a chapel of the church of Sant' Ambrogio in Florence.

Antonio Pollaiuolo (1432–98) was also a goldsmith, painter, and sculptor; his art is remarkable for its scientific accuracy, being based upon the anatomy of the human body as revealed by dissection. After executing a number of bronzes for Florence,

his birthplace, he came to Rome, where he became one of the official sculptors to the Papal court. As such he designed the tombs of Sixtus IV and his successor, Innocent VIII, now in St. Peter's.

The radiance which Florence cast upon Rome should not, however, be permitted to obscure the other artistic schools which grew up in the fifteenth century in Italy. A whole series of architects raised palaces in Venice which are the glory of that city. One of the finest achievements of the end of the century was the courtyard of the Doge's Palace which was begun in 1484 by Antonio Rizzo, who was no less famous as a sculptor. Born in Verona, he had migrated to Venice, where he worked on the Foscari Arch; his statue of Eve, whose nude body is modelled with vigour and shows traces of German influence, earned him the title of 'marmorarius clarissimus'. Rizzo was driven into exile and died at Foligno about 1500. His place of master of works at the Palazzo Ducale was taken by Pietro Lombardo, a sculptor from the Milanese, who was succeeded in the sixteenth century by his two sons, Tullio and Antonio.

With the advent of the two Bellinis, Gentile (1429–1507) and Giovanni (1428–1516), Alvise Vivarini (1464?–1503?) and Carpaccio (1461–c. 1523), Venetian painting attained the height of its glory. Gentile was an historical painter first and foremost, and we are indebted to him for the portraits of many of his contemporaries, the Doges Francesco Foscari and Giovanni Mocenigo, Queen Catherine Cornaro and the Sultan Mahomet II, whom, at his request, he went to paint in Constantinople in 1480. He painted in 1496 a picture of the procession of the relic of the Holy Cross in the piazza of St. Mark, with the basilica in the background as it was in his day. His 'Miracle of the Holy Cross' gives a beautiful view of the Rialto bridge and the palaces flanking it on either side of the canal. His brother Giovanni was also a portrait painter, but he is most famous for his pictures of the Madonna either alone with the Divine Child or surrounded by Saints. The pagan spirit of the Renaissance appears in his voluptuous mythological paintings such as 'Venus gazing into her looking-glass' and the 'Bacchic revel' which was

commissioned in 1514, at the very end of Bellini's life, by Alfonso d'Este, duke of Ferrara.

Vittore Carpaccio, Gentile Bellini's most faithful pupil, has been rightly described as the most beautiful painter of legends produced by the Italian Renaissance. His most important composition is the 'Legend of St. Ursula', which he was commissioned to paint by the Confraternity of St. Ursula and the Loredano family, and which occupied him between 1496 and 1502. He gave his inexhaustible imagination free rein in his luminous, richly decorated, picturesque work with Venice and its palaces, churches, and canals for a background, showing in places a trace of German influence. Artists such as the Bellinis and Carpaccio heralded the advent of Titian.

Reciprocal influences were at work between Venice and the neighbouring cities of Padua, Vicenza, Ferrara, and Mantua, which were under the domination of, or in close relation with, the republic. Each of them had its own distinguished artists. The founder of the Paduan school was Francesco Squarcione (1394–1475), a tailor, Maecenas of painters and collector of *objets d'art*, which he gave his numerous pupils to copy. The most illustrious of them, and his adopted son, was Andrea Mantegna (1431–1506), who first revealed his matured style in the frescoes that he painted about the middle of the century for the Augustinian church of the Eremitani or Hermits in Padua, representing scenes from the life of St. James. Mantegna was a fervent admirer of antiquity and borrowed from the ancients numerous decorative *motifs* for ornament and architecture, but he is chiefly remarkable for his great knowledge of perspective and foreshortening which is brought to a rare pitch of perfection in his picture of the dead Christ now in the Brera Gallery in Milan.

Lombardy, owing to its situation and its political and economic relations, borrowed much of its art simultaneously from Germany and central Italy. When Gian Galeazzo Visconti undertook to rebuild the cathedral of Milan in 1386, it was his ambition to exceed in majesty and beauty the religious edifices of the Rhine valley, more particularly Cologne Cathedral, and

he invited German architects to draw his plans. Pope Martin V broke his journey from Constance to Florence and Rome in 1418 to consecrate the high altar, the work on which with its 2,000 statues was continued steadily throughout the fifteenth century. Gothic architecture was thus being produced well into the period of the Renaissance.

The Certosa, or Charterhouse, of Pavia was begun later—it was founded in 1396 by Gian Galeazzo Visconti as an act of reparation for the murder of his uncle—and, although it shows the riches of decoration which are characteristic of the Renaissance, it too still retains in certain features of its architecture an affinity with Gothic art. The really classical buildings in the Milanese were those which Florentine architects such as Michelozzo and Brunelleschi came to erect in Milan or at Castiglione d'Olona. The first genuine Milanese architect of the Renaissance was Donato Bramante, who designed St. Peter's.

Pictorial and sculptural decoration, on the other hand, belongs to the art of the Renaissance. All through the fifteenth century the building-yards of the cathedral in Milan and the Charterhouse of Pavia assembled a certain number of sculptors, the earliest of whom, such as Jacopino da Tradate who carved the statue of Martin V in the cathedral, are still under northern influence, although most began to seek their inspiration more and more in the new artistic formulae. The best known are the brothers Cristoforo and Antonio Mantegazza, who were in relations with Pollaiuolo, and Amadeo, who in 1466 decorated with sculpture the little cloister of the Charterhouse, the chapel of San Giuseppe in the cathedral—to the order of the duke of Milan—and the chapel of Colleone which that famous *condottiere* had built in the church of the Certosa to house the tombs of his daughters and himself. Amadeo also collaborated in the façade of the Certosa, which was completed in 1498, by executing a series of medallions representing Roman emperors and heroes of antiquity and bas-reliefs placed between the niches of the statues.

He had a fellow worker in Brioschi, who divided his activity between the cathedral of Milan, for which he designed statues,

notably a Sant' Apollonia and the Certosa, of which he carved the magnificent doorway and the monument to its founder, Gian Galeazzo Visconti.

A school of Lombard painting sprang up about the same time, the leader of which was Vincenzo Foppa, who was born and died at Brescia (1430–1516). There arrived, however, from Florence in Milan an artist destined very easily to eclipse the native masters; his name was Leonardo da Vinci. He was invited there, about 1489, by Lodovico Sforza 'il Moro', then guardian of the duke, Gian Galeazzo, his nephew, whom he afterwards supplanted, to execute an equestrian statue of his father, the celebrated *condottiere* Francesco Sforza. Il Moro's choice had fallen on this former pupil of Verocchio's school whose artistic, literary, and scientific culture was as profound as it was extensive and who offered himself as an engineer, capable of constructing cannon, mortars, catapults, and incombustible ships in time of war, and building roads, bridges, and aqueducts in time of peace. The draft of the famous letter, not in the handwriting of Leonardo but certainly dictated by him, is still extant in the *Codex Atlanticus*. It sets out in consecutive paragraphs his various qualifications as an architect and engineer and concludes:

I am second to none in architecture and in the construction of buildings, both public and private, and in bringing water from one place to another. I can execute sculpture whether in marble, bronze or terra-cotta; also in painting I can do as much as any other, be he who he may. . . . If any of my proposals appears impossible or impracticable, I will gladly put it to the test in Your Excellency's park or anywhere else you choose to appoint and I commend myself to Your Excellency in all humility.

Leonardo proved the truth of his claim by making a plaster model of the statue, which excited general enthusiasm when it was exhibited in 1493, but it was destined never to be completed in metal, for the 100,000 pounds of bronze which the sculptor required for its casting were never forthcoming. Drawings for the general design and various details are still preserved in the royal collection at Windsor. Four years later he achieved the

best monument of his genius and one of the masterpieces of the world, the 'Last Supper', in the refectory of the convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie.

After this bird's-eye view the Italian Renaissance in the fifteenth century appears like a magnificent garden intersected by broad avenues bordered with masterpieces of all kinds. Each leads up to a towering genius, Leonardo, Titian, Michelangelo, Raphael, all born in the fifteenth century and destined to cast lustre on what is not very happily known as 'the age of Leo X'. The enthusiasm which such a development in the arts aroused in those who witnessed it, and among them and in the first place the Supreme Pontiffs, may well be realized. The enthusiasm was such that it did not always notice the darker side of this picture of general expansion, the increasingly sensuous conception of human life, the cult of the body, the pride of intellect leading to every kind of enjoyment both of body and mind, and, in a word, to the progressive effacement of the Christian ideal before the revival of paganism. Obscene writers such as Poggio and the Panormite, pagan philosophers such as Pomponius Laetus, cruel and debauched tyrants such as Malatesta di Rimini and Cesare Borgia, unscrupulous politicians such as Machiavelli, and, finally, so unworthy a Pope as Alexander VI, are the sorry reverse of this magnificent medal of the artistic and literary Renaissance. The reformation of mind and heart which was the pretext of Luther's revolt had, as all sincere Catholics had recognized before Luther's time, become a most pressing necessity; that reform was to be successfully achieved by the Council of Trent and the great reforming Popes of the sixteenth century.

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HUMANISM IN EUROPE BEFORE THE REFORMATION

THE great revival of literature and the arts known in history as the Renaissance was not confined to Italy; it took place also for the same reasons and followed a similar course of development in the other countries of western Europe from the fourteenth to the early years of the sixteenth century. It was, however, through Italy and its literary and artistic masterpieces that the knowledge of antiquity spread throughout Europe and introduced new sources of inspiration.

England became involved in the movement through Geoffrey Chaucer, the first considerable poet to write in the English language. Geoffrey Chaucer was born in London in 1340 and died there in 1400. Like all writers in England since the accession there of a Norman dynasty in vassalage to the kings of France, he was at first under French influence and, made his first essay in poetry by translating the *Roman de la Rose* of Guillaume de Lorris which had just been completed by Jean de Meung. Only a fragment of this youthful work has survived. Four official journeys to Italy in the years 1372, 1376, 1377, and 1378 on the business of Edward III and Richard II revealed to him the works of Petrarch and Boccaccio and through them the classical antiquity by which they were inspired. Everything he wrote after his return to England, the *Lyf of St. Cecyle* perhaps in 1369, the *Complaint of Mars* perhaps in 1379, the *Parliament of Foules*, *Troilus, and Criseyde* between 1379 and 1383, the unfinished *House of Fame* in 1383 and 1384, the unfinished *Legend of Good Women* in 1385 and 1386, shows, says Jusserand in his *Histoire littéraire du peuple anglais des origines à la Renaissance*, 'the spell of southern and ancient art'. '*Glory and honour, Virgil Mantuan, Be to thy name!*' he exclaims in his *Legend of Good Women* (*Legenda Didonis Martyris, Carthaginis reginae*) and in *Troilus and Criseyde*,

> Go, litel book, go litel myn tragedie. . . .
> And kis the steps, wher-as thou seest pace
> Virgile, Ovyde, Omer, Lucan, and Stace.

Although he borrowed extensively from mythology, from Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, yet he was no servile imitator like so many Italian humanists. He was determined to write in English and, because he preserved the originality of his conceptions, his sentiments and his language, he became one of the great writers of his country and the earliest master of English language and poetry.

The invention of printing, opportunely made half a century later, spread the knowledge of the ancient authors which the researches of the Italian humanists had unearthed from the dust of ancient libraries. The 'new art' had gone forth from Germany to make itself known in Italy and France, and in 1476 arrived in England. It made this rapid progress under the patronage of ecclesiastics, for it had been inaugurated in Italy in the abbey at Subiaco, in France in a college belonging to the faculty of theology and in England in the precincts of Westminster Abbey 'in the Almonry at the Red Pale'.

William Caxton, a Kentish man, who had prospered in business in Flanders and then abandoned commerce, put through the press at Bruges in 1474 the first book printed in the English tongue, the *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, a translation of Raoul Le Fèvre's French work. He then transported his press to Westminster and set it up under the walls of the abbey. His example was slowly followed: England in 1500 had only four printing-houses, at Westminster, London, Oxford, and St. Alban's, whereas France could number forty-one. Further progress was made after 1500 with the establishment of printing-houses at Edinburgh in 1508 (for the purpose of setting up with skilled assistance from France as a standard prayer-book, the 'Aberdeen Breviary'), at York in 1509, and at Cambridge in 1521. Editions of classical authors, printed in England or imported from the Continent, were widely diffused. Whereas the library of Oriel College, Oxford, in 1375 contained no single classical text in a collection of a hundred volumes, the account books of a bookseller in the town in 1520 show that he did a brisk trade in classical texts, in Latin, Greek, and French dictionaries and in the grammars and treatises of the Italian

humanists. 'He sold', records Jusserand, 'several copies of Aristophanes in Latin and in Greek, many works of Aristotle, more particularly his *Ethics* in the Latin translation by John Argyropoulos, the works of Cicero, Horace, Livy, Lucan (an author in great demand), Juvenal, Ovid, Tacitus, Terence and Virgil which also were in great demand.'

A notable increase was soon seen in the number of humanists who, not content with studying Latin, took up residence in France and more particularly in Italy in order to learn Greek with the object of teaching it themselves on their return; many were to be encountered in the household of Bessarion. John Colet, born in London about 1467, went in 1493 to France and Italy in order to complete his education, and during his sojourn abroad made the acquaintance of the illustrious French humanist, Budé, the rector of the University of Paris, and of Robert Gaguin. In Italy he had studied Plato and Plotinus, renewing the attempt which had been made at an earlier period by Marsiglio Ficino to reconcile theology with the Platonic and even the Alexandrine philosophy; he had studied the texts of St. Jerome, Origen, and the Areopagite according to the canons of the new criticism. He returned to Oxford in 1496, and there introduced the study of Greek and scriptural exegesis. In 1499 he made the acquaintance of Erasmus with whom he subsequently maintained a correspondence. Nominated dean of St. Paul's in 1501 and inheriting a large fortune on the death of his father in 1505, he founded St. Paul's School, 'dedicating it to the little boy Jesus as He was found disputing with the doctors at twelve years old', for the education of 153 scholars (the number of the miraculous draught of fishes) 'of every nation, country and class', whose education, based on advanced classical and scriptural studies, was conducted in the most 'modern' spirit.

Thomas Linacre (?1460–1524), the founder of the Royal College of Physicians, had the same passionate love of antiquity and, making the same pilgrimage to Italy, graduated in medicine at Padua. He acquired such a perfect mastery of Greek and Latin that he became one of the most learned grammarians of his time in both languages, and in 1524 published a treatise

on the purity of Latin style entitled *De Emendata Structura Latini Sermonis libri sex*, 'a series of grammatical remarks relating to distinctions in the Latin language not generally known'. He made a special study of Greek philosophy and medicine, devoting himself more particularly to Galen, one of the two most eminent physicians of Greek antiquity, and published a Latin translation of a treatise by Galen, *De Temperamentis*. Linacre and his friend, William Grocyn, were chief among those who taught Greek to the scholar who was later to become the most illustrious of the humanists, Erasmus. In a letter dated the 5th December 1499, the great scholar expressed himself with regard to them in the following terms:

I have discovered in England so much humanity and erudition, learning so various and extensive that all I shall look forward to in Italy is the pleasure of travel. In listening to Colet, I imagine myself listening to Plato himself. What encyclopaedic knowledge Grocyn possesses! Nature can never have produced a livelier, more refined intelligence.

The most illustrious English humanist of the time, the scholar who, more than any other, united in himself the diverse characteristics of the renaissance of letters in England, was Thomas More. He was born on the 7th February 1478, the third child and only son of John More, a gentleman afterwards a judge in the court of King's Bench, and Agnes, daughter of Thomas Graunger, and his family, 'non celebris sed honesta', was well descended. As a boy he entered the household of Cardinal Morton, who sent him to Oxford, where he had Grocyn and Linacre to teach him. Their instruction made him an accomplished Latin scholar and a learned Hellenist without detriment to his study of modern languages, more particularly English and French, and, despite his passion for classical antiquity, he made it a point of honour to write both prose and verse in his mother tongue. He was admitted to Lincoln's Inn on the 12th February 1496 (the date of his call to the bar is unknown), acquired an extensive practice in commercial cases, was duly summoned to Parliament in the spring of 1504 as a burgess and in 1523 became Speaker of the House of Commons. Entrusted with diplomatic

missions to the Continent, he made the acquaintance of several illustrious humanists, including Budé in France and Peter Giles of Antwerp; Erasmus, on the other hand, had become a close friend of his when he visited London in 1497. His wealth and the high position that he occupied but above all the breadth of his intellectual culture and the charm of his mind enabled More to gather round him, first at Bucklesbury and afterwards at Chelsea, an *élite* of scholars and men of letters, fervently devoted to ancient literature.

A visitor [writes Jusserand] would have imagined himself in some new academy on the model of those in Venice and Florence. . . . Its members listened to the witty 'interludes' of John Heywood, the author of the most amusing farces which had yet been written in English. They read the dialogues of Lucian and amused themselves by translating them into Latin prose; they conned the Greek Anthology while More and Lily practised their hands at translating passages thereafter into Latin verse: translations by each survive and More in many cases deserves the prize: they turned into Latin English epigrams and songs.

But in the first place they allowed every liberty to the fancies and the critical faculties of the mind which, impelled by native curiosity, engaged in all manner of questions and discussed all sorts of problems. These discussions and controversies finally took shape in the book which more than anything else made More famous among his contemporaries and succeeding ages, a treatise '*as useful as it is entertaining, on the best form of government and the newly discovered island of Utopia*'. It was first printed at Louvain in 1516 and not rendered into English by Ralph Robinson until thirty-five years later. After taking pains to warn the reader that his object in writing was merely to make known the ideas animating and the laws governing the Utopians, not to defend them, More set out the most curious and, it must be admitted, at times pernicious theories. It is most unfortunate that it should be the only work of his that is at all widely known in modern England. He found justification for communism in Christianity[1] and advocated the levelling of the classes. He

[1] It should, however, be observed that the initial words of the text sometimes

inclined like Rousseau towards a natural religion which should be held in common by the members of every particular sect. He maintained that there should be very few priests and that such as there were should be married (as Luther and the Protestant reformers were presently to insist) and subject to election by the populace (as the French Revolution decreed). He argued also with an excess of feminist zeal that women also should be eligible for the priesthood, extolled physical beauty, and commended sensual pleasure almost as enthusiastically as Lorenzo Valla. Adultery, indeed, was condemned but divorce was allowed 'whereas the man and woman cannot well agree between themselves, both of them finding other with whom they hope to live more quietly and merrily that they by the full consent of them both be divorced asunder and new married to other'. It is not surprising that such a book should have evoked the admira- of Rabelais and that the customs of the land of Utopia should be cited on several occasions in his book.

This work of Sir Thomas More's may be taken as an indica- tion that humanism in England as in Italy was apt to degenerate into a naturalism approximating more closely to paganism than to Christianity; once the guiding rein was loosened, reason ran a reckless course and proceeded to destroy both the Christian tradition and the most fundamental institutions of humanity, while the fact that such a work should have come from the pen of a man who was afterwards willingly to suffer death for the Christian truth must cause us to wonder exactly how seriously the humanists intended their speculations to be taken.

Thomas More was sustained by a profound religious faith and the practice of devotion permeated his life. In his youth he had indulged the thought of becoming a priest and 'lived four years', we are told by Cresacre More, 'amongst the Carthusians, dwell- ing near the Charterhouse, frequenting daily their spiritual exercises, but without any vow. He had an earnest mind also to be a Franciscan friar that he might serve God in a state of

even nowadays quoted in defence of communism 'all things were common unto them' (Acts iv. 32) are 'and the multitude of believers had but one heart and one soul'. These are generally lost sight of and such an ideal disposition would seem to be a condition precedent of the establishment of any endurable communist régime.

perfection', but abandoned this inclination for reasons which can only be conjectured, married twice and became the father of four children, Margaret, Elizabeth, Cecily and John. In his *Utopia* he extolled a life of pleasure; in life he mortified himself and wore a hair-shirt. In the bosom of his family he had a life in which prayer alternated with study; he passed long hours meditating in his private chapel; he had Holy Scripture read at the communal meals and himself said prayers at morning and night with the assembled members of his household, concluding them with the recital of the psalms. Robed in a surplice he sang in the choir of his parish church at Chelsea, even after he had become in 1529 chancellor of the kingdom. 'As often as he was called upon to exercise some new judicial office or engaged in some difficult problem', writes the Abbé Bremond in *Blessed Thomas More*, 'he never failed to seek the strength necessary for the fulfilment of his task in frequent recourse to Holy Communion and in fervent prayer to the Holy Ghost.'

When the Catholic Church, therefore, was attacked by Protestant reformers on the one hand, and on the other by politicians eager to transform it in England into a national church, Thomas More realized that the time for indulging his sense of humour and playful wit in the hazardous speculations to which his classical education disposed him was past, and that the moment had come for him to defend his Catholic faith. He then wrote works of apologetics and in his letters vehemently declared himself a Christian.

The artist who had hitherto amused himself with describing the island of Utopia and the elegant composition of Latin letters set himself to answering with all the wealth of his erudition and all the force of his energy the tracts launched by the enemy and at the same time, until Henry VIII finally threw off the mask, as chancellor employed every means sanctioned by law to stay the torrent of heretical propaganda.

And when the King, who by his writings against the Lutherans had earned the title of 'Defender of the Faith' bestowed upon him by the Pope, resolved to break with the Holy See which had refused to validate his divorce, and to force all his subjects to

follow him in schism, Thomas More was not content merely to defend the faith: he confessed it by martyrdom. Condemned to death for refusing to take the oath acknowledging the royal supremacy, he resisted the most urgent entreaties that he should yield, the instance, more particularly, of his daughter, and was beheaded in the Tower on the 6th July 1535. After having attempted to combine a humanism disturbing to faith with the practice of Catholicism, Thomas More gave himself wholly to God in martyrdom.

John Fisher, who had never indulged in the same rash speculations as the Chancellor Thomas More, yet emulated him in laying down his life for the same cause, and so crowned the life of a Christian humanist with the death of a martyr. He was born in 1469 at Beverley in Yorkshire and in 1483 entered Michaelhouse, Cambridge, of which he became a fellow in 1491 and master in 1497. His virtues and learning moved Margaret, countess of Richmond, to make him her chaplain and confessor in 1502 and, in the following year, the first Lady Margaret professor of divinity in the University. A year later he was elected chancellor; in 1505 he became president of Queens' College and was consecrated to the see of Rochester. He laboured diligently for his diocese and the University, and welcomed with enthusiasm the new intellectual currents from Italy which had begun to circulate in Cambridge. He reformed the system of teaching in the University and systematized the study of the ancient languages. Erasmus, who came to Cambridge in 1510 on the invitation of the bishop and taught Greek without any formal appointment, so far as is known, from the University, alluding in a letter written in 1519 to Guillaume Montjoie[1] to the Oxford riots between the 'Trojans' and the 'Grecians', observed that the teaching of Greek at Cambridge was carried on without disturbance (*tranquille*) because the chancellor of that University was John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, 'distinguished alike for his learning and his piety'.

If humanism be defined as the appreciation of Greek and Latin literature, it is difficult to determine with any precision

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[1] *Epist. Erasm.*, ccclxxx.

the date of its origin in France, for the cult of the ancient litera-
ture was never entirely abandoned there and even in the four-
teenth century reckoned fervent adherents.

Those who have stated [writes J. V. Leclerc in his *Histoire littéraire
de la France au XIVème siècle*] that very few ancient authors were
known before the introduction of printing and have amused them-
selves by estimating the number at ninety-six (no inconsiderable
quantity) have erred in their calculation. The poets especially,
Virgil, Ovid and Lucan, are cited at every turn. Prose writers were
less read: and of the more noteworthy only Tacitus would seem to
have been lost sight of. Cicero, on the other hand, is quoted almost
on all sides and from all his works.

The library which Charles V (1364–80) collected in a tower
of the Louvre contained French translations of the great *corpora*
of Roman law, the *Institutes* of Gaius, the *Code* of Justinian, the
Digest, and the *Novels* in addition to actual texts or Latin trans-
lations of the principal treatises of Aristotle, the *Timaeus* of
Plato, the works of Seneca, Boethius, Valerius Maximus and
Livy. The king had had the majority of these translations made
'for the benefit and advantage of the realm' and among them
were the translations into French by Raoul de Presles of St.
Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, that by Simon de Hesdin of Valerius
Maximus, those by Nicholas Oresme of a number of Aristotle's
treatises, the *Ethics*, the *Politics*, the *Economics*, the *De Coelo* and the
De Mundo which made their appearance between 1370 and 1377.

The princes of the blood shared the literary tastes of Charles V.
His brother, the Duc de Berry, also collected a fine library
of precious manuscripts, several of which contained works of
Greco-Latin antiquity: he was responsible for the translation
of a treatise of Seneca. Another brother, Philip the Bold, duke of
Burgundy, was likewise the owner of a library and his brother-
in-law, the Duc de Bourbon, had translations made of Cicero's
De Amicitia and *De Senectute*.

The proximity of Avignon brought French men of letters
into relations with the Italian humanists, who flocked to the
court of the Popes to enjoy their patronage and the favour of
the cardinals. Petrarch had paid a visit to the court of Philip VI

of Valois who sought to detain him. Nicholas de Clémangis, who had studied and taught at the University of Paris, of which he was rector, the *Rhetoric* of Cicero, was invited to Avignon in 1407 by Pope Benedict XIII, who appointed him his secretary owing to the purity and elegance of his Latin style.

Another scholar, Jean de Montreuil, who was destined to die as chancellor of Charles VI, maintained relations in Italy itself with eminent humanists. 'His letters show him to have been a fervent admirer of the Italian humanists. Petrarch appears to him as the master of moral philosophy: he places his writings in the same rank with the finest classical works.' He made friends with Coluccio Salutati, the famous Florentine chancellor, 'the prince of Latin eloquence', and his library was rich in classical authors whose works he had brought from Italy. It included the treatises on agriculture written by Cato and Varro in addition to the *De Architectura* of Vitruvius, which exercised such a profound influence on the artistic Renaissance, and the comedies of Plautus, works which were 'not to be found on this side of the mountains'. He was particularly devoted to Terence.

The humanism of Jean de Montreuil was not restricted exclusively to the knowledge of ancient literature; he went much further and delved into the philosophy of antiquity in order to become permeated with it and so was confronted with the problem which has already been considered in relation to Italian humanism: How were pagan antiquity and Christianity to be reconciled? Jean de Montreuil had engraved the Code of Lycurgus in his house as a masterpiece of wisdom and, when his friend Laurent de Premierfait asserted the authority of the Christian ethics, solved the difficulty by arguing that the one was in no way contradictory to the other. He was already a Christian humanist.

Intellectual relations between France and Italy became still more frequent when, after the end of the Great Schism, the Papacy was definitely re-established in Rome by Martin V in 1421. They were favoured by the French cardinals who took up residence in the Curia, or, if they had bishoprics in France, made frequent visits to Rome.

As soon as France began to show such a marked inclination for classical antiquity, the grammarians and Greek scholars of Italy began to cross the mountains. Filelfo, ever anxious to find a patron to exploit, entered into relations, without, however, any great success, with Charles VII in 1451, then with Jouvenel des Ursins, the chancellor of the realm, and lastly in 1454 with the King's physician, Thomas de Coron, a Greek.

The introduction of printing into Paris a few years later and its rapid development throughout France gave a renewed impulse to humanism by the multiplication of ancient texts. This was the achievement of Guillaume Fichet.

He was born in Savoy in 1433 and had studied at Avignon, where the memory of Petrarch and other scholars who had frequented the Papal court in the preceding century was still cherished. Coming to Paris in 1459, he taught in the University before becoming its rector in 1467. Like Jean de Montreuil, he combined the culture of antiquity with the spirit of Christianity, and in one of his letters he wrote that he taught theology in the morning and in the evening the *Rhetoric* of Cicero. Appointed prior and librarian of the Sorbonne, he contrived with the help of Jean Heylin de Stein to bring two printers, Ulrich Gering and Michael Freiburger, from Basel and set them up in the buildings of the Sorbonne itself. Other masters followed his example and reverted in their lectures to the study of ancient authors. Humanism made its solemn entry into the University of Paris together with printing.

Hellenism also began to filter through. It was chiefly through translations which had been made in Italy that the literature of ancient Greece was known in France; Filelfo, no doubt, had already made an appearance, parading his acquaintance with the ancient Greek authors, but he had been merely a passing visitor. Gregory of Tiferno, called the Tifernate, may perhaps have given some lectures in Greek at the University of Paris and the court between 1456 and 1458, but the influence of George Hieronymus of Sparta was more enduring. He came to Paris in 1476 and after a sojourn in Italy returned to France and remained there until his death. He taught for more than thirty

years and had pupils who soon became masters, the German John Reuchlin and one of the most illustrious French humanists, Guillaume Budé.

Literary relations, therefore, between France and Italy were sufficiently close before Charles VIII's expedition across the Alps, and it would be an error to attribute the origin in France of the great Renaissance movement to the Italian wars. It may, however, be fairly said that they quickened its development. Charles VIII, indeed, on his return from Naples brought to France one of the most eminent of the Hellenists whom the collapse of the Greek Empire had driven to take refuge in Italy. This was John Lascaris, who, to a greater degree even than Hieronymus, was the master of Budé. Louis XII continued to show the scholar the favour he had enjoyed from Charles VIII and employed him on many diplomatic missions. Greek was taught in the University of Paris before long by François Tessart, a native of Amboise, who had received his elementary education in the Italian universities. He was presently eclipsed by another scholar, whom his biographer, M. Paquier, has described as 'the true founder of the teaching of Greek in Paris', Jerome Aleander.

Born of a noble family in the neighbourhood of Treviso about 1480, Aleander had studied literature first at Padua and thereafter at Venice, where he came into relations about the year 1503 with Aldo Manuzio, the famous printer, and the humanists who formed a little academy round his press. Aldo, who bore him a particular affection, wrote to him in the dedication of his first impressions of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*:

Although not yet in your twenty-fourth year you are already highly skilled in Greek and Latin letters and no less accomplished in Hebrew. You are now devoting yourself so zealously to Chaldaean and Arabic that you will presently be an object of admiration for having five minds at your disposal. . . . What am I to say of our Latin tongue? Your knowledge of it is so perfect that you have already composed in verse long and learned lyric and bucolic poems, epigrams, iambics and other poetry of all kinds: in prose, letters, orations, dialogues and numerous works. . . . I leave out of account your learning in music and mathematics and all the liberal arts and that feverish

investigation of universal knowledge to which you are now devoting yourself night and day at Padua.

If this testimony of Aldo is to be taken literally, Aleander already possessed at the age of 24 the general culture, varied aptitudes, and inclination for every form of intellectual activity which are the distinguishing characteristics of the most illustrious scholars and artists of the Renaissance.

It was at Venice that he made the acquaintance of Erasmus, who, in 1508, was seeing the second and enlarged edition of his *Adagia* through Aldo's press, and it was Erasmus who gave him an account of the intellectual life of Paris and counselled him to go to France. Aleander arrived in the capital on the 4th June 1508, furnished with letters of introduction from Erasmus to the most eminent humanists.

He began by giving private lessons and promptly numbered Budé among his pupils, and on the 8th October 1509 he began to deliver a course of lectures at the University in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. In the following years, 1510 and 1511, he taught at the University of Orleans and then returned to Paris where he lectured from the 19th June 1511 to the 4th December 1513. He discoursed upon Plato and Theocritus and Cicero before an audience of 1,500 students. 'When I walk in the street', he wrote to Erasmus, 'I am pointed at as something portentous and, if ever I leave Paris for a day or two, I am instantly urged to return.' The precarious state of his health forced Aleander to give up teaching and, like many other humanists, he took to diplomacy. He had been appointed rector of the University of Paris and as such attended the Council of Pisa, where he endeavoured to restrain the schismatical temper of an assembly which the king of France had convoked in opposition to Pope Julius II. He returned thereafter to Italy and became librarian of the Vatican during the pontificate of Leo X. He died in 1519, after having fulfilled important diplomatic missions entrusted to him by the Pope.

Other Italian humanists less eminent than Aleander had come to France. The majority of them had been welcomed by the scholar who after the final departure of Fichet to join the

household of Cardinal Bessarion in Italy had become the most influential of the French humanists, Robert Gaguin.

He was born at Calonne-sur-la-Lys in the Pas-de-Calais in 1425 and after having been a pupil of Fichet at the University of Paris, succeeded him there in 1462 as professor of canon law. He became dean of the Faculty of Law and in 1473 was elected general of the Trinitarian Order of St. John of Matha, commonly known as the Mathurins. He fulfilled a number of diplomatic missions on one occasion at the instance of Louis XI to Maximilian of Austria in 1477; on others at the request of Charles VIII to Rome and Florence in 1468 and to England. The duties of his office and his missions abroad brought him into contact with many humanists. When Bercaldo the elder, a youth of 23, taught at Paris in 1476, Gaguin, then a man of 51, attended his lectures; he was in relations with men of letters in Germany and the Low Countries and more particularly with Erasmus, with Trithemius, the famous abbot of Spanheim and, above all, with Arnold de Bost, a Carmelite of Ghent, who was himself in constant communication with the humanists in many parts of Europe. When in the course of a journey he visited Heidelberg, he was thanked for having 'brought Apollo in his person into Germany'.

So towards the end of the fifteenth century humanism was becoming more and more international.

The passionate enthusiasm which it evoked gave rise to exaggerations which distorted it. As the literary preciosity of the first half of the seventeenth century produced the '*Précieuses ridicules*', so the fanatical cult of antiquity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries produced the *Rhétoriqueurs*. In the brilliant courts of the dukes of Burgundy, Brittany, and Bourbon literary cliques were formed which in Flanders came to be called *chambres de rhétorique*, whence the name *rhétoriqueurs* applied to those who imitated their bombastic style. They stuffed their writings with such an abundance of Latin words, which they scarcely took the trouble to adapt into French, that their style in many cases was downright gibberish and their prosody became so complicated that it degenerated into a feat of conjuring:

such a description aptly applies to Meschinot's Prayer to the Blessed Virgin 'the eight lines', says Petit-Dutaillis, 'of which can be twisted and turned in 256 different ways'. Rabelais later exercised his wit against the *rhétoriqueurs* by parodying their language.

The increase of Italian influence among the French humanists brought with it an increase of immorality and of so-called free thought which appeared as the logical consequence of the invitation to man to satisfy all his instincts. As early as 1422 Antoine de la Salle had visited Italy and Rome and became intimate with the group of men of letters which boasted Poggio for its leader; he became familiar also with the most licentious works of the Italian story-tellers, notably Boccaccio, and so when he began to write himself, he took them for his model— we have his own word for it—in the *Hundred New Novels* and other works of the same kind. Some few years later Guillaume Tardif, a professor in the Collège de Navarre, translated for Charles VIII, whose reader he was, the *Facetiae* of Poggio and prided himself on having performed his task 'as modestly as I could' and attempted to improve the obscenities by moral reflections.

Lastly 'free examination', subjecting the teaching of tradition to a searching investigation, spread the more extensively as the men of the Renaissance began to place their ideal in the total emancipation of man and the absolute satisfaction of all his inclinations; so the decadence of morals prepared the way for the cataclysm of the Reformation.

There were, however, other humanists who, whatever the effect of their works may have been, had at any rate no intention at all of in any way quarrelling with the teaching of the Church. Of such was Jacques Lefèvre of Étaples, or Faber Stapulensis. Born at Étaples in Picardy about 1455, he had studied ancient literature with enthusiasm at the University of Paris, devoting himself more particularly to the Greek philosophers. Like many humanists he felt the attraction of Italy, and he visited that country between 1488 and 1489; there he took part in the controversies which divided the disciples of Plato and Aristotle,

siding with the Aristotelians. When he returned to France, he brought back with him many Latin translations of those philosophers and by his teaching in the University propagated their doctrines. Simultaneously, between 1498 and 1520, but more particularly before 1509, he published a number of treatises of Aristotle, the ancient mathematicians, the Fathers of the Church, and the mystics of the Middle Ages.

A Christian humanist and a most devout priest, he lectured and published incessantly with the sole object of strengthening the religious faith of his hearers and readers. This was the secret of the vast influence he acquired over the students who thronged to his discourses at the Collège du Cardinal Lemoine at Paris and the remarkable favour shown to him by Kings Louis XII and Francis I.

Certain of his students were destined to become in later life propagandists of Protestantism. If, in spite of his attachment to the Catholic Church, he educated many of those who were later destined to attack it and deprive it of the allegiance of many of the faithful, the explanation may primarily be sought in the importance he gave to the personal interpretation of the Bible. He was not content with translating it himself into French so that it should be available for all to read: he applied a lively critical sense to the study of Scripture and revised the text of the Vulgate according to the Septuagint. Although he was careful at the same time to make no innovations contrary to the tradition of the Church, yet he always exhorted his hearers and readers to refer to the actual words of Holy Writ, not in idle curiosity but in a spirit of devotion, to discover Christ Himself in the narrative which records His life and preserves His divine teaching. So Lefèvre d'Étaples, without perhaps being fully aware of the tendency of his teaching, encouraged his pupils to the free interpretation of the Scriptures, fired their own imaginations, and, while himself remaining a Catholic priest devoutly attached to the Church, prepared them for Protestantism. The Sorbonne with greater foresight perceived the danger latent in his translations and commentaries of the Holy Books and instituted proceedings in 1523 against his *Commentary upon the Gospels*

which had appeared in 1522 by licence of the King. The proceedings, were stopped by Francis I, but were revived again at the instigation of one Beda, a doctor in the Faculty of Theology; on the 6th November 1524 the *Exhortations of Lefèvre* on the *Epistles and Gospels for the use of Meaux* were censured, and Lefèvre deemed it prudent to leave Paris and seek refuge in Strasburg, where he and a number of his adherents received hospitality from the Protestant, Wolfgang Capito.

Lefèvre applied the same method of exegesis and criticism to the lives of the saints with the object of elucidating certain obscure points and ridding them of their encrustation of legends. It was with this purpose that he composed a treatise on the three Maries of the Gospel out of whom he believed that misunderstanding had created the single figure of the Magdalen. Anxious, on the other hand, to accelerate that reform of the Church which was the ardent aspiration of the saints and other devout persons, he opposed certain exaggerated manifestations of the *cultus* paid to the saints and this caused him to be hailed as a master by the early reformers and aroused the strenuous opposition of Beda of the Sorbonne, who considered him as denying utterly the validity of any *cultus* of the saints and hostile to the authority of the Church. So Lefèvre d'Étaples, by developing private judgement and the spirit of criticism in the bosom of the Catholic Church, contributed by his learning and the well-deserved influence he had acquired over Francis I, Queen Margaret of Navarre, and Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux, to the Reformation movement which was presently to arise not only against the abuses but also, and mainly, against the authority and the very existence of the Church.

Guillaume Budé (1467–1540) was also a Christian humanist, the most eminent perhaps of any in France. He had learned the elements of Greek from Hieronymus of Sparta, who, after fulfilling a diplomatic mission to England, had settled in Paris towards the end of the fifteenth century. In a letter addressed to Cuthbert Tunstall in 1517 he describes Hieronymus as a bad master, and Beatus Rhenanus in a letter to Reuchlin[1] describes

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[1] *Epist. ad Reuchl.*, fol. 52.

him as *non tam doctrina quam patria clarus.* Reuchlin himself, however, a slightly less competent judge, gives a better account of Hieronymus. Some years later Budé received much better instruction from John Lascaris. As early as 1501 he had acquired proficiency enough to translate unaided a treatise of Plutarch's, and in 1503 and 1505 he translated two more works of the same writer and a moral letter from St. Basil to St. Gregory Nazianzen. As a pupil of Lefèvre d'Étaples he had studied mathematics and had acquired by his learning in theology, history, law, the natural sciences and medicine, the general culture which is characteristic of the great figures, artists, and scholars, of the Renaissance. Enjoying the patronage successively of Charles VIII, Louis XII and Francis I, he was sent by Louis XII on an embassy to Julius II in 1503 and later by Francis I to the court of Leo X in 1515, thus becoming acquainted with the men of letters who thronged the Papal court. As a result he suggested to Francis I the foundation of the 'College of the three languages' (Latin, Greek, and Hebrew), which in 1530 became the Collège de France with himself as one of the professors. Provost on several occasions of the merchants of Paris, he took part in the foundation of the Royal Library at Fontainebleau which was later merged in the *Bibliothèque Nationale.* He thus became a personage of importance and maintained relations with the most illustrious humanists in all countries, with Thomas More in England, Sadoleto and Bembo in Italy, and Erasmus, a humanist whom it is hardly in a sense possible to ascribe to any one nation.

To consider only the titles of Budé's two principal works, *Observations upon the twenty-four books of the Pandects* and *De Asse,*[1] it might be imagined that he was solely concerned with questions of law and numismatics but even a cursory perusal reveals that with frequent digressions he succeeds in treating a great variety of subjects; he shows great learning as a scholar but at the same time delivers opinions on the events and political

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[1] Vives in a letter to Erasmus observed of this treatise, which was written to explain the denominations and values of Roman money in all periods of history, that 'it put to shame all the Hermolai, Picos, Politians, Gazas and all Italy'. *Ep.* dcx.

problems of his time, as, for example, the conflict between King Louis XII and Pope Julius II and the abuses prevalent in the Church and the means of correcting them. His study of antiquity shows the same critical spirit as is to be found in his judgements of contemporary events.

Budé was above all a Christian humanist. 'He considers Tacitus reprehensible as a writer for having spoken ill of the Christians and I doubt if he would have approved the enthusiastic devotion lavished on Plato by the disciples of Marsiglio Ficino. The wisdom of antiquity he considered as mere folly for any one instructed in Christian doctrine.' It was the conviction of the Middle Ages that philosophy was the servant of theology; in the same way Budé considered scholarship to be a preparation for the study of theology. This was the thesis he maintained in his treatise *De Transitu Hellenismi ad Christianismum*.

But in studying Christian doctrine he was impelled by his critical spirit to investigate its remote origins and to examine the original texts which are the sources of it in the light of his own intelligence and not according to the explanations offered by the Schoolmen and other official expositors. He therefore set the earliest example of that personal interpretation of the sacred books which was a practice of the Reformation, and in the same way when he came to consider the state of the Church in his day, he contemplated without prejudice the abuses which had crept in with the Renaissance and proposed a means of correcting them. Like his master Lefèvre d'Étaples, he thus unconsciously prepared the way for those who on the pretext of reforming the Church later ranged themselves against her in the exercise of their private judgements under the leadership of Luther and Calvin. It may be asserted with confidence that the conversion of his own son to Calvinism may have been partly determined by the critical spirit which without in any way affecting the faith of Budé himself yet, becoming predominant in minds less balanced than his, inevitably drove them into revolt.

The origin of humanism in Germany is dominated by the noble figure of Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa (1401–64). He was

born of humble parentage and had been educated by the reformers of the religious life whom Gerard Groot had assembled in congregation at Windesheim in 1395 under the title of Brethren of the Common Life or *Gemeineslebens*. Proceeding to Italy in his early youth, he had attended at Padua the lectures given on law by the future Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini. After playing a prominent part in the Council of Basel, he had been created Cardinal by Pope Nicholas V, who dispatched him as his legate to Germany to reform the Church and the Empire. While engaged in the most delicate diplomatic duties, he yet found time to cultivate literature and science. In 1436, as a result of his mathematical and astronomical researches which brought him to a belief in the rotation of the earth round the sun, he proposed the reform of the Julian calendar, which was not destined to be carried out until the succeeding century under Gregory XIII; as a historian he gave evidence of his critical acumen by showing the apocryphal character of the Donation of Constantine, a bone of contention at the time among humanists, and casting doubts upon the authenticity of the *Decretals* of the pseudo-Isidore. His chief work, *De docta ignorantia*, infused the new blood of Neoplatonism into the decadent scholasticism and sufficiently accounts for his intimacy with Bessarion, the cardinal of Hellenism, no less than the rich collection of Greek manuscripts he brought back with him after a visit to Constantinople.

In the course of his long sojourn in Germany he gathered round him many humanists, most of whom were, like himself, disciples of the Brethren of the Common Life. Among them were Rudolph Agricola of Groningen (1442–95), who during his residence in Italy from 1473 to 1480 provoked the admiration of all who heard him by the facility and elegance of his Latin conversation. He was so familiar with Hebrew that he taught it and translated the Psalms from the original text—without detriment, moreover, to the practice of his mother tongue. He had a passion for Petrarch whom he admired as one of the masters of his mind because, as he said, the courageous efforts of Petrarch had laid the foundations of a new intellectual

culture as a bequest to future ages. His inquiring mind was open to all forms of knowledge, and he studied with equal avidity ancient and modern literature, philosophy, natural history and medicine. Such were the characteristics of the humanist and Agricola was a true humanist, but still more of a Christian than a humanist. He recommended the study of the ancient authors but not to the exclusion of other subjects. 'The ancients', he declared, 'either were ignorant of the true object of life or had but a feeble inkling of it. . . . It is necessary to go further and to attain to the Holy Scriptures.'

Other protégés of Nicholas of Cusa were Purbach (1423–61), native of a small Austrian town of that name, whose work on the planets was for half a century the principal source of astronomical studies and prepared the way for the discoveries of Copernicus, and Johan Muller (1436–76), better known by his learned name of Regiomontanus (he, as the name implies, was a native of Königsberg, a small town in Franconia), whose accomplishments as a mathematician rivalled his learning as a humanist. He acquired such an intimate knowledge of Greek during a lengthy sojourn in Italy as a guest of Bessarion that he expressed himself with facility in Greek verses; he gathered a vast collection of Greek and Latin manuscripts for his own library and that of Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary. 'He taught astronomy in several of the Italian universities, made many astronomical observations at Viterbo and concluded in 1463 in the monastery of San Giorgio in Venice a mathematical treatise on triangles containing the solutions of the most difficult cases both in plane and spherical trigonometry which has served as the basis of modern trigonometry.' It was not published unfortunately until 1533. Towards the end of his life he settled in Nuremberg because there, according to his own account, he could easily procure the special instruments indispensable for astronomy, and it was easier for him there than elsewhere to enter into relations with men of learning in all countries owing to the perpetual coming and going of Nuremberg merchants. He might also have added that he had found a wealthy patron in Nuremberg, a merchant named Bernhard Walther who not

only supplied the means for making accurate observations but also assisted him in his labours. His most important astronomical work, the *Ephemerides* or calculations of the places of the sun and the moon for the ensuing thirty years, was used by Christopher Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci on their voyages of discovery to the new world. Regiomontanus lived only thirty-one years, but still long enough to acquire a world-wide reputation.

Nicholas of Cusa survived to see the invention of the printing-press and to bestow his patronage on the beginnings of an art which the humanists hailed with enthusiasm. 'Printing which has just been discovered in Mainz', wrote one of them, 'is the art of arts, the science of sciences. Its rapid diffusion has endowed the world with a rich treasure, hitherto buried, of wisdom and knowledge.' Gutenberg's invention quickly developed throughout Germany and the process simultaneously became more perfect.

In Maintz, itself, the cradle of the art, there were no less than five printing-houses, in Ulm six, in Basel sixteen, in Augsburg twenty, in Cologne twenty-one. . . . In Nuremberg, up to the year 1500, twenty-five printers were enrolled as citizens. The most eminent of these, after the year 1470, was Antoni Koburger who had twenty-four presses at work, employed over a hundred workmen besides carrying on work outside, chiefly in Basel, Strasburg and Lyons.[1]

One of the most learned of the time and a rival of Aldo Manuzio at Venice was John Froben of Basel (1460–1527), a native of Hammelburg in Franconia, who printed many of the works of Erasmus.

The clergy followed the example of Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa and bestowed their patronage on the new invention. Bishops granted indulgences to assist the propagation of books; the Brethren of the Common Life at Rostock described printing as 'the common mother of all the sciences and the auxiliary of the Church'; Benedictines, Premonstratensians, Augustinian Eremites, Franciscans, and Carthusians erected printing-presses in their monasteries. German books soon spread all over Europe,

[1] Janssen, *History of the German people*, translated by M. A. Mitchell and A. M. Christie, vol. i, p. 12.

and the historian Wimpheling wrote in 1507 that his country was the foremost intellectual market of the world. German translations of the Bible were amongst the most commonly printed books and about a hundred editions appeared before 1500, that is to say, sixteen years before the revolt of Luther to which certain writers attribute their diffusion. The multiplication of editions of the ancient classics gave a fresh impulse to the development of humanism.

In Germany, as in France and England, and, most markedly, in Italy, the universities were nurseries of humanism. Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaean were taught in the University of Cologne, the 'German Rome', in 1484, and a few years later Erasmus of Rotterdam gave lectures there. John Camerarius of the house of Dalberg, bishop of Worms, rector of the University and chancellor of the Palatinate, founded the Rhenish Society which met at Heidelberg and devoted its time to Latin, Greek, and Hebrew criticism, astronomy, music and poetry. One of their members was John Trithemius (his real name was Heidenber) who, born at Trittenheim in 1462, died at Wartzburg in 1516. Abbot in 1485 of the Benedictine monastery of Spanheim, near Kreuznach, and in 1506 of St. James of Wartzburg, he was until his death in 1516 one of the leaders of the Catholic reformation which Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa had strenuously advocated in Germany; he introduced it with vigour into the two monastic houses which he governed. The protégé of the Emperor Maximilian and the Count Palatine of the Rhine, he enjoyed a prodigious reputation for the universal range of his learning. 'Intimately acquainted with the Greek and Latin classics, possessing some knowledge of Hebrew, very learned in theology and philosophy, in history and canon law, he devoted himself also with zeal to the study of mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, and medicine, and even practised the latter when it was a question of giving relief to the poor.' He was in correspondence with many learned men in all countries, in this respect rivalling Erasmus. A fervent lover of his country, he dreamed of writing a great history of Germany for which he had accumulated a vast number of documents.

Wimpheling, an Alsatian and a friend of Trithemius, was no less famous and one of the most representative figures of Christian humanism. The intrinsic value and wide diffusion of his paedagogical treatises, *The Guide of German Youth*, written in 1497, and *Youth*, written in 1500, have earned him the title of the teacher of Germany. He strove to reform the methods of teaching literature, philosophy, and scholasticism by adapting them to the new spirit but yet without becoming infatuated, like so many of his contemporaries, with classic form and language. What he sought in antiquity was not merely beauty of form but the philosophy behind it, more particularly such elements in that philosophy as shaped the mind and prepared it for the reception of religious truth.

He frequently protested against the contempt for the past, both of the Church and their country, manifested by the fanatical devotees of antiquity; and to defend his Church and country he turned historian. He founded at Strasburg a society with the object of encouraging research and publishing the results of its investigations into the national history, and himself published in 1502 a *Compendium of the History of Germany down to the Present Day*.

He warned his readers against the dangers to the Christian faith latent in Italian humanism, which had become increasingly permeated with paganism and whose influence was now widely felt all over Europe; and the dangers which he denounced beyond the Alps became just as menacing in Germany itself through the influence of the scholar who has been described as the Voltaire of the Renaissance. This was Erasmus (1467–1536).

Desiderius Erasmus[1] was born at Rotterdam on the 27th October 1467, the offspring of an irregular union. He lost both parents at the age of 13 and after some casual schooling first at Gouda, then at Utrecht where he was sent to fill a place in the

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[1] 'The boy afterwards so famous had been given his father's Christian name, Gerhard, meaning 'beloved'. Desiderius is barbarous Latin for that and Erasmus is barbarous Greek for it. . . . It was a singular fortune for a master of literary style to be designated by two words which mean the same thing and are both incorrect.' Sir R. C. Jebb, *Erasmus*: The Rede Lecture delivered in the Senate House at Cambridge on 11th June 1890.

cathedral choir, and lastly at Deventer under the Brethren of the Common Life, at the age of 18 took the vows of a canon regular of the Order of St. Augustine and spent the next five years of his life in the Augustinian monastery at Stein, near Gouda. Though he remained a monk long enough to take his vows, yet in the end he abandoned his monastery and bore away with him only a hatred of the monastic life which frequently found expression later, and particularly in his *De Contemptu Mundi* of 1523. He had taken orders in 1492 and proceeded to Paris for the purpose of studying theology in the Collège Montaigu; there he acquired a distaste for scholasticism. After a brief stay at the University of Orleans, where he studied canon law, he crossed over to England and remained for two years, from 1497 to 1499, in the company of the humanists Thomas More, John Colet, William Grocyn, and William Latimer; he studied Hebrew at Oxford, and Grocyn turned his distaste for scholasticism into disgust. The next five years were spent chiefly at Paris with occasional visits to the Netherlands—at Louvain he made the acquaintance of another humanist, the saintly Adrian of Utrecht, who later became Pope Adrian VI—and in 1505 he returned to Cambridge, where he remained only about six months. He had now become able to realize the dream of his youth—to visit Italy, where he remained for three years residing in Turin, Florence, Bologna, Rome, and Venice. At Venice he spent several months with Aldo in 1508 and saw the enlarged edition of his *Adagia* through the famous press. He returned again to England, where he taught Greek in Cambridge in 1511 and enjoyed the patronage of Henry VIII. He left England again in 1514 not to return except for a few months in the following year, and after frequent changes of residence—Basel, Louvain, Freiburg—finally settled in 1516 in Basel. He died there on the 11th July 1536, bequeathing to posterity a vast corpus of theological, philosophical and literary work the extent and variety of which exercised a considerable influence upon his time. Erasmus was a humanist in the universality of his learning. We are indebted to him for new editions of the Latin classics, translations of Greek authors, editions and translations of the

Fathers, editions and commentaries of the Bible. Nothing escaped the shrewd penetration of his glance, and his style had the keen edge of tempered steel.[1]

Two writers in particular influenced this mind, so jealous of its independence; Lucian gave point to his malice and satirical wit: Lorenzo Valla, the Italian humanist, helped to inspire him with a hatred of monks and the Christian ideal of renunciation, and with a contempt for religious authority.

Erasmus had been goaded by his hatred of scholasticism to revise the whole teaching of theology, and the results of his revision were so liberal and elastic that Christianity ceased to be a revealed religion and became merely 'the philosophy of Christ'. 'If we are to attain that harmony and peace which are the ideals set before us by our religion,' he observed, 'we should as far as possible attach but little importance to dogmatic definitions and leave every one on many points to an unfettered and individual judgement.' It was this liberal spirit of free examination that earned Erasmus the rebuke of Rodolfo Pio di Carpi, bishop of Faenza and cardinal, 'that by discussing points of doctrine long since defined by the Church, he deprived the venerable sacraments of the respect investing them and meddled sacrilegiously with the institution of the Holy See'. He attacked the divine institution of the hierarchy and inveighed against the most essential precepts of ecclesiastical discipline such as the celibacy of the clergy. These onslaughts on the official and traditional teaching of the Church were as a rule veiled in facetiousness, irony and sarcasm, notably in his *Encomium Moriae* or *Praise of Folly* addressed to Sir Thomas More and published in 1511, and his *Colloquia*, the first edition of which appeared in 1519. The wisdom of antiquity, on the other hand, commanded his respectful admiration and he perceived but slender differences between it and revealed truth. He had no objection to Holy Scripture still retaining the first place, but on condition that he should have the privilege of expounding and even of scoffing at it; and he says in his Table Talk, 'I often

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[1] For a character sketch of Erasmus see Janssen, *History of the German People*, translation by A. M. Christie, vol. iii, p. 13, &c.

discover in pagan writers, even in the poets, thoughts so pure, so holy and so divine that I am convinced that a divine inspiration has guided the pen of such men'; and he invoked 'St. Socrates'.

Read with avidity by the intellectual *élite* of Germany, these writings of Erasmus and his controversies with the theologians disseminated religious scepticism, free examination, a contempt for religion and Christian morality, and were invoked both by those who were eager to substitute the ancient philosophy for Catholicism and by those who were desirous of, as they said, purifying it by the radical reformation which Luther was presently to inaugurate. It was, therefore, Erasmus's responsibility that humanism, which had hitherto been Christian, revolted with steadily increasing violence against the Church.

Mutian, a canon of Gotha (1471–1526), whom the students of Erfurt described as the 'integral Master of virtue', and 'the father of blessed peace', refrained from saying Mass, ceased to go to Communion, rejected auricular confession, and described the mendicant religious as monsters, because his latitudinarianism conceived Jesus Christ not as the Redeemer, the Paschal Lamb, and the Good Shepherd, but as the incarnation of justice and joy. 'There is the Christ Who came down from Heaven. The kingdom of God is not meat and drink!'

Under Johann Reuchlin and Ulrich von Hutten opposition to the Church attained the bitterest violence. Reuchlin was older than Erasmus—he was born at Pforzheim in the Black Forest on the 28th December 1455, and died at Liebenzell, near Hirschau, on the 30th June 1522—but like him enjoyed a universal reputation. As a youth he had studied Greek in Paris under Hieronymus of Sparta and in Italy under Argyropoulos and Demetrius Chalcondylas. He became secretary to the duke of Würtemburg and was created Count Palatine by the Emperor Frederick III. After a spell of teaching Greek in Basel, he set up as a lecturer in Hebrew at Heidelberg and became a member of the Rhenish Academy founded by Camerarius. The famous quarrel which broke out in 1509 between him and the theologians of Cologne impelled him to write pamphlets of such virulence against the Church that Luther and his early adherents

looked upon Reuchlin as a precursor and invoked his authority. Still more violent was Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523), a pupil of Mutian, Reuchlin, and Erasmus whose acquaintance he made in 1514. To Hutten may be attributed a chief part in the composition of the famous *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* which was published at Erfurt towards the end of 1515 in support of Reuchlin in his dispute with the Cologne inquisitors. They were directed against the scholastics and monks and lashed with pitiless severity their doctrines and morals, follies and extravagance, inveighed against the Pope and his indulgences and devotion to relics and threatened priests and religious with dire retribution.

When Luther rose in revolt against the Church, he appealed to all these humanists who had roused the opinion of the intellectuals and the people against the Roman Church, because he looked upon them as his precursors and allies. Erasmus, however, while maintaining constant relations with the more prominent Lutherans, refused to enlist under Luther's banner and at length, driven by the pressure of his friends from the neutral station which his timidity affected, in 1523 crossed swords with the reformer in a diatribe *De Libero Arbitrio*, assailing the Lutheran contention that all human action is determined by divine necessity. Luther retorted without flinching in a treatise *De servo arbitrio* and the controversy was concluded by a rejoinder from Erasmus entitled *Hyperaspistes*. Reuchlin in spite of everything still professed to adhere to the Church. But Luther was not mistaken in considering them as pioneers who had prepared the way for him; humanism, now anti-clerical, now definitely free-thinking, had robbed the Church in Germany of her weapons of defence and delivered her almost defenceless to Luther.

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THE ARTS IN EUROPE BEFORE THE REFORMATION

THE classical Renaissance developed more slowly in the field of art than in literature. The fifteenth century, while carrying its devotion to the ancient writers to the extent of copying them, yet remained faithful for a longer period to the aesthetic formulae of the Middle Ages, while at the same time enlarging their application.

Gothic art continued to predominate in architecture and steadily pursued a development which originated in the preceding century and led it to the flamboyant style, the exaggeration of its own peculiar principle. Buildings were lighted by increasing the size of bays; the pointed arches, which in every triforium support the vault were complicated by an intricate tracery of ribs, tiercerons, and liernes falling back on keystones which became increasingly long and ornate; the windows spread to occupy the whole curtain of wall between the shafts and so became many-mullioned, and the wavy, contorted lines of their design suggested the motion of tongues of flame, whence the name 'flamboyant' given to the style which made the most lavish use of them. The great porches were flanked with corner gables and decorated in addition above the lintels with 'fleurons', and the arch instead of being pointed was sometimes curved like the handle of a basket. Capitals became more and more reduced in size until they degenerated into a mere ring before finally disappearing entirely and the ribs of the arches became lost in the pillars. The origins of this latest development of Gothic architecture are attributed to England. As early as the end of the fourteenth century, English flamboyant assumed a definite character of its own. This became increasingly accentuated and finally developed into the style known as 'perpendicular'. The earliest buildings in which this style first made its definite appearance are the chapel of New College, Oxford (1380–6), the choir of York Minster (1361–1408), the nave and west transept of Canterbury Cathedral (1370–1411). In the

fourteenth century it was adopted whole-heartedly in numerous churches and chapels.

It was not until the reign of Henry VIII that the influence of Italy and France succeeded in introducing the classic style into English architecture.

In France, flamboyant designs may be found early in the fourteenth century. It was in the latter half of the fourteenth century, however, that the style developed most widely in towns which came most into contact with England, either through being under English domination or through commercial relations with England, such as Le Mans. The ravages of the Hundred Years' War throughout the greater part of France destroyed many churches in whole or in part and the new style was universally adopted; the reconstructed churches are almost always flamboyant.

As the Renaissance drew nearer, the palaces of the kings and the castles of the old feudal nobility became transformed. The centralization of the monarchy and the cessation of private warfare made it possible to transform the old strongholds of the Middle Ages into pleasure palaces; court life and its delights took the place of life in the field. The taste for luxury became clearly marked early in the fourteenth century and was imitated by the wealthy bourgeois who built town halls for their native towns, mansions for themselves in the towns, and pleasure houses in the country. Flamboyant architecture, being both luxuriously ornate and refined, naturally lent itself to such transformations and is therefore to be found both in civil and religious architecture.

The wealth of the towns in the Low Countries enabled them in the course of the fifteenth century to build churches and town halls rich in all the splendour of flamboyant art. Indeed, they were so enamoured of flamboyant architecture that they adhered to it faithfully in the full sixteenth century.

It was not until Charles VIII brought back from Italy artists and artisans 'to work of their craft according to the custom and fashion of Italy' at his *château* at Amboise (1497–8) that the influence of the Renaissance made itself felt in the religious and

more particularly the secular architecture of France. It is noticeable in the work commissioned by Louis XII between 1499 and 1501 for his *château* at Blois, and there grew up in the reign of Louis XII a composite art which was still Gothic in general design but increasingly Italian in decoration. The influence of this Italian Renaissance art increased in the reign of Francis I.

When the preaching of Luther and the Reformation precipitated the German world into a welter of anarchy, destined to endure for more than a century, Germany was in the full flood of artistic expansion; civil and religious buildings were in process of construction everywhere.

So many ecclesiastical monuments of German medieval art have been levelled to the ground [says Janssen[1]] that it is difficult to form an exact idea of the enthusiasm which then prevailed for the building of churches. The number, however, which have survived is so great that we have no hesitation in saying that at no other period of history were so many buildings erected for the worship of God as in that extending from the beginning of the fifteenth century to the Reformation.

He cites a great number of churches built between 1450 and 1515 in north Germany where, however, he declares, 'culture was slow in penetrating',[2] in Thuringia, Saxony, Swabia, Bavaria, Westphalia, the Rhineland provinces, Franconia, and Hesse.

French and English influences are also to be found mingled with the peculiar characteristics of German art. Many churches such as that of St. Peter and St. Paul (with five naves) at Gorlitz in Prussian Silesia, built 1423–97, show the intricate network of ribs which is one feature of French flamboyant art; others recall the English perpendicular. An architectural type of frequent recurrence in fifteenth-century Germany, more particularly in Westphalia, is a church with three naves all of equal height—the Hallenkirche.

It is German Gothic art again which is found in Switzerland

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[1] Janssen, *History of the German People*, translated by M. A. Mitchell and A. M. Christie, vol. i, pp. 169–70.　　　　　　　　　　[2] Ibid., p. 170.

in the cathedral of Bern which, begun in 1421, was not completed until 1598. Its most ornate feature is the triple portico sheltering its three western portals. 'The archivolt is decorated with a Jesse tree arranged in a most curious fashion; the inner arches are decorated with little figures of the Apostles and Prophets, while the tympanum of the Last Judgement is treated as though it were a picture with receding planes of distance and a multitude of characters.' The western tower of the cathedral at Freiburg (1470–92) and the vaulting of the cloisters of the cathedral at Basel also belong to the German school, as does the cathedral of St. Stephen in Vienna, reconstructed in the fourteenth century and completed in the fifteenth with a tower 450 feet high and a richly decorated spire, and the fifteenth-century part of the church of St. Elizabeth at Kascha in Hungary with its tabernacle 45 feet high completed in 1472, its marvellous staircase and the vault of the nave with a complicated network of flamboyant groining. The Duomo of Milan in the course of its long construction had both French and German architects.

The German character [writes Enlart] is predominant. The little arches with the long mullions with which the exterior of the apse is fluted and the cornices of the arches are reminiscent of the cathedral of Bamberg; the curves of the windows ornamented with little statues and canopies like porticoes recall the cathedrals of Ulm and Prague; the interior festoons of the flying-buttresses Goldenkron in Bohemia.

It was through secular architecture that the classical formulae of construction made their way into Germany. The first monument to be erected there in Renaissance style was the burial chapel of the Fuggers, the famous family of bankers, built by Jacob Fugger II, in the church of St. Anne in Augsburg in 1512. It is believed to be the work of the master, Jerome of Augsburg, who was responsible for the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* at Venice.

The fifteenth century, in its latter half especially, was a period of great prosperity for the Iberian peninsula. Its commerce, already borne far and wide by Catalan ships, found a still wider field for expansion once the navigators of Castile and Portugal had opened up fresh channels of communication with the world. The states of the peninsula, also, ceasing to be absorbed by the

struggle to expel the Moors, entered into relations which became steadily closer and more permanent with all Christian Europe. This is the explanation of the artistic activity which made the century which witnessed their definitive triumph over Islam as noteworthy for Castile and Aragon as for Portugal. The period is remarkable for the number of both secular and religious buildings which were then erected in flamboyant style.

In 1401 a beginning was made with the construction of one of the richest and most grandiose edifices of the century: the cathedral of Seville, which was not completed until 1519; it is dominated by a campanile 275 feet in height called 'la Giralda' (the weather-cock) from a bronze figure of Faith which, though it weighs a ton and a quarter, turns with the wind, and was built as a minaret in 1196, another 90 feet being added in 1568. The architect between 1462 and 1472 was a certain Jean Norman, who, from his name, would appear to have been a Frenchman. It was, on the other hand, a German master, John of Cologne, brought from the Council of Basel by the archbishop of Cartagena, who, in 1437, built in the cathedral of Burgos the great chapel of the Constable Velasco de Castillo; between 1442 and 1450 he raised the superb façade of the cathedral in flamboyant style, one of the Gothic marvels of the thirteenth century. Toledo was for three-quarters of a century the scene of the labours of three Flemish architects, Anequin de Egas (Hantje Van der Eycken), his son, Henry, and Jan Was.

It was another Egas (van der Eycken) who, having been architect of the primatial church of Toledo, in 1510 laid the foundations of the cathedral of Salamanca, the latest, along with Segovia, of the great cathedrals of Spain. The names of these architects are alone sufficient to prove that the splendours of flamboyant architecture were revealed to Spain by masters from northern countries, Frenchmen, Germans, and Flemings; the Italian influence of the Renaissance was hardly felt in Spain until the accession of Charles V.

Spain and Portugal had developed in the Middle Ages and continued into the fifteenth century a secular and religious architecture which derived both from Moorish and from Gothic

sources; it was known as 'mudegar' in Spain and 'morisco' in Portugal. When it came under the influence of the flamboyant, it was reserved for secular architecture in Castile and Aragon, but in Portugal continued to be used for churches. In the reign of Manoel, towards the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, Portuguese Morisco became so heavily overloaded with ornament that it formed a new style, the 'manoelan', the masterpieces of which are the windows in the cloister at Batalha and the windows of Cintra. So Gothic art, finding itself capable of continued evolution, continued to be a living force in the peninsula even in the sixteenth century.

Sculpture had a similar history. It continued until the closing years of the fifteenth century and steadily perfected the traditions of the Middle Ages in the various countries of Europe with the exception of Italy which, as has been seen in a previous chapter, was the first to adopt the inspirations of classical antiquity; Italy was the channel through which in the latter half of the fifteenth century they penetrated into the different schools of the Christian nations.

In France and in the countries of the north, Flanders, the Netherlands, and England, it received, if not a positive renewal, at any rate a fresh impulse to activity under Charles V from an artist who was born in Valenciennes, André Beauneveu. Froissart describes the high reputation he enjoyed in the following words: 'There was no better artist in any country of the world nor is there any artist who has left so many admirable works in France or in Hainault, his native country, or in the realm of England.'

Such artistic relations between Flanders and France were continued into the fifteenth century and extended to Burgundy when the marriage of Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, and the daughter of Louis de Male united Flanders and Burgundy under the dominion of one family, itself a rich and powerful cadet of the house of France. It was another master-mason of the king, the pupil and successor of a master in the Low Countries, one Robert Loisel who, in 1389, built the tomb of Du Guesclin in St. Denis. It was a tomb-maker of the north,

Pierre de Thary, 'resident in Paris', but a native of the Artois or Hainault, who carved the statues of Charles VI and Isabella of Bavaria on their tomb in St. Denis.

Out of the commerce between French and Flemish artists emerged the magnificent school of sculpture at Dijon of which Claus Sluter was the most inspired artist. It signalized its beginnings by a masterpiece: the erection and, above all, the decoration of the charterhouse at Champmol near Dijon.

Claus van Werve, who had already carved the angels on the Calvary according to the instruction of Sluter, completed another fine work which he had begun, the tomb of Philip the Bold, who died in 1404. It was not completed until 1411. The originality of this admirable work consists not so much in the statue of the dead man lying on the sarcophagus—beautiful although it is—as in the figures in the niches on the four sides of the tomb which look like actual mourners at the funeral of the duke of Burgundy. 'Every possible form of expression to which grief can give rise seems to have been depicted in the gesture of those "weepers", or rather would have been, if nature and life had not furnished the observation of the image-makers with an inexhaustible repertory in which the picturesqueness of the costumes, the attitudes and the draperies is added to the realism of the expression.'

In 1443 Philip the Good ordered the tomb of his father John the Fearless (murdered in 1419 on the bridge of Montereau) from an Aragonese, Juan de la Huerta. He failed to give satisfaction and in 1463 was dismissed to make way for Antoine le Moiturier, a native of Avignon. Master Antoine had the assistance of a marble-cutter from Namur and finished his work in 1470; it was conceived with perhaps still greater splendour on the model of that of Claus Sluter and Claus van Werve.

Scenes from the Passion, it has been observed, exercised a particular attraction for the artists of the fifteenth century. They made innumerable representations of the placing of our Lord in the tomb with the Body stretched upon a shroud and surrounded by the holy women and the apostles. Hundreds of *pietà*, representations of the Blessed Virgin clasping the lifeless

Body of her Son across her knees, were also to be found in France in the course of the fifteenth century. Nor was the subject, so familiar to Catholic devotion, of the Blessed Virgin with the Child Jesus in her arms neglected by artists in the fifteenth century; it was treated with much familiarity and the Virgin Mother was depicted at one time as a great lady, at another as a young mother smiling to the *bambino* playing with her; such is the gracious Virgin in the Church of Nôtre Dame du Marthuret at Riom in the Limagne.

It is not surprising to find Italian influence affecting French sculpture through the intermediary of the French princes of the house of Anjou; their claims to the kingdom of Naples had almost turned them into Italians in much the same way as the Capetian house of Burgundy had become Flemish through the marriage of Philip the Bold and had attracted sculptors from Flanders and the Low Countries. On his return from Italy, King René of Anjou, count of Provence, invited to his court in 1461 two Italian artists, Francesco Laurana and Pietro da Milano. The latter executed in 1462 a beautiful medal of René and his wife, Jean of Laval, and another of Marguerite of Anjou. Laurana also between 1461 and 1464 engraved effigies of the princes of the house of Anjou, one of Louis XI and—most beautiful of all—one of Charles, count of the Maine, and brother of René. Laurana went back for a spell to Italy but returned to France in 1475 and executed the tomb of Charles in a purely Italian style, 'truly indicating the beginning of the Renaissance in French funerary sculpture'. The residence of this Italian in Maine is a possible explanation of the Italian influences to be found in the famous Entombment so much admired in the abbey at Solesmes. Laurana died at Avignon after executing numerous other works of sculpture at Marseilles and in Provence.

Charles VIII and Anne of Brittany were dazzled by the Italian climate, landscapes, and works of art and described the country as a paradise. On their return to France they brought back with them portraits, pictures, and manuscripts and—better still—artists. Yet that the national art was still able to maintain itself in vigour against the art imported from Italy

may be seen from the marvellous flamboyant enclosure of the choir in the cathedral of Amiens, the work of French sculptors who laboured there from 1470 to 1531 and the superb stalls which were wrought by a number of Amiens wood-carvers. They were completed in 1508 and are 'a masterpiece of wood-work in the perfection of the whole and of pictorial art in the variety and elegance of the composition, the luxury and liveliness of the ornamentation which is always clear and well-ordered—a supreme achievement of Gothic art'.

On the other hand, the tomb which Anne of Brittany ordered from Michel Colombe (1430?–1519?) for her parents, Francis II and Margaret of Foix, and which is the glory of Nantes Cathedral derives from French art the inspiration of its recumbent figures and of the statues representing the four cardinal virtues and from the Italian Renaissance that of its ornamentation.

The fifteenth century witnessed a magnificent flowering of sculpture in Germany. The German masters who were sculptors of stone and carvers of wood as well as chisellers and founders continued, like their predecessors, to decorate churches and lent their assistance to architects. Flamboyant art inspired artists who lavished almost to excess a wealth of ornamental denticles, pinnacles, and niches on the façades of cathedrals, on porches, on altars surmounted with monumental retables, on screens and spires. The porches of the cathedrals of Ulm and Ratisbon are specially remarkable for their wealth of ornament. Church furniture was enriched by magnificent pieces of carved wood and metal, altars in bronze and tabernacles, baptismal fonts, stone and metal tombs, pulpits and stalls and sacred vessels. Numerous workshops were busily engaged throughout Germany and the Low Countries in making them and master craftsmen went as far abroad as Spain.

In Germany, the town which reckoned the greatest number of workshops, sculptors, and goldsmiths was Nuremberg, which boasted more than fifty masters whose works adorned its public buildings or were exported all over Europe. It was said of them by a fifteenth-century poet: 'Whatever flies, swims or soars, man, angel, bird, fish, worm or insect, the creatures in their order and

everything the earth is capable of producing, they can reproduce it and cast it in bronze. . . . Their art and labour are famous in the most remote countries; they are very worthy to be styled great artists.'

The most famous of them all was Peter Vischer (1460–1529), who wrought the tomb of the Archbishop Ernest of Saxony in the Lady Chapel of the Dom at Magdeburg, that of Margaret Tucher, depicting the resurrection of Lazarus, in the cathedral at Ratisbon and, probably, that which the Emperor Maximilian caused to be erected during his own lifetime in the Franciscan church at Innsbruck, remarkable for its superb statue of Arthur, king of Britain. His masterpiece is the magnificent bronze tomb of St. Sebald (the 'Sebaldus-Grab') in the east choir of the church consecrated to that saint in Nuremberg; the artist worked at it for twelve years, from 1507 to 1519, with the aid of his two sons. 'This hybrid monument of an art in a period of transition', writes Louis Réau in *Peter Vischer et la sculpture franconienne du XIV*ème *au XVI*ème *siècle*, 'is a singular combination of florid Gothic architecture and Italian ornamentation.'

Vischer found a rival in Adam Krafft, a sculptor in stone (1450–1509), all of whose works are preserved at Nuremberg. His masterpiece is the tabernacle which Heinrich Imhof ordered of him in 1493 for the church of St. Lawrence.

The most illustrious master of the school of Würzburg was Tilman Riemenschneider (1468–1531), who was both a sculptor in stone and a wood-carver. He was one of the first German artists to produce studies of the nude in his figure of the Magdalen clad only in her hair, which, destined originally for a retable in Munnerstadt, is now preserved in the Museum at Munich, and in his statues of Adam and Eve carved in 1493 for the porch of the Lady Chapel (Marien Kapelle) at Würzburg. He executed a number of retables the most beautiful of which, now in the Herrgotts-kirche of Creglingen, of a highly ornate character, represents a variety of scenes with numerous characters and is remarkable for skill in composition, the disposition of the draperies and the originality of the figures.

At Ulm, a master of wood carving, Jörg Syrlin the Elder,

devoted five years from 1469 to 1474 to carving the handsome statues in the choir-stalls of the monumental church then nearing completion in that town. They were designed in three rows one above the other and show first, representatives of paganism, Pythagoras, Cicero, Quintilian, and the Sibyls hungering for God, then the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament in expectation of our Lord's coming, and lastly, Christianity in the saints and apostles. The Christian art of the Middle Ages was therefore in the full tide of expansion in Germany when it encountered the art of the Renaissance on the eve of that Reformation which was to let loose such furious vandalism on so many of its masterpieces.

English sculpture in the fifteenth century presents a twofold character. Being subordinate to architecture, it was therefore primarily decorative; possessing no very definite individuality, it was therefore too often satisfied with simply inserting its unrelated figures wherever they were required by architecture, without establishing any bond of association between them or evoking out of their conjunction anything of the incidental drama of life. Its subjects were set in isolated niches in the great retables of the time such as those at York and Canterbury of 1450, Ripon of 1494, and Norwich of 1500, or in the porches of churches, the doors of cloisters, chapels, and colleges or on the sides of tombs.

English sculpture, moreover, followed closely the fashion prevailing in countries with which England maintained close political or commercial relations, with France, most of whose western provinces she occupied in the course of the Hundred Years' War, and with Flanders with whom her industrial and commercial relations throughout the same period were important. It is not therefore surprising to find that a master from Liége should in 1367 have executed in Westminster the tomb of Philippa, the wife of Edward III and herself a native of Hainault, or that 'weepers' should figure under the arches on the four sides of the sarcophagus of Richard Beauchamp at Warwick, dated 1439, in obvious imitation of those on the tomb of Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy and count of Flanders.

In the early years of the fifteenth century realism was the fashion, and the dead were represented on tombs not with the features and dress of the living but in the state of decomposition in which they in reality were below the slab which covered them.

Certain works of art, however, were not only peculiar to England but also exported by her to other countries: these were sculptures in alabaster. Towards the end of the fourteenth century and all through the fifteenth, innumerable tombs of bishops and other great personages, panels of retables and statuettes were made of this material. It was hewn for the most part from the quarries of Chellaston in Derbyshire and worked up in the shops of Nottingham, Burton-on-Trent, and London. Orders were received also from the Continent and fifteenth-century English alabaster objects are therefore to be found in Normandy, Belgium, Lorraine, Germany, northern Italy, and even as far afield as Norway. Their whiteness was enhanced by coloured decorations, and they were sometimes even gilded. These alabaster sculptures were finally turned out in such quantities and so mechanically produced that they ceased to be works of art and became mere commercial objects and as such stereotyped in a fixed design. Art, however, reasserted itself in the handsome railings which protect the tomb of Henry VII at Westminster, in cloister grills and choirs and ceilings of wood delicately and richly carved, when the Italian Renaissance penetrated to England under the Tudor Henry VII in the period of tranquillity following the upheaval of the Wars of the Roses.

It was to an Italian master, Guido Mazzoni da Modena, that Henry VII by his will entrusted the task of executing his tomb with the recumbent effigies of the king and his queen, Elizabeth of York, the whole to be surrounded by twelve little statues. The order was carried out not by Mazzoni but by another Italian chosen by Henry VIII, a Florentine, Pietro Torrigiani, the sculptor who, according to Cellini, broke the nose of Michelangelo in a quarrel. Torrigiani received other commissions in 1512 to execute tombs for Young, a friend of Erasmus, for Margaret Beaufort, the mother of the King (it was completed in

1519 and now stands in Westminster Abbey) and the tomb in which Henry VIII in 1518 had intended to lay his bones alongside those of his wife, Catherine of Aragon. Torrigiani was soon so overwhelmed with orders that he went back to Florence to obtain assistants and returned thence in 1520 with a whole team. These artists introduced into England a composite Italian art which drew its inspiration with a somewhat too generous eclecticism from the masters of very various characters who had flourished in the preceding century; English sculpture accordingly passed at once into an academic formalism devoid of any great originality. As the reign of Henry VIII continued, so the number of Italians at his court increased, and the more predominant grew Italian influence in art.

Spanish sculpture also was greatly indebted to French and German influences. Navarre was governed by a French dynasty, a branch of the house of Capet; it is therefore easy to understand that its king, Charles III the Noble (1388–1426), the grandson of Charles the Bad, should have summoned artists from the north of France to Pampeluna and entrusted one of them, Janin Lomme of Tournai, in 1416, with the building and decoration of the tomb which was one day to receive him and his queen, Leonora. The completed work, now in the cathedral of Pampeluna, is in the style of the tomb of Philip the Bold, and the statues are of alabaster as in England. Other sculptors from the north of France were working in Aragon about the same time. Even when native artists were at work the Flemish influence is still perceptible. It is no less manifest in the monumental retables adorning the cathedrals of Aragon and Catalonia.

Italy, also, was in close relations about the same time with the Iberian peninsula. When the century opened the Aragonese dynasty was contending with the second house of Anjou for the kingdom of Naples, and succeeded in establishing itself under Alfonso the Magnanimous; the two Borgia Popes, Calixtus III (1455–8) and Alexander VI (1492–1503), were both natives of Valencia and attracted many of their compatriots to the Vatican. This circumstance accounts for the part played in Spain in the course of the fifteenth century by Italian Renaissance art.

A Spanish school soon grew up under the direction of these Italian masters and produced original work in the style of the classical Renaissance. During the reign of Charles V and as a result of the vast wealth which it derived from the New World, Spain became covered with works of art due not only to her own artists but also to those who flocked to her from all the countries under the dominion of the powerful Emperor—Italy, the Netherlands, and Germany.

French painting had found a field for its activity in the Middle Ages in illumination and stained glass, but still more perhaps in the decoration rather than the drawing of personages; frescoes were still awkward and clumsy, attempts at portraiture even more so. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, windows were decorated, not only with the lively colours which constituted their principal attraction in the thirteenth century, but also with figures of greater dimensions than had formerly been the custom, drawn with particular care and art.

John the Good and Charles V, the former a lover of romances, the latter more devoted to philosophical, moral, and political treatises, eagerly collected richly illuminated manuscripts; in the latter half of the fourteenth century, therefore, painters were to be found in their courts whose names indicate their French origin.

In constant relations, on the one hand, with the Papal court of Avignon, which, more particularly under Clement VI, was thronged with artists come from Italy to decorate the palace of the Popes and the residences of the cardinals and, on the other hand with the wealthy towns of Flanders and the Low Countries, France became the meeting-place of the two schools of painting which for the next two centuries were to divide the admiration of the world: the Italian schools, which, under Giotto and Simone Memmi, had shone with such lustre, and the Flemish school whose glory was the brothers Van Eyck.

The painters of the north flocked to the court of Charles V and his brothers, the duke of Anjou, the duke of Berry, and, above all, Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, and count of Flanders, who were all as enlightened patrons as the King.

After having become nearly merged in French art through the reciprocal influence which each brought to bear upon the other, the art of the Low Countries developed its own peculiar characteristics in the middle of the fifteenth century through the work of two brothers whose talent attained the height of genius. These were Hubert and Jan Van Eyck, who, though born in the neighbourhood of Liége, yet spent the greater part of their working life in Bruges and Ghent. Scanty details of their careers have come down to us. Hubert the elder is supposed to have been born about 1366 and to have died in 1426, Jan to have been born about 1380 and to have died about 1440. It has been claimed for them that they were the inventors of oil-painting, but sufficient evidence has been adduced to show that the method was in use before their time; they may have brought it to perfection. Jan found a patron in Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy and count of Flanders, and about 1425 was appointed by him 'court-painter and *valet de chambre*'. Hubert continued to reside in Ghent and at the time of his death on 18th September 1426 was engaged upon an altar-piece, the only work which can be with certainty assigned to him and which was completed by his brother—a joint masterpiece. Its subject was 'The Adoration of the Lamb' on an immense triptych comprising three hundred figures, and it was painted to the order of Jodocus Vydts, who presented it to the cathedral of St. Bavon in Ghent. The wings, with the exception of those representing Adam and Eve which were removed in 1775 by order of the Emperor Joseph II and ultimately sold to the Museum at Brussels, were purchased from an English collector in 1823 by the king of Prussia and placed in the Kaiser Frederick Museum at Berlin. Copies were meanwhile added to the picture at Ghent. It was provided by the Treaty of Versailles that the Berlin panels should be restored to Ghent as some reparation for the destruction of works of art in Belgium during the Great War and on the 3rd July 1920 restitution was effected. The technique and conception of the work mark a revolution in the art of painting.

For the first time for centuries [writes E. Müntz] an artist had taken it upon himself once more to paint the open air and to add the

beauty of nature to that of man. The Gothic influence has entirely disappeared from the characters; most of them, to be sure, wear the costumes of the day but they are absolutely free in their attitudes and gestures and in the expression of their features. The landscape is at once fresh and precise, luminous, limpid and profound. The Van Eycks reveal in it their passionate love of nature which here celebrates all her triumphs, at one time in a dazzling carpet of greenery diapered with violets, daisies and lily of the valley and marvellously effective, at another in superb thickets of flowering rose bushes in a luxuriant, almost southern, vegetation dominated by a palm tree.

The theological and mystical subject of the work proves the profound Christian inspiration of the painters and accords admirably with the tradition of the Middle Ages.

The same Christian tradition may be discerned in the Madonnas painted by Jan Van Eyck, more particularly that painted for the cathedral of Autun and now preserved in the Louvre, representing Rollin, chancellor of Burgundy, kneeling before the Virgin.

The Van Eycks were succeeded by Roger dc la Pasture (in Flemish Rogier van der Weyden). Born at Tournai in 1400 he was elected master of the St. Luke's guild of painters in his native city in 1432, and four years later was appointed official painter to the city of Brussels, where he continued his productive activity until his death in 1464. In 1450 he made a pilgrimage to Rome on the occasion of the jubilee and returned from Italy with a great admiration for the work of Gentile da Fabriano and Orcagna.

The artistic movement in Flanders which had been so magnificently inaugurated in the fifteenth century by the Van Eycks was concluded no less splendidly by the work of Hans Memling, who was born at Maintz in 1440 and died at Bruges, where most of his life was spent, in 1494. He was a pupil of Rogier van der Weyden and a most prolific artist. His chief works are the 'Shrine of St. Ursula' on which the legend of the holy martyr of Cologne is painted in six panels, the 'Mystical Marriage of St. Catherine', numerous 'Nativities', the 'Seven Joys of the Blessed

Virgin' now in the Pinacothek at Munich, and the 'Seven Dolours of the Blessed Virgin' now in the Gallery at Turin. His masterpiece is 'The Last Judgement' painted in 1473 for the Florentine family of Portinari, a triptych of which the central panel represents the souls of the dead being weighed in the scales, the left wing the damned (some fifty different characters) and the right wing the elect. 'Besides the intimate harmony between the expressions and the attitudes and the subject,' writes E. Durand-Gréville, 'what calls for unqualified admiration in this triple composition is the elegance of the proportions of the nude figures, their youth of body, the beauty of the drawing, the breadth of the modelling, in a word the purely pictorial and even sculptural qualities which are essential in every work of art.' Less powerful and realistic than the Van Eycks, the art of Memling is more delicate, more refined and aristocratic, and so exhibits a kinship with that of Raphael; in technical knowledge of his model and the resources of colour he brooks comparison with the greatest painters.

No enumeration of the beautiful works of Franco-German art would be complete which omitted the tapestries with which it became more and more the custom to ornament churches and princely residences, as the latter were converted from strongholds into luxurious *châteaux* or lordly pleasure houses. The kings of the House of Valois were passionately fond of them and made rich collections of them. John the Good had no less than 239 woven by Parisian artists. Charles V in 1380 possessed 200. The majority were woodland scenes, but many represented religious incidents such as the 'Passion', the 'Battles of Judas Maccabaeus', the 'Story of St. Augustine', or borrowed their subjects from the romances of chivalry and the *chansons de geste*, as the *History of the Duke of Aquitaine*, the *Legend of the Holy Grail* or from incidents of outdoor life such as those of the chase. Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy and lord of Flanders, where so many fine tapestries were woven, was the owner of a superb collection.

Many of the best pieces of tapestry were woven at Arras, which reckoned in the fifteenth century more than a hundred weavers

of tapestry. The town was destroyed by Louis XI in 1477 and its flourishing industry never revived. The weavers migrated to Tournai, Valenciennes, Bruges, and especially Brussels. An Arras weaver, Jean Walois, made many tapestries between 1413 and 1435 for his patron Philip the Good; others came from the looms of Brussels as, for example, the immense 'Story of Hannibal', presented by Philip the Good to Pope Paul II. The institution of the Order of the Golden Fleece was commemorated by a superb tapestry which was the gem of the collection of the dukes of Burgundy.

The duke of Berry and his nephew King Charles VI also possessed valuable collections; so, too, did various churches. The very rich treasury of the cathedral of Sens preserves many of rare beauty of which that representing the three coronations, of the Virgin, of Bathsheba by David and of Esther by Ahasuerus, deserves to be specially mentioned. The church of St. Just in Narbonne still preserves a monumental tapestry representing the six days of the Creation with landscapes and animals which reveal the artist's refined taste for nature. In the course of the sixteenth century the fashion for rich tapestry grew, and its most gorgeous display was perhaps at the interview which took place between Francis I and Henry VIII not far from Calais in a field where the tents were so ornately decorated that it was described as the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

These French and Flemish tapestries were exported to every country in Europe, and so much admired that French and Flemish artists were invited to come and set up looms and workshops. In 1433 a tapestry weaver from Tournai established himself in Avignon; in 1419 the Gonzagas of Mantua brought to their court a certain Jean de France and again in 1449 another craftsman, one Boteran of Brussels, who had already worked in Siena: looms were set up in Venice in 1421 by weavers from Bruges and Arras, at Ferrara in 1436 by Flemings, and at Rome by a Parisian, Renaud de Maincourt, who wove a 'Creation of the World' for Nicholas V. Weavers from the north also invaded Florence in 1456 and 1476, Perugia in 1493, Bologna and Milan in 1460, and are found as far afield as Spain and Portugal.

The case of Memling, a Rhinelander from the neighbourhood of Maintz who came and took up his residence in Bruges and became one of the most illustrious masters in the Low Countries, is a proof that a close bond of connexion existed between German and Flemish art.

The art of Germany was, like Germany itself, decentralized: the great cities had each its own peculiar school of painters. The cathedral and museums of Cologne preserve remarkable works of the town's fifteenth-century masters, of whom the most celebrated was Stephen Lochner. He was a native of Meersburg on the Lake of Constance who settled in Cologne about 1442 and there painted the famous Dombild, now preserved in the chapel of St. Michael in the cathedral. It is a triptych of imposing dimensions representing in the centre the 'Adoration of the Magi' with St. Gereon and St. Ursula on the wings, and the 'Annunciation' on the outside. Swabia produced Hans Witz, who was born in Constance in 1375 and entered the service of John V of Brittany, but more particularly of Philip the Good; during his sojourn in Flanders he was in relations with Jan Van Eyck. His son Conrad, who died sometime before 1447, painted retables, part of which are preserved in the Museums of Basel and Geneva. Colmar boasted between 1445 and 1491 an artist who was both a painter and an engraver, and who exercised a vast influence in the Rhineland from Basel to Maintz. This was Martin Schongauer whose most famous picture 'The Virgin in an Arbour of Roses' is now preserved in the sacristy of St. Martin's church in Colmar. It recalls Rogier van der Weyden, whose pupil Schongauer was, but it does not bear comparison with the master. He left a considerable number of engravings (one hundred and fifteen are known) which were imitated and even copied by Renaissance artists, including the great Michelangelo himself.

Of South German towns Augsburg was one of the wealthiest owing to its trade with the Low Countries and Italy, but more particularly to its bankers who, like the Fuggers, extended their operations all over Italy. Many of the rich merchants of the town were Maecenases like the Medici in Florence. This circum-

stance explains the important part played in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by the Augsburg school of art. It produced in the fifteenth century a painter who marks the transition between the art of the Middle Ages and that of the classical Renaissance, Hans Holbein the Elder, who was born between 1450 and 1460 and died in 1520.

Holbein the Elder left few portrait paintings but the numerous sketches by him which have survived place him in the first rank of portrait painters, and the finest is his self-portrait now in the Musée Condé at Chantilly. 'The broad and supple composition', says Müntz, 'the warmth of colouring—if such a word may be applied to a mere drawing in silverpoint—an exuberance of life combined with a certain air of melancholy, all reveal on the one hand the influence of the Flemish school so devoted to colour and on the other the proximity of Italy to which Holbein owed such a heavy debt.' His son Hans Holbein the Younger (1498–1543) was to shed a bright lustre on the German school in the first half of the sixteenth century.

Nuremberg had a school of painters as well as of sculptors. In the course of the fifteenth century they painted triptychs to embellish the churches of the town and of Bamberg as well as those of other cities in Franconia. The most celebrated representative of the school was Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), a pupil of Michael Wolgemut, the best painter of the time in the town and the chief illustrator of the famous *Nuremberg Chronicle*. Dürer's work far surpasses the limits of the school to which by origin he belonged. He studied also Martin Schongauer, the Cologne master, and through him the artists of the Rhineland. He made several visits to Italy—he was at Venice in 1505— where he studied and greatly admired the most illustrious painters of the first Italian Renaissance, more particularly Mantegna. German by the tradition of Nuremberg, classical through his sojourn in Italy, a painter but an engraver also on copper and wood, he conveys the impression of having been a universal artist. He has left an enormous volume of work.

Convinced that the study of nature was necessary for every work of art, he multiplied throughout his career studies of the

nude. His engravings and woodcuts are still more numerous and important than his paintings and include some huge compositions. The 'Greater Passion', 12 subjects on wood, kept him busy from 1504 to 1511, while twenty woodcuts of the 'Life of the Virgin' were completed in 1505. He was much employed by the Emperor Maximilian I, whose favourite artist he became and in whose honour he drew, in addition to several portraits and a famous series of decorations for the Emperor's prayer-book, the 'Triumphal Car' and the 'Triumphal Arch', which were engraved on wood. The latter is on ninety-two blocks which, when united, form a surface 11 feet 3 inches by 10 feet wide—the largest known woodcut. With the burin he engraved copper-plates which are known all the world over, 'Knight, Death and the Devil' in 1513, 'Melancholia' in 1514, 'Adam and Eve' and 'The Prodigal Son', and with the needle he etched 'Jesus in the Garden of Olives' and the 'Holy Family'. Dürer was also an author of reflective mind and, like Alberti and Leonardo da Vinci and other great intellects of the Renaissance, wrote scientific treatises of which *Instructions in Measurement* of 1525, a *Treatise on Fortification* of 1527, and a *Treatise on Human Proportion* of 1528 are the most important. During his later years he manifested great sympathy with the Reformers and adopted the doctrines of Luther.

German art had attained its apogee under him and the two Holbeins when the Reformation broke and swept it away.

The restorative reign of Edward III (1327–77) had given a fresh impulse to the development of art in England. The King had ordered the building of numerous sacred and secular edifices many of which were decorated with frescoes, as fragments lately discovered prove. Under Richard II and all through the fifteenth century the English school continued to decorate churches and chapels with frescoes and erected retables like those in Germany and the Low Countries.

Portraiture again proved the liveliest source of inspiration to the painters of the fifteenth century, and pictures of Prince Edward, the son of Henry VI, Edward IV, Edward V, and the Tudor Henry VII, stiff as figures in stained-glass windows, may

still be seen in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. Two other portraits of Henry VII are extant, one in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, the other in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

Henry VII seems to have been anxious to encourage the development of an English school inasmuch as it was an Englishman, one Robert Cooke, whom he appointed his superintendent of the fine arts and to whom he entrusted the painting of his own portrait and portraits of his second son, the future Henry VIII, the duke of Suffolk, and other illustrious personages. This attempt, however, failed before the manifest superiority of the Flemish artists who had come in great numbers to take up residence in England. A fresh influx of Flemish painters occurred under the influence of Erasmus and Cardinal Wolsey, which brought over Hans Holbein the Younger, and the creation of an indigenous art in England was still further retarded.

The Iberian peninsula, also, was heavily indebted to the Flemish art of the fifteenth century. Its sovereigns collected pictures, illuminated manuscripts and tapestries from the Low Countries, and as a majority of the painters they employed came from Flanders, the Netherlands or even Germany, so Portuguese, Castilian and Aragonese artists, eager to be taught by acknowledged masters, also went to reside in the Low Countries. When they returned to their native country, they imitated the manner of the Van Eycks, of Rogier van der Weyden or Gérard David, until the advent of artists from Florence, Naples, and Milan, about the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, introduced the classical art of the Renaissance.

Art, therefore, unlike humanism, had not broken with the traditions of the Middle Ages; in France, the Low Countries, Germany and countries subject to their influence, instead of despising the immediate past and abandoning itself wholly to the revived formulas of pagan antiquity, it continued to progress towards greater perfection of form while adhering faithfully to the Christian inspirations of past centuries. While pagan influences affected profoundly the scholarship of the Italian humanists and diverted it more and more from the Christian

ideal and the Church, or under pretext of reforming it prepared the way in France and Germany for the advent of Protestantism, art still remained in the beginning of the fifteenth century the ally of Catholicism and the interpreter of its teaching and sentiments.

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THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPE AT THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

SINCE the end of the thirteenth century the nobility of blood had continually declined in England. The fiefs which had been granted to it after the Norman Conquest were not as important territorially or politically as the feudal principalities in France and Germany, and a series of judicial decisions in the King's courts had gradually destroyed the power of strict and perpetual entail with the result that the great landowners, who had created appanages out of their family estates, were faced with the prospect of losing these appanages for good. The land laws of Edward I were an attempt to placate their wrath. Religious bodies were forbidden to acquire land, and the lay lord thus secured in his feudal dues by a statute of the year 1279, which enacted that, in the event of an 'alienation in mortmain', the immediate lord should be entitled to enter the land and claim it as forfeited at any time within a year after the breach; if he failed to do so, his right passed for six months to his next overlord and after that to the Crown. The statute *De Donis Conditionalibus* of 1285 enacted that on the failure of the donee's issue the land should revert, in spite of any intervening alienation, to the donor or his heirs, thus depriving the holder of the right of free alienation which had been gradually acquired against the lord and his heirs. The Third Statute of Westminster, the so-called *Quia Emptores* of 1290, made subinfeudation illegal, that is to say, prescribed that, while every free man should be at liberty to sell his lands and tenements or any part thereof as he chose, yet the purchaser should owe his feudal obedience not to the seller but to the original lord. This was a boon to great landlords and the holders of encumbered estates.

By the end of the thirteenth century, therefore, free tenants had acquired the right of alienation, and the nucleus was thus formed of a new class, the *lesser gentry*, which owed its position not to blood but to property. Out of their body grew the Justices

of the Peace whose magisterial and judicial functions were recognized and defined by the Statute of 1360, which empowered them to 'restrain' malefactors and to 'hear and determine' all manner of felonies and trespasses done in their county.

Below them came the yeomanry, a class of small freeholders living comfortably on their land, keeping servants and aspiring in the course of a few generations to rise among the gentry.

The *villein*, meanwhile, by some process as yet unknown in spite of Professor Vinogradoff's researches, had taken the place of the serf, the Anglo-Saxon 'ceorl', who had (and his fathers before him) from time immemorial ploughed and reaped the fields of the township within the manor. He had become an 'unfree man'—*affixus glebae*—rendering his service by labour on his lord's demesne, unable to sell his land or even to desert it without his lord's permission because such rights as he enjoyed were only customary. A new method of farming coming into vogue in the reign of Richard II, landholders let their demesne lands to tenant farmers at a rent, the services of the villein were rapidly commuted and the class of 'copyholders', so called because an entry on the rolls of the manor of the particulars of their holdings constituted their title-deeds, came into being. As such they were protected in their holdings by the King's courts and, though theoretically holding at the will of their lord, yet guaranteed against ejection by the possibility of an action for trespass.

Below these peasantry again came an agricultural proletariat of labourers by the task or the day. Their lot, also, was improved when the abolition of compulsory labour drove the landowners to seek for free labour and their wages rose when labour became more scarce as a result of the Black Death of 1348 and 1349. The depopulation of the countryside was still further aggravated by the exodus into the towns consequent on the development of industry, and wages rose to such a height that the attempt was made under Edward III to stabilize them. Labour statutes and ordinances were passed in 1351 and 1360 fixing the wages of each class of servant, making it compulsory for every able-bodied man or woman under the age of 60, with certain excep-

EUROPE IN THE XIV & XV CENTURIES — English Miles

tions, to serve a willing employer at a statutory rate of wages, and providing for the enforcement of the regulations so made by the Justices of the Peace. The Justices, thus empowered, proceeded to determine a maximum rate of wages, fixed prices of necessaries such as victuals and shoes, and laid down rules as to meals and the minimum hours of work.

There seems no reason to suppose that such a system of State regulation was either unpopular with masters or servants, or unsuccessful. We are returning to it to-day. The collapse of one system of status made the establishment of another inevitable, and it seemed only reasonable and in accordance with the mood of the time that the authority of the State should be interposed in the relations between master and servant. Attempts were made of course by both sides to evade the provisions, and the attempt at State regulation failed completely before the Puritan revolt of the seventeenth century and the Industrial Revolution of the later eighteenth, but for the moment served its purpose. It did not affect the mass of the population and it was not a main cause of the rebellion which followed.

England in the Middle Ages was an essentially agricultural country; it produced wheat, barley for the manufacture of beer, linen and flax, which was spun on the spot or in the nearest town. In the fourteenth century, however, as a result of the depopulation of the countryside which was one considerable consequence of the Black Death, stock raising came more and more to take the place of cultivation, more particularly when Edward III, not content with assuring to his subjects an increasing quasi-monopoly of the sale of wool to Flanders and the Low Countries, established cloth factories in London and other English towns. Grazing made the profitable exploitation of land easier and many proprietors found a means of evicting their tenants and converting their properties into great ranches called 'inclosures'. This was another cause of the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 for the insurgents were determined not to be reduced once more to the condition of serfs or villeins liable at any moment to be evicted.

The economic movement, however, in this case also was too strong to be defeated either by rebellion or legislation.

Agricultural labourers preferred to leave the country and flocked into the towns to become absorbed in industry, while the statutes passed in the reign of Richard II in 1377, 1385, and 1394 respectively, to stem the flood of emigration from the country and to encourage the cultivation of wheat were ineffective. Vast properties were given over to breeding sheep whose wool was absorbed by the English and Flemish industries and enriched the owners of these great estates at the expense of agriculture. Pliny remarked that *latifundia* had been the ruin of Italy; so Sir Thomas More, lamenting the depopulation of the countryside in the sixteenth century, was moved to write in the first book of his *Utopia* that 'your sheep that were wont to be so meek and tame and so small eaters now . . . be become so great devourers and so wild that they eat up and swallow down the very men themselves. They consume, destroy and devour whole fields, houses and cities'.

As early as 1350 England exported 11,648,000 lb. of wool, nine-tenths of which were bought by the towns of Bruges, Ghent, and Malines and the remainder by the Florentines. It was the produce chiefly of the districts round Hereford, Oxford, Warwick, and Cambridge, and the finest quality came from Leominster, the coarsest from Sussex. The close political bond of unity which then united England, the wool-producing country, and the Flemish towns which consumed the commodity has been noticed with reference to the Hundred Years' War. Commercial treaties were concluded in consequence and renewed at intervals of which the most important was the *Magnus Intercursus*,[1] negotiated in 1496 between Philip, archduke of Flanders, and Henry VII. Flemings were granted the right to take up residence in England and the English in Flanders with no restrictions on their mutual trading relations.

Edward III, the first truly national king of England, at the same time as he endeavoured to make his kingdom independent of France both politically and intellectually, attempted also to

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[1] The archduke was accidentally driven ashore in England in 1506 and detained until he conceded other privileges to English merchants, so damaging to Flemish trade that the Flemings called the treaty the *Malus Intercursus*.

make it economically independent of Flanders by encouraging the combing and carding of English wool as far as possible in English factories. Looms were established under his patronage in Norfolk and in Suffolk[1] round Norwich (the Manchester of the fourteenth century), which thus became the great centre (it was then known as the *villa mercatorum*), also at Salisbury, at Carlow in Ireland, and finally in London. The Flemish industry, however, maintained its superiority until the end of the sixteenth century and lost it only when the Flemings, expelled from their country by the wars of religion, established themselves and their cloth factories in England.

Although herring fishing was an important industry in the port of Yarmouth, salmon fishing in those of Berwick and Aberdeen, and tin-mining, which had been carried on in Cornwall since Graeco-Roman times, had so far developed in the fifteenth century that a trade had grown up in the export of the metal; other industries were still in their infancy. The salt works produced only a coarse quality, the finer being imported from Guyenne; coal-mining was not begun until the fourteenth century and developed only in the fifteenth.

One fact, however, which proves the development of industrial life is the simultaneous creation towards the end of the Middle Ages of corporations of employers, the guilds, and associations of working-men. The power of the latter alarmed the government. The Statute of Labourers passed in the reign of Edward III in 1351 attempted to combat their aspirations for higher wages, by compelling all persons under a certain rank to serve any one willing to employ them at the statutory rate of wages and imposing severe penalties upon any servant refusing to serve or departing from his service. They were dissolved on several occasions, more particularly in 1425, for pursuing an illegal object and so forming a 'conspiracy', when they conducted a campaign for collective increases of wages. These associations of employers and workmen, nevertheless, continued

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[1] Long before this, however, and as early, perhaps, as the reign of Henry II, a colony of Flemings had settled at Worsted, a village in Norfolk, and immortalized its name by their manufacture.

to increase as industry developed and succeeded in accumulating considerable funds. These were confiscated along with the property of the Church by Henry VIII.

It was trade, however, which made the greatest progress in England during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It was conducted in two ways: at 'Staple' towns where, as on the Continent, the merchandise to be exchanged was continually stored up, or at fairs, where English and foreign merchants met one another on fixed days. By his Statute of the Staple of 1353 Edward III transferred the staple wool from Bruges, where the restrictions imposed had become too irksome for Englishmen to bear, and shared the privileges of the staple between York, Lincoln, Norwich, Canterbury, Winchester, and Dublin. All questions in dispute affecting mercantile transactions were at the same time put under the jurisdiction of the mayor of the staple for decision with the help of foreign assessors by 'merchant law'. The change, however, proved unsatisfactory, and from about 1362 the staple for English wool was almost constantly fixed at Calais, where it remained until 1558. Important fairs were held at Leeds, a great woollen centre, at Norwich and Southampton, which had a flourishing trade with Venice, at Stourbridge, near Cambridge, one of the most important in the kingdom, at Chester, Portsmouth, and Southampton. Foreign buyers came in quest of woollens, tin, horses, and cattle, and brought for exchange spices and other products of the Levant from the great entrepôts of the Rhine and the Danube, silks and velvets from Venice and Genoa, wines from Spain and France, the great port of which was Bordeaux, canvas and cloth from Flanders.

London, the most densely populated town in the kingdom in the fourteenth century with its 35,000 inhabitants, was also the chief port; it was rivalled by the associated 'Cinque Ports' on the Channel—Sandwich, Dover, Hythe, Romney, and Hastings. Plymouth was the port which had the closest relations with France and Spain; Bristol was the harbour whence the fishermen sailed for the Hebrides and Newfoundland; Scarborough, Hull, Harwich and Colchester on the North Sea

traded especially with Flanders and the Hanseatic League which had a branch in London.

As early as the end of the fourteenth century the English kings took an active interest in the development of the mercantile marine by encouraging imports and exports in English bottoms. Premiums were granted for the purpose in 1381. A further step was taken in the fifteenth century. In 1440 the House of Commons, inaugurating a policy destined to be sedulously pursued by Cromwell in the seventeenth century, insisted that imports from abroad should be made only in English bottoms, and in 1500 Henry VII refused to permit French wines from Guyenne to enter the country if they were not imported in English vessels.

The discovery by Vasco da Gama about the end of the fifteenth century of the passage from the Atlantic into the Indian Ocean round the Cape of Good Hope, followed by that of America by Christopher Columbus and his successors, changed the direction of international trade and turned it towards the West. The Mediterranean suffered the competition of the Atlantic Ocean which was better able to put the Old World into communication with the New and even with the Far East round the southern extremity of Africa. Then the Mediterranean ports such as Venice, Genoa, and Marseilles had to fear rivalry of the ports facing the Ocean such as Lisbon, Bordeaux, Le Havre (created by Francis I), St. Malo, Antwerp, Rotterdam, London, Bristol, and Liverpool. Then England began to play an important part in international trade and colonization. She emerged in the sixteenth century as the rival first of Spain and then of Holland, and orientated her activity towards the colonization of the world and the conquest of the empire of the seas.

A similar social development took place about the same time in France. The great feudal houses, which had suffered heavily in the Hundred Years' War, were reduced to impotence by Charles VII and especially by Louis XI. The nobles then ceased to take any interest in local assemblies in which they enjoyed no authority; reduced to filling merely honorific offices, they found themselves gradually ousted from the Parliaments, the local judiciaries, and provincial administrations by the

upper bourgeoisie among the lawyers. The great lordships also began to crumble away as a result of partitions or alienations caused by the impoverishment to which the Hundred Years' War had reduced a class which knew no other occupation than the profession of arms.

The political influence and economic wealth thus lost by the nobility were gained by the bourgeoisie. It seized hold of the municipal offices and tended to make them hereditary and so there grew up a municipal aristocracy of merchants. The sons of these wealthy merchants took the place formerly held by the lawyers and it was they who furnished the kings of France, from Charles VII to Francis I, with ministers of finance, treasurers, and tax-gatherers. Guillaume Briçonnet in 1450 was a modest cloth merchant at Tours. His eldest son became receiver-general of Languedoc between 1466 and 1475, and two of his grandchildren held the same post. Other members of the family about the end of the century were, one a receiver in Touraine, another comptroller of finance in Brittany and a third arch-bishop of Narbonne and cardinal. The son of Jean de Beaune, another cloth merchant and an associate of Guillaume Briçonnet, lived to become *argentier*, that is to say, finance minister, of Kings Louis XII and Francis I; created baron of Semblançay in 1515, he for a time was able to give himself the airs almost of a king until he was condemned to death for peculation and hanged at Montfaucon on the 11th August 1527.

These gentlemen of the robe became nobles either by purchasing the estates and castles of the old ruined nobility or by creation and holding from the king important lordships with their burdens and duties.

The bourgeoisie acquired a monopoly of commerce and extended their speculations not only over France but throughout the world as well, and used their wealth for the acquisition of power. Jacques Cœur (1395?–1436) may be considered a very typical example. The son of a furrier in Bourges and himself apprenticed to trade at an early age without receiving any education worthy of mention, he founded at Bourges a merchant house which, fifteen years later, numbered three hundred

branches in Syria, Egypt, and the chief ports of the Mediterranean. The fleet of vessels belonging to him rivalled those of Venice, Genoa, Barcelona, and Lisbon. He went himself to Damascus in 1433 to meet the caravans bringing his merchandise from the Far East; he next concluded an agreement with the Sultan of Egypt for the free passage of French goods. His commercial operations had their ramifications in England, Italy, Spain, and the Low Countries. He exported woollens and cloth to the East and received in exchange silks, carpets, and precious fabrics; everywhere he trafficked in money and conducted exchange operations through banks.

In France he exported copper ore and lead and silver from the Beaujolais. With the profits from his trading establishments he purchased lordships in twenty parishes and the captainships of Saint Pourçain, the native country of his family, of Sommières, Saint André-les-Avignon and the *châteaux* of Lyons. In 1435 he became the King's master of the mint at Bourges and at Paris, raised the value of the currency and stabilized it at the higher rate; in 1438 he was appointed *argentier* to Charles VII and shortly afterwards comptroller of the finances of the kingdom. He loaned money to the nobles who were jealous of him and 200,000 *écus* to Charles VII himself, who made him president of the estates of Languedoc and entrusted him with important diplomatic missions to Genoa, Geneva and, in 1446 and 1447, to the court of Pope Eugenius IV. Owing to the King's favour he was able to establish members of his family in high office. His brother Nicholas became bishop of Luçon in 1441 and his son John at the age of 25 was archbishop of Bourges in 1446. Proud of his fortune he built himself a magnificent mansion at Bourges which combined luxury and austerity; for if one façade looking on to the ditches, with its pepper-box turrets and dungeon, presents the appearance of a fortress, the other, looking on to the street, is the more ornate with its windows in flamboyant style, its decorative motifs, its graceful turrets for winding staircases and the richly ornamented windows of the attics. He presented the cathedral with a superb sacristy and built in it a chapel which contains the tomb of his brother, the bishop of

Luçon. It would be difficult to imagine a higher and more rapid rise than that of this merchant who in such a brief space of time became Prime Minister to the king of France.

The masses of the people at the same time attained to greater liberty and comfort of living and began to play a greater part in the life of the nation. Serfdom had disappeared in Normandy, Dauphiné, Languedoc, the Maine, Anjou, and part of the Île de France as early as the thirteenth century; in the fifteenth it became increasingly rare in Burgundy, Champagne and the Centre, as in Auvergne, the Bourbonnais and Berry, owing to the multiplication of individual and collective enfranchisements. The condition of the free peasantry improved with the abolition of numerous feudal rights and the limitation and reduction of villein services and above all through the prosperity of agriculture between the end of the Hundred Years' War and the beginning of the Wars of Religion.

One indication of the prosperity of the countryside was the rapid increase of the rural population; families of from ten to twelve children were frequent and those with from five to seven common. Village churches became increasingly incapable of accommodating a population which continually increased and had to be enlarged or reconstructed. This was the case in many districts of Champagne.

Another indication of this same prosperity may be found in the development of land which took place in the fifteenth century and continued into the beginning of the sixteenth. The great ecclesiastical and feudal estates were often divided up into lots which the peasants either took on lease or bought outright. 'Like the bourgeois and the merchants, they bought vineyards, fields, and uncultivated lands round their homesteads,.and, tilling them themselves, became in course of time great landowners.'

The cultivation of the vine was developed on a large scale and France about 1500 became the greatest wine-producing country in Europe. Languedoc, the Agenais, Guyenne, and the Médoc already derived the greater part of their wealth from the grape. In Burgundy the abbeys produced the great *crus*: the region round Volnay, for example, was planted in 1511.

The cultivation of the vine penetrated into Picardy and Normandy in the attempt to establish itself in a district in which it has not been able to persist. In Provence market-gardening was developed, and to assist cultivation the country was irrigated in 1511 with the waters of the Durance. In Languedoc the olive and the mulberry were grown, in Normandy the plum, the pear, and the apple. The most important crop, however, was still wheat which was grown principally in the Beaune, in the Île de France, in Poitou, in the Saône valley and in Languedoc.

Stock-breeding developed with cultivation. The chief object up till then had been the multiplication of cattle, and the production of a large amount of meat had been considered more important than fat; 'fat oxen' were scarce. The peasantry of the sixteenth century began to fatten their stock especially in Normandy.

The country population, therefore, grew rich and independent, and, perceiving in their midst the nucleus of a rural aristocracy, determined to play an increasingly important part in the administration of their interests with the result that feudal overlords had to resign themselves to the constitution of municipalities and consulates administering villages as they had already administered towns for several centuries.

The towns were no less prosperous than the country, for commerce and industry had greatly developed since the Hundred Years' War. The woollen trade was flourishing in the north and enriched the towns in the valleys of the Oise and the Somme and above all Normandy. Rouen is described in a document of 1498 as 'the head-quarters of the said art of cloth-making'. This industry developed in the middle of the fifteenth century in the Berry as a result of the extensive breeding carried on in that province. To keep in France the wool which was being exported to Italy, Louis XI encouraged the development of the cloth industry in Languedoc and the substitution of machinery for weaving by hand. Again, with the object of defeating the competition of Italy, the same king established a silk factory in Lyons in 1467 and transferred it to Tours. The working of silk, satin, damask, velvet, and gold and silver embroideries returned

thence to Lyons and migrated again to establish new industries at Amiens, Rouen, and Poitiers.

The exploitation of mines was begun under Charles VII by workmen from the Rhine country and Swabia whom that king had invited to France and regulated in 1471 by Louis XI. It was carried on mainly in Provence, in the district round Lyons and in Burgundy. Early in the sixteenth century companies were formed to exploit all coal-producing lands at Le Creusot, Blangy and Montcenis. The same period also saw the development of the luxury industries, the industrial arts and printing. To facilitate the marketing of all these products both in France and abroad free fairs were held everywhere at frequent intervals, and work taken in hand to make several rivers navigable. Commercial treaties were concluded by Charles VII with Castile, Aragon, and Denmark, by Louis XI with Portugal in 1462, the Teutonic Hansa in 1473, 1483 and 1484, and England in 1476, by Charles VIII with Switzerland in 1484 and Spain in 1493; several were concluded by Louis XII with the Tudor Henry VII and the Catholic kings of Spain.

This industrial and commercial prosperity was responsible for the rise in most towns of the realm of great families of merchants and bankers, such as those of Jacques Cœur, in Briçonnet and Beaune, the Ponchers in Paris and Tours, the du Peyrats in Lyons, the Jouffroys in Franche Comté and the Assezats in Toulouse.

The industrial working-classes derived less advantage than their employers from the prevailing prosperity and their condition was not so enviable as that of the labourers on the land because their claims were restrained by powerful associations of employers and often repressed by the royal authority; for the kings of France, like the kings of England, regarded concerted action by 'unions' of working-men to raise the scale of wages as a 'conspiracy'. Nevertheless, numerous confraternities were formed to ease the misery of the proletariat by guaranteeing their members help in case of sickness or loss of work.

The evolution of the social classes in the German Empire in the fifteenth century was similar to that of France and England.

The peasants increasingly freed themselves from their feudal superiors or the owners of their farms and their holdings; many became proprietors themselves and even capitalists, for agriculture in the generations preceding the troubles of the Reformation made great progress in Germany as in the rest of Europe. Wine was consumed in greater quantities at the time and vineyards extended over a larger area than nowadays; they were to be found in Mecklenburg even and in Brandenburg; they were numerous in Bavaria and the Palatinate and all down the valley of the Rhine. The vineyard *par excellence* of Germany was the Upper Rhine and the *crus* of Johannisberg were already famous. A traveller in 1500 wrote of the districts round Bingen and Maintz in the following terms: 'It is a pleasant, smiling countryside with an abundance of streams, vineyards, fields, woods, and fertile orchards. The villages are beautiful and look like towns. The people here live very comfortably. The soil produces plenty of fruit.' In Pomerania, cereals of every kind, wheat, barley, oats, and rye were produced in such abundance that they were exported to Scotland, Holland, Zeeland, and Brabant.

An indication of the prosperous state of Germany industry at the time may be found in the number and influence of the guilds and craft corporations. The oldest were those of the linen-weavers, the wool-combers, and the dyers.

In the year 1466 there were 743 master-weavers in Augsburg and the number increased from year to year . . . in Nuremberg the weavers inhabited a separate quarter of the town, where were to be found dwellings and workshops for all the different operators of the trade (wool-combers, the cloth-shearers, the fullers). . . . In many Westphalian towns [writes Wimpheling] we find loom upon loom at work, and it is difficult to estimate how many hundred thousand yards are made from month to month by the different guilds. . . . In Erfurt the large crops of teasels and pastels were used by the cloth and cloth-dyeing establishments of the city.[1]

In 1458 Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, the ecclesiastical diplomat

[1] Janssen, *History of the German People*, trans. by M. A. Mitchell and A. M. Christie, vol. ii, pp. 4, 5. As footnote to first sentence, he adds: 'There were fourteen dye-houses outside Augsburg and still more within the city.'

who was later to become Pope Pius II, described the mining wealth of Germany as follows:

The mines of Mt. Kutten [the Kuttenberg] in Bohemia, of the Rammelsberg in Saxony, of Freiberg, Geisberg and Schneeberg in the Meissen Highlands have been proved to contain inexhaustible veins of silver. In the valleys of the Inn and the Enz, near St. Leonard and in the counties of Styria, the dukes of Austria have also discovered rich mines. . . . Germany possesses an abundance of iron, tin, and copper.

The same writer observed that the mineral wealth of the country found a practical expression in the luxury of the metal objects of all kinds in the household furniture of all classes of society, more particularly in the houses of the merchants and in the importance of the Germany jewellery trade. The important part played in the history of art by the goldsmiths and founders of Nuremberg has been noticed in the preceding chapter.

The trading associations founded by the bourgeoisie of the German towns were already some centuries old and they were of sufficient consequence to be able to ensure by means of their own armed convoys the safe passage of their transports of merchandise both by land and sea; these were the Hansas. The majority combined to form a still more powerful Hansa with ramifications all over the world of immense importance. A guild of German merchants from Cologne, established in London in or before the twelfth century, subsequently, about 1474, developed into a powerful association known as the Merchants of the Steel-yard and, absorbing other guilds at Lynn, York, Bristol, Ipswich, Norwich, Yarmouth, and Hull, attempted to secure a monopoly of the German trade in England. Wisby, on the island of Bornholm in the Baltic, was an important centre of the Hanseatic cities and, dominated by Lübeck, became the chief centre of the trade with Russia and the mother-city of a no less important Hanseatic settlement at Novgorod, near Lake Ilmen in Russia. Other depots of the first importance were established at Witten in the province of Skåne in the south of Sweden, at Bergen on the west coast of Norway and at Bruges in Flanders, besides many trading stations scattered along the

shores of the North and Baltic seas. Merchants from other towns in Germany were gradually admitted to enjoy the privileges of these guilds until ultimately the great confederation known as the Hanseatic League was formed and under the hegemony of Dantzig attained the zenith of its power in the middle of the fifteenth century. The city of Dantzig had grown so considerably that in 1481 eleven thousand of its vessels were engaged in transporting wheat to Holland; it sent convoys of forty ships to Galicia, Lisbon, and Nantes and, above all, to England. One vessel belonging to the town, the *Peter of Dantzig*, had a crew of 400 men and in 1474 carried as many as 2,250 loads of salt. The other great towns of the Hansa were Lübeck, which was in relations with all the Baltic ports and so with the interior of Russia, Breslau, which by its relations with Vienna brought Flanders into touch with the Danube waterway, Cologne, at once the commercial and religious capital of the Rhine provinces, Augsburg, Ulm, and Strasburg; which by means of the Rhine extended the operations of the League as far as Milan and Venice, Ratisbon, and, finally, Frankfurt, the clearing-house of exchanges between Upper and Lower Germany, which attracted to its famous fairs merchants from Flanders, Holland, England, Poland, Bohemia, Italy, and France. As soon as the circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese and the discovery of America had opened up a new field for commercial activities, the trade between the great German towns and the East and West Indies (America) at least doubled the activity of these German associations and the great houses directing them. In 1503 the Welsers of Augsburg opened a flourishing branch at Lisbon and through its intermediary entered into relations with India on the one hand and with Brazil on the other.

Speculation in commodities and money was indulged in on a large scale and became increasingly common. At the Diet held in Cologne in 1512 the Emperor Maximilian was compelled to take measures, which, however, were ineffective, against the 'cornering' of commodities. 'In recent years', he wrote, 'great merchant companies have grown up in the Empire and have

had the audacity to take in hand, to buy up and to monopolize all kinds of merchandise, spices, wool, metals, &c. . . . in order to traffic in them to the exclusion of others and so as to fix their price as they like and for their own exclusive profit.' The notorious 'commodity kings' of the U.S.A. were already anticipated by these fifteenth-century German monopolists. These great capitalists sometimes traded in bullion, and, like the Medici in Florence, kept great banking-houses in their native towns with branches in all countries to which their commercial operations extended. These Christian bankers had nothing to learn from the Jews in the practice of usury and were specially numerous in Frankfurt, Nuremberg, and Augsburg.

The most celebrated in the last-mentioned town were the Fuggers. The ancestor of the family was John Fugger, a master-weaver born in 1348 at Graben near Augsburg. His son John became a freeman of Augsburg by marriage in 1370, traded in linen in addition to weaving, and, on his death in 1409, left a fortune of 3,000 florins. His son Jacob, who died in 1469, was the first of the family to have a house in Augsburg, and of his seven sons three, Ulrich, George, and Jacob II, married into the nobility. They themselves were ennobled by the Emperor Maximilian, who mortgaged to them for 10,000 gold gulders the county of Kirschberg and the lordship of Weissenhorn. Ulrich Fugger (1441–1510) devoted himself specially to commerce with Austria. Jacob Fugger II (1459–1525) farmed the mines in Tirol and, accumulating vast wealth, became banker to the house of Austria. Apart from each individual member's private activities, the Fugger brothers together formed an association which traded on a vast scale. A note left by their secretary Conrad Mayer records that their fortune had increased in seven years by thirteen million florins; it was estimated in 1520 at sixty-three millions.

Like their contemporaries, the Medici, and the modern American millionaire, they put their wealth in many cases to a noble use and spent vast sums on works of charity. Jacob II in 1519 bought houses in one of the suburbs of Augsburg, pulled them down and built 108 smaller houses (called the 'Fuggerei')

which he let to poor citizens at a low rent. As a separate quarter, closed by its own gates, it exists in Augsburg to this day. They were generous patrons. They possessed the most extensive libraries and art collections, maintained painters and artists and liberally encouraged art and science. Their houses and gardens were masterpieces of the architecture and taste of the times.

By the side of these lucky speculators who in less than a century accumulated in their houses the fortunes of millionaires, there were others who failed and whose 'crashes' and bankruptcies were as 'sensational' as the fortunes of their more successful rivals. The Hochstätter family of Augsburg who had attempted to become 'mercury kings' by buying 200,000 gold florins' worth at a single deal, who received cargoes of spices from the East Indies and from 1511 to 1517 derived from their mines 150,000 silver marks and 53,000 quintals of copper, ended their vast operations by becoming bankrupt for 800,000 gold florins.[1]

In spite of the enormous profits which accrued from an unrestricted capitalism, the material conditions of the masses in Germany in the sixteenth century showed a remarkable improvement, if the food they ate be taken as any criterion. 'Journeymen', wrote the masters to the Margrave of Baden, 'are not content with soup, good vegetables, a suitable portion of meat, bread and cheese; they insist on having another dish and a joint.' 'The common people', observes John Butznach, a fifteenth-century writer, in his travel diary, 'very rarely have less than four dishes at their meals, both dinner and supper; in addition to that they eat fried pastry in the summer with buttered eggs and cheese. Between dinner and supper, they have a luncheon of cheese, bread and milk.' 'At Klosterneuburg, between 1485 and 1509, at a time when beef cost two deniers a pound, the day's wage of masons and carpenters was twenty deniers in summer and sixteen in winter',[2] so that he earned

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[1] For Joachim Hochstätter's proposals to Henry VIII for working 'the mines discovered in England', cf. *Letters and Papers, &c.*, ed. Brewer, iv, pt. ii, no. 5,110. He would come over with six Germans who understood the work and commence working with 1,000 men, &c.

[2] Janssen, *History of the German People*, translated by M. A. Mitchell and A. M. Christie, vol. ii, p. 32.

eight or ten pounds worth of beef. The public authorities and the Church considered it their duty, the former by sumptuary laws, the latter by moral exhortations, to repress the luxury expenditure of the working-classes. At the Diets of Freiburg in 1498 and Augsburg in 1500 they were forbidden to wear gold or silver ornaments, silk or pearls. 'Be it known unto you, O tradesmen and journeymen', says the *Christian Exhorter*, 'that extravagance in gold, silver and such stuffs for clothing is forbidden you. Say not: "I earn enough to afford it"; for it is contrary to the Christian idea of your estate. . . . It is right and proper that you should receive good wages and good board; of good clothing have as much as your means will afford. . . . Use what precautions your leisure will permit, also bathing and the like.'[1]

Spain, which together with Germany was to form the great Empire of Charles V, was also progressing throughout the fifteenth century, and the rise of the lower and bourgeois classes was as manifest there as in the other countries of Europe. In Aragon, under the influence of Queen Maria, the wife of Alfonso V (1416–58), serfdom was wellnigh abolished throughout the kingdom, which included also Catalonia and Valencia. The bourgeoisie began to assume increasing importance owing to the growth of the town populations and their industrial and commercial activity. A wealthy commercial aristocracy had already grown up in Barcelona, and in most of the autonomous towns the nucleus was already formed of an aristocratic municipal bourgeoisie.

Catalonia was above all industrial; cotton factories had sprung up in Barcelona, in Ampurdan and at Lerida; leather was worked and ropes spun for shipping, pottery and glass manufactured. The plateaux and mountains of Aragon had but scanty pasture-land but sheep-raising was greatly developed, and wool-combing and weaving industries sprung up in consequence in Tarragona, Albarracin, Jaca, and Huesca. Agriculture on the other hand was in a flourishing condition round

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[1] Quoted by Janssen, *History of the German People*, translated by M. A. Mitchell and A. M. Christie, vol. ii, p. 33.

Valencia and in Andalusia on account of the climate and the system of irrigation which had been introduced there by the Arabs.

The commercial prosperity of Catalonia and the kingdom of Valencia and Majorca was already considerable in the Middle Ages, when vessels from those countries ploughed the whole Mediterranean; and colonies of their merchants established themselves in the ports of the Levant in consequence of the Catalan and Aragonese principalities, which were established in the Latin Empire of Constantinople and persisted there after the restoration of the Byzantine Empire. Another indication of the commercial prosperity prevailing in the fifteenth century may be found in the artistic merchants' *loggie* (the commercial exchanges of the time), which remain to this day the jewels of Perpignan, Valencia, and Majorca. Trade in the Mediterranean was accompanied by active trading with the Low Countries and through them with all the Rhine provinces and to this circumstance is to be attributed the considerable influence already noticed of Flemish art on the Aragonese art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. To increase still further this economic expansion fairs and markets were systematically held, maritime consulates established and commercial treaties signed with many foreign countries. The Majorcans had entrepôts in nearly every country in Europe and in the Levant, and their merchant vessels, which were also, when occasion offered, ships of discovery in quest of new markets, were manned by 30,000 sailors. They exported wines, oils, raisins, and other fruits, wool, skins, metals (iron and steel), and salt, the working of which was a State monopoly.

The economic life of Castile was less vigorous than that of the kingdom of Aragon. Industry, nevertheless, had greatly developed at Toledo, Segovia, Seville, and Zamora, and metallurgy in the province of Biscaya. The luxury industries, the manufacture of arms at Toledo, the working of leather at Cordova, and the art of illumination were also noteworthy.

The discovery of the coasts of East Africa and of the passage to the Indies round the Cape of Good Hope, and the discovery

of America, by opening immense outlets to the nations which, having discovered them, were the first to profit by them, gave a fresh impulse to the economic life of the Iberian peninsula.

Spain, reunited under the sceptre of the Catholic kings, kept to herself a monopoly of trade with the New World, and this gave a powerful fillip to industries already existing. The city of Segovia alone had some 15–16,000 looms and they multiplied also in other towns of Andalusia, Aragon, and Catalonia. Industry also made considerable progress in Castile at Cuenca, Medina di Campo, and Toledo.

The Spanish coast on the Mediterranean suffered not a little from discoveries which diverted the course of traffic towards the Atlantic, while the supremacy of the Turks in the East diminished the importance of Spain's relations with the ports of the Levant; the ports of Majorca, Valencia, and Barcelona, however, still remained busy centres. The two Spanish ports nearest the Straits of Gibraltar then began to play an important part; Cadiz and Seville were the harbours for trade with the New World and the ports of the Low Countries and Germany, which came into still closer relations with Spain when Charles V, the grandson of Maximilian, united under his sceptre the Low Countries, Germany, and Spain. From the sea-coast trade penetrated into the towns of the interior from Burgos to Baeza and from Santiago da Compostella to Saragossa. The mercantile marine took a further step forward in development when the produce of America arrived in regular convoys at Seville, galleons laded with gold and precious metals, and sailed again with cargoes of goods manufactured in Europe for the natives of the American colonies.

The wealth which poured in from the New World unfortunately proved a hindrance to production in Spain; it seemed to make unnecessary any native industry. Spain also was soon to encounter both at sea and in distant countries the rivalry of nations as eager as herself to exploit the newly discovered continents, England and Holland, and the economic decadence of the country set in. It may therefore be said that the first quarter of the sixteenth century saw the zenith of her prosperity.

Portugal, finding herself in the same political situation as the other two Christian kingdoms of the peninsula, pursued the same course of development in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The discovery of new world routes leading to new lands opened up for her also a vast field for economic expansion. Her port of Lisbon became one of the most important in Europe and she bartered her products in the docks with commodities from India and the New World. The fifteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth saw the zenith of her power.

Considering the Christian world, therefore, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, we see it in the full tide of progress, a political progress in the organization of the nations which were becoming more and more conscious of their power, defining their forms of government and administration and feeling the necessity to find an outlet abroad for the exuberance of their life at a time when new continents were opening before them; an intellectual progress with the magnificent expansion of the early Renaissance. Such progress was destined to be suspended or at the least greatly retarded by the crisis about to be provoked all over Europe, with the exception of Spain and the East, by the Reformation and the havoc caused by the wars of religion which followed in its train and wrought so much material, moral and artistic ruin in Germany, England, and France.

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ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL PHILOSOPHY

By A. E. TAYLOR, M.A., D.LITT., LITT.D., LL.D., F.B.A.

Professor of Moral Philosophy in Edinburgh University

CONTENTS

*P*HILOSOPHY: *what.* By philosophy, throughout these pages, will be meant the attempt to give a reasoned answer to the most ultimate question man can raise about the universe in which his life is set and of which he himself forms a part. Has this seemingly chaotic jumble to which we belong any unity of pattern; if it has, what can we know of that pattern? Merely to ask the question is not to be a philosopher; it has been casually asked, no doubt, from a prehistoric past, ever since men began to reflect at all. But wherever we find men trying to answer it by the steady use of their intelligence, there we have philosophy, bad or good according to the quality of the answer given.

Not the same as either theology or science. We can thus distinguish philosophy from two things with which it must not be confused, science and theology. Both are closely connected with philosophy, which has always languished when men have been indifferent to either, yet neither of them is identical with it. It differs from theology by declining to rest any of its convictions on *authority*, and from science by concerning itself with special facts only so far as they promise to throw light on the underlying ground-plan of reality. A theologian or a scientific man may also be a great philosopher, and the first philosophers of Europe were also the earliest men of science. But everything the theologian affirms on authority without the production of reasoned grounds belongs to his theology, not to his philosophy; any tenet of the scientific man which is unconnected with his view of ultimate reality is a part not of his philosophy but of his science. It is the more important to understand this because the gradual organization of such studies as astronomy, physics, medicine, psychology, into independent 'sciences' to be pursued by specialists, in detachment from inquiry into ultimate reality as a whole, is itself part of the story we shall have to tell.

Originality of Greek philosophy. For the student of European civilization the history of rational thought, philosophical and

scientific, begins in a definite place, among the Greeks of the
Ionian coast-cities of Asia Minor, at a definite time, the opening
of the sixth century B.C. (*c*. 600 B.C.). From that date to our
own time the development of European thought forms a
recognizably continuous process, and a process which is, but
for one great exception, self-contained. The exception is the
coming into European life of the Christian religion, the one
principal factor in our modern civilization which has its origin
outside the Greek world. Our religion comes to us from
Palestine, and it is the one moral and intellectual inheritance
for which we are not indebted to the Greeks, directly, or
through the intermediation of Rome. The history of Europe
might even be said to be at bottom the story of the still only
imperfectly achieved synthesis of an originally non-European
religion with the Greek tradition in art, science, morals, and
law. Hitherto no other non-European influence seems to have
affected the formation of the Western mind seriously or per-
manently. Nor does the early philosophy or science of sixth-
century Ionia appear to be continuous with anything of the
same kind previously existing in the world. The more we get to
know of the older civilizations of Babylon and Egypt, the less
probable it appears that Egyptians or Babylonians had any
rational science to communicate, or that the Greeks were in a
position to profit much by such communications. They did in
fact pick up from Egypt certain rough rules of mensuration, and
from Babylon the knowledge that eclipses recur in cycles.
Their originality lay in the fact that this information prompted
them to conceive of the possibility of a rational explanation of
the world as a whole, and so to become the founders of both
philosophy and science. In taking this step, they were defi-
nitely breaking with the mythological traditions of their own
past. Greek philosophy culminated in a profoundly 'religious'
view of the world, but that is directly due to the personal genius
of Socrates and Plato, and only came about with the trans-
ference of the centre of Greek intellectual life from Ionia to
Attica. In its beginnings Greek philosophical thought was
as purely 'secular' as it is well possible for thought to be.

Why it ceased to be so is one of the things our narrative has to explain.

Three main periods. Our brief sketch of the history of philosophical thought falls most naturally into three main divisions. It has to describe (1) the gradual development of what may be called the typical Greek philosophical theory of the world from its beginnings to its conscious maturity, and the ultimate acceptance of this type of view as the foundation of educated men's belief throughout the Roman Empire; (2) the tension and disharmony brought into the Graeco-Roman world by the coming of Christianity, and its apparent resolution in a complete interpenetration of the new religion and the old philosophy; (3) the shattering of this synthesis due to the prodigious development of modern natural science, and the repeated attempts of the greater philosophical thinkers to replace the old unified view of the world by some other, equally unified, but more capable of doing justice to the whole of the facts. We may date the first period from *c.* 600 B.C. to A.D. 529 (the year in which the Emperor Justinian closed the philosophical schools of Athens); its most outstanding names are those of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus. The second we will date roughly (a certain amount of overlapping is not to be avoided), from *c.* A.D. 200, when Christianity begins seriously to think of coming to terms with philosophy, to A.D. 1274, the year of the death of St. Thomas Aquinas; its most illustrious names are those of St. Augustine of Hippo and St. Thomas himself. The third has its actual beginnings within the fourteenth century A.D., but may be most conveniently dated from about A.D. 1600 by which time the revolt against Aristotle, the philosopher whom the medieval Church had ended by adopting, has become general and furious; to it belong, of course, all the great names in the history of philosophy from Francis Bacon and Descartes onwards.

PHILOSOPHY IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD

I. GREEK PHILOSOPHY

PERIODS of history of Graeco-Roman philosophy. The first of our periods itself falls, again, most naturally into three sub-periods of unequal length. There is (1) the century and a half of preparation covered by the various so-called 'pre-Socratic' schools and systems (*c.* 600–*c.* 450 B.C.); (2) the rather shorter period of culmination between the early manhood of Socrates and the death of Aristotle (*c.* 450–322 B.C.); (3) the centuries of diffusion, from the death of Aristotle to the closing of the schools and the first beginnings of the coming 'dark age' (322 B.C.–A.D. 529). The first period is primarily concerned with cosmology, the attempt to produce a rational, coherent, and self-contained account of the observed natural world; it is the age of the birth of mathematics, astronomy, medicine, as rational sciences. The second opens with Socrates' discovery of the moral life of man as an independent and primary object of systematic rational inquiry. Plato and Aristotle unite this new interest in the moral being of man with the older interest in cosmology and physiology; they see the realm of external nature and the realm of moral activity as parts of a single intelligible whole with an underlying rational unity of structure. Thus there is created that conception of a single graded, or *hierarchized,* world of being which is the abiding legacy of Greek thought to later ages. Logic, ethics, politics, law, as sciences, are all fruits of this golden age of ancient philosophy. Mathematics is advancing by enormous strides in the school of Plato, biology in that of Aristotle. The third and longest period is marked through most of its course by an eclipse of original philosophical genius. Mathematics, astronomy, medical science, have now reached the stage in their growth at which the rise of a narrowing specialism becomes inevitable. The best work in the various departments of science falls to be done by experts with no interest in a unified view of the world; the philosopher

is no longer abreast of the best contemporary knowledge of detailed facts, and his unified view consequently tends to be superficial and reactionary. His outlook is still further narrowed by the loss of living interest in the problems of law and politics due to the replacement of the responsible sovereignty of the city-state by subjection first to Macedonian dynasts, and then to the cosmopolitan dominion of Rome. Philosophy comes, to its great detriment, to be almost wholly preoccupied with the problems of individual ethics, to the exclusion of the larger issues. Its business is to provide men with a rule for conduct in a world they are powerless to control and no longer care to understand. Yet the period is important for us because its last centuries saw the resolute efforts of Plotinus and his successors to revive philosophy as Plato had conceived of it, and it was their vision of the one graded world which passed by inheritance to the Christian Church.

2. THE PREPARATION. THE PRE-SOCRATIC COSMOLOGIES

General character of early cosmologies. The earliest cosmologists are, almost without exception, men of Ionian stock living either in the Ionian cities of the Asiatic coast (Miletus, Ephesus, Clazomenae) or in Ionian or Achaean colonies in South Italy (Crotona, Elea). All are concerned with a single problem, how to account for the formation of the world in which we live, and the regularities it exhibits, as consequences of some principle so familiar that it is felt itself to need no explanation. Greek philosophical and scientific thought is dominated from the first by the postulate we speak of sometimes as that of 'uniformity in nature', sometimes as that of the 'reign of law'. It is not at first expressly formulated, but is taken for granted as the foundation of all explanation. It is at first only the external world which is felt to call for such explanation. This is because it is felt to be the great standing contrast between human conduct and the behaviour of 'nature' that the first is strictly regulated by ordinance, custom, and tradition, the second looks to follow no rules at all. It is the apparent lawlessness and wilfulness of nature which is the fact calling for explanation,

and the explanation seems to be forthcoming if we can regard sun, moon, stars, plants, animals, man as all passing phases of one or a few primitive bodies which have always been, and always will be, and behave in a way familiar to us. Thus the outlook of these first men of science is, in a sense, materialistic. As Aristotle says, the only cause they recognize is a 'material cause'. That is, they assume that there is only one question to be asked about things, What is the permanent *stuff* of which they are passing phases? When we have answered this question, nature is completely explained. They are not materialists in the further sense that they deny the existence of 'mind', or assert that it is a 'product of matter'. They assume, as a matter of course, that their primary and everlasting stuff (or stuffs) is intelligent, and that if we can ourselves perceive, feel, and think, that is just because we, like everything else, are made of this stuff (or these stuffs). For the same reason they are not, at first, troubled by any problem about the origination of movement. It is taken for granted that the primitive body (or bodies) is in motion; motion is as original as matter. The problem is merely to identify the motion of the primitive body (or bodies) with some movement familiar to us, and to show how this familiar movement can give rise to the variety of complicated processes we observe in the world and to their effects.

The problem then is to account for the formation and structure of the orderly and interconnected system which these early thinkers call a 'world'. By a 'world' they mean what we should call a 'solar system', only that it is usually presupposed that the stars, as well as the planets, belong to it, and, at first, that our observation-post, the earth, is at its centre. Further, nearly all the earliest thinkers assume that our particular 'world' is only one of many. It has come into being and will have an end, and there are many such 'worlds' all round it. What is everlasting is not a world, but the stuff (or stuffs) of which it is made; the task of science is to say how this primitive stuff (or stuffs) gives rise by its inherent motion to the temporary formations called 'worlds'. The standing analogy by which this process is accounted for in the earliest schemes of all is that of an eddy in

a lake or pool. The temporary 'worlds' are like so many 'bubbles on a river, sparkling, bursting, borne away', the 'river' being the everlasting primary stuff itself. If we remember that these earliest men of science were as yet unacquainted with the true shape of the earth, and that their inevitable assumption of its central position in its 'world' made it impossible to discriminate between astronomical and meteorological phenomena, we shall cease to wonder at the apparent *naïveté* of their theories; we shall rather be surprised that within some two and a half centuries from the birth of cosmological speculation Greek philosophers should already be propounding the demand for a mathematical analysis of the planetary motions and have taken every step but the last towards the astronomical theory we call, after the name of its modern reviver, Copernican. (It had actually been taught in the third century B.C. by the astronomer Aristarchus of Samos, and before him Plato and some of the Pythagoreans had at least come very near to it.)

The Milesians: Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes. The earliest thinkers who attempt to answer the cosmological question belong to the great Ionian city of Miletus. They are all 'monists'; that is, they regard all things as so many different forms of one single primary stuff. Of the cosmological views of Thales (*c.* 600 B.C.), always remembered in later days as the first 'philosopher', we know little more than that he asked the question what it is that all things are made of and gave the answer that they are all forms of *water*, a first far-away anticipation of the distinction between the gaseous, liquid, and solid states of body. Something more is known of the theories of his successors of the two next generations, Anaximander and Anaximenes, and the general way in which they accounted for the contents of a world as the varying phases of a single primitive body. Anaximander seems to have said no more about this body itself than that it is a 'boundless' something 'encompassing all the worlds', within which orderly 'worlds' are temporarily formed as eddies, by a process of 'sorting out' of the 'opposites' hot, bright, moist, cold, dark, dry. The general notion is that such a world, while it lasts, is a kind of cosmic eddy, in which

the dark and bulky things are at, or near, the centre, and so rotate slowly, while the brighter or lighter are on the outside, and rotate faster. This explains why our earth is in the centre and why it needs no support to keep it there. Heavenly bodies are accounted for on the analogy of the facts of clouds and lightning. They are dark rings of cloud with an inner ring of flame, which we only see through apertures in them. There are three such rings in all, those of the stars, the nearest of all— probably the planets, or some of them are meant—the moon, the sun. (The true stars were probably supposed to be outside our particular 'world'.) Anaximenes (c. 547 B.C.) tries to say definitely what the 'boundless stuff' in which the cosmic eddies arise is. It is 'air', that is to say, not *atmospheric* air but 'mist' or 'vapour'. He further tries to identify the everlasting movement which belongs to the primitive body and by which the eddies are formed. It is a process of condensation and rarefaction (a first attempt at a mechanical explanation of the universe). All things, from the heavenly bodies to stones and rocks, are 'air' in a state of rarefaction or condensation. Biology also, as well as cosmology, has played a part in these Milesian speculations. Anaximander's theory of the 'descent of man' was famous. Owing to the helplessness of human infancy, man could never have survived if he had always been as he now is. Men must therefore be descendants of some other species, according to Anaximander of a marine species which has been modified by the transition to a terrestrial habitat. Anaximenes confirms his view that the primary body is 'air' by dwelling on the fact that we retain life just so long as we can breathe and no longer, and infers that the 'world' as a whole similarly holds together by inhaling 'air' from the boundless mass outside it. The implied conception of the soul as just the portion of the surrounding air which we inhale has a long subsequent literary history.

Heraclitus. One great Ionian of a slightly later date, Heraclitus of Ephesus (c. 500 B.C.), stands rather apart from the rest. He is still a 'corporealist monist', but his main interest is in the 'soul' rather than in cosmology. His primary body is 'fire', and the selection of it introduces a new and fruitful thought. A

fire consumes wood and gives off flame and smoke; it burns only so long as there is a balance between the fuel supplied and these products. The world is conceived as an 'everlasting fire', which converts its fuel, earth, first into water, and then into the flame of the heavenly bodies. That the process may be kept going, it is necessary that the flame should in its turn be convertible, through the form of water, back to that of earth. There must be a law of equivalence between the 'measures' of the fuel which is taking the 'upward path' to conversion into flame, and the flame which is taking the 'downward path' of reconversion into fuel. Thus all the contents of the world are incessantly in process of change, and yet the world remains sensibly the same because of this law of equal 'exchange'. Our own conscious life is explained in the same way. The 'soul' is the flame given off by the combustion of the body. When the flame burns bright, we are awake and alert; when it droops, we sleep; when it sinks to the embers, we die, but only to come back again when the 'residual products' once more take the 'way up'. This is why the 'dry soul is the wisest', and why drunkenness affects the wits; the drunken man has literally drowned the fire. The two central thoughts of Heraclitus, that only the law of equal exchange itself is permanent, and that the maintenance of the world-order depends on the tension of antithetic processes and would come to an end if the tension could be removed, were destined to an immense influence on all subsequent philosophy. We may fairly see in them the beginnings of the notion of conservation of energy under the variety of its equivalent forms.

Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism. Heraclitus, with his special interest in the rhythm of human life, stands a little outside the main stream of Ionian thought, which was content to abide by Anaximenes, with his identification of the primitive substance with 'air', and his specification of 'condensation and rarefaction' as the machinery by which a varied world is produced. (It was most unfortunate that this formulation led back to the reactionary doctrine of a flat disk-like earth, resting on the air, and that it had to be rediscovered later that there is no absolute

'up' or 'down' in the universe, as Anaximander had already seen.) The prodigious advances towards a rational interpretation of nature in the three generations between Anaximenes and Socrates were taken not in Ionia, but in the Greek colonies of South Italy, whither philosophy and science had been carried by Pythagoras (c. 530 B.C.), a refugee from the Ionian island of Samos, and a man of the generation before Heraclitus. Pythagoras and his successors were plainly the most important figures in the history of Greek philosophy before the Periclean age, but it is peculiarly hard to reconstruct their thought confidently. Partly this is because they left no written works behind them, with the result that the late writers from whom our most detailed accounts of Pythagoreanism come were led astray by the numerous forgeries perpetrated, in the centuries immediately before and after the Christian era, with a view of claiming for the Pythagoreans the whole substance of the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle. Partly the source of the difficulty is that there were two sides to the personality of Pythagoras himself. He was at once a great figure in the history of science, and, in a real sense, the first mathematician in the world's history, and also a reputed miracle-worker, the preacher of a religion based on the dogmas of reincarnation and the kinship of men and animals, and the founder of a sect practising the cult of ceremonial and moral 'holiness' as a means of escape from the 'wheel of birth'. With caution, however, we can still recover the main outlines of fifth-century Pythagorean doctrine, and they have a distinctive character which must be due to the personal impress of the founder. Geometry and the theory of number, as distinct from mere practical mensuration and 'ciphering', were Pythagorean creations; and we positively know that well before the time of Socrates the arithmetical theory of ratios and progressions had been established, plane geometry carried far enough to cover the substance of Euclid Bks. 1–4 and Bk. 6, and a beginning made with solid geometry. The mathematical theory of music had also been founded by the discovery of the simple numerical ratios (2 : 1, 3 : 2, 4 : 3) corresponding to the fundamental

melodic intervals of octave, quint, and quart, and the uniform tradition credibly ascribes the discovery to Pythagoras himself. In fact it most likely supplies the key to the supreme tenet of Pythagorean philosophy, the doctrine that 'things *are* numbers'. Aristotle, who was plainly puzzled about the precise meaning of this, is quite clear that it means that in some way numbers are actually the 'stuff' or 'matter' of which the things our senses perceive are made, and that these numbers were held themselves to be a 'blend' of two constituents, a 'limit' and an 'unlimited' (or 'infinite'). Probably we may interpret the theory thus. Variations in musical quality (pitch) have been found to depend on numerical relations between the lengths of vibrating strings. The truth of the interval depends on the fact that, out of all the indefinitely numerous possible ratios between two integers, just one, and only one, holds for the length of the strings involved. This is an example of the determination of an 'unlimited' (a 'variable') by precise 'limit'. Probably, then, all the variety nature exhibits to our senses may be explained in the same way as depending on numerical relations, and this may be the key to the whole secret of science. We know that the theory was at once applied to medicine. Health in the body was held to depend on the maintenance of a ratio of equality between the hot, the cold, the dry, the moist, in its make-up, and all disease was traced to departure from this ratio. The thought was then carried over into morals and psychology. All later Greek ethics is haunted by two standing analogies: virtue and vice are thought of as being to the soul exactly what true and false tuning are to the lyre, or health and disease to the organism. (To this day piano-tuners, as well as psychologists, talk of 'temperament', and 'temperance' is a mark of a good climate as well as of a good character.)

This line of thought is immensely important for two reasons. Since it regards all the things science has to account for as 'blends' of two contrasted constituents, it is *dualistic* in principle, and can no longer explain anything by merely saying what it is made of. The form or law according to which 'limit' and 'unlimited' come together in any particular 'blend' thus becomes

the most important part of the explanation of the thing constituted by their coalescence. Henceforth, to explain anything, we must specify its *form* as well as its *matter*. And the success of Pythagoras with the fundamental melodic intervals has further suggested that in the last resort the laws which reveal the patterns of things will prove to be *numerical* laws. The thought, on which mathematical physics was afterwards to be built up, that mathematical symbols are the alphabet of the book of nature has been born into the world.

We can trace the effect of this fundamental dualism of Pythagoreanism in both of the sciences in which the school made its mark most conspicuously, geometry and astronomy. In geometry it appears as the construction of solids out of 'units', or 'points', which are thought of as indivisible minima of volume arranged in patterns in an 'unlimited' space or 'void' (which, however, is not clearly distinguished either from 'air' or from 'darkness'). The underlying identification of a 'point' with a 'unit', or 'number 1' explains why geometry was regarded as an application of arithmetic, and is only possible because the problems raised by indefinite divisibility and the existence of 'incommensurable' geometrical magnitudes have not yet been faced. In cosmology the dualism of the system was apparently shown in the antithesis between the bright, warm constituent of things and a cold and dark constituent which is thought of at once as 'void', as 'darkness', and as mist or 'air'. In astronomy the school clearly started from Anaximander and his three rings or wheels, but proceeded to transform the conception marvellously. The distinction between planets and true stars was clearly grasped, with the consequence that each planet was held, besides sharing in the diurnal revolution of the 'heaven' from east to west, to have a proper motion of its own through the signs of the Zodiac in the contrary sense, west to east. Thus arises the scheme of planetary motions, with the earth as centre, upon which the Ptolemaic astronomy was subsequently to be based. Some Pythagoreans, to Aristotle's disgust, had taken the further step of adding the earth itself to the list of planets and making it revolve, like all the rest, round a central luminary

which is always hidden from us by the interposition of a supposed interior planet, the 'counter-earth'. They had thus come to the very verge of Copernicanism. The approximately spherical shape of the earth and the true explanation of eclipses were early discoveries of the school.

Parmenides. The Pythagorean dualism affected the whole subsequent history of thought no less by the critical reaction it provoked than by its own achievements. This criticism was due to two philosophers of the Ionian colony of Elea, Parmenides (*fl. c.* 475 B.C.) and his disciple Zeno (*fl. c.* 450 B.C.). Parmenides, who had himself originally been a Pythagorean, may fairly be called, in virtue of the method he employs, the first critical thinker in the history of philosophy. 'It is the same thing', he declares, 'that can be thought and that can be'; that is, what cannot be thought without incoherence must be false, the first principle of a philosophical and scientific rationalism. Parmenides then asks himself whether the Pythagorean dualism can be coherently thought, and decides that it cannot. For it turns on treating emptiness, 'void', as a real constituent of things, and mere void, or emptiness, is nothing at all. And he sees that the same criticism really applies to a cosmology like that of Anaximenes, with its condensation and rarefaction. This too implies that there can be more or less of what *is* in a given room, and thus that emptiness, or void, is something. It has not yet occurred to Parmenides, or to any one else, that anything can be real without being a body, and he consequently draws the inevitable conclusions from his implicit materialism. There is really only *one* body, and it is all alike all over; also it is finite and spherical, and there is no motion; for motion, he holds, presupposes an empty place to be moved into, and the 'empty' is nothing at all. Hence there can be no change in things. What is must be one, and the 'One' is just a homogeneous, motionless, spherical *plenum*. A really consistent materialism, that is, must recognize only one everlasting 'stuff', and therefore must regard the apparent world, with its diversified contents, as a great illusion. The one stuff cannot coherently be thought of as existing in different states or phases.

It follows that either the monism of the first Ionians is an error, or natural science is a delusion. Parmenides stands by the monism, and therefore regards the nascent science around him as illusory, as no more than 'the fancies of men in which there is no truth whatever'. Men whose hearts were with the growing sciences had to find some way of escaping from the doctrine of the one stuff without admitting that emptiness is.

Pluralism: Empedocles, Anaxagoras. The obvious way of escape was tried by the two most prominent scientific thinkers of the next generation, Empedocles of Agrigentum in Sicily (c. 490–430 B.C.), and Anaxagoras of Clazomenae in Ionia (c. 500–427 B.C.). They accept the arguments of Parmenides against the reality of mere emptiness, and the dilemma that either science is a delusion or the doctrine of a single primary stuff false. Motion in a *plenum* being perfectly possible, we have only to suppose that there are several forms of body all equally everlasting; this will enable us to accept the testimony of our senses to the existence of a world of manifold variety. Empedocles is content to assume the existence of four such primary bodies, earth, water, air—which he proved for the first time experimentally to be an invisible body, distinct from 'mist' or 'vapour'—and fire, and thus becomes the author of the famous doctrine of the four 'elements'. The theory of Anaxagoras is more subtle. Bodies, in his conception, are indefinitely divisible, but however far you carry the process of subdivision, you will never come on a fragment of body which is simple in composition. The tiniest 'seed' or 'particle' contains a 'portion of everything'; that is, it partakes more or less of every one of the 'opposite' qualities, hot, cold, dry, moist, and the like, which things display to our senses. The minute particles of one thing, e.g. stone, only differ from those of another, e.g. wood, in virtue of the different ratios in which these 'opposites' are blended in each—a doctrine which, but for Anaxagoras' belief in indefinite divisibility, would be a kind of qualitative atomism.

The most important contribution of the two philosophers to the formation of scientific thought is that with them begins the

inquiry after the 'source of motion'; that is, in a tentative way they introduce into the philosophy of nature the notion of 'force'. The criticism of Parmenides has made it impossible for them to take motion for granted as a character of the primitive bodies calling for no explanation. As the notion of form begins with the Pythagoreans, so those of 'force' and 'agency' begin with Empedocles and Anaxagoras. Neither, however, is at first quite able to conceive of an agent, or a force, quite clearly as something which is not a body. Empedocles works with a pair of antithetic 'forces', one of attraction between unlike elements, which he calls *Love*, and a second of repulsion between unlikes, which he calls *Strife*, and he expressly speaks of both as bodies. He conceives them as alternately dominating the world, in which they play the same sort of part as the alternating coursing of the blood, from the heart to the various members and back again from the members to the heart, in our own bodies. Empedocles, besides being a preacher of religion of the same type as Pythagoras, and a poet of a high order, is, in his scientific thinking, a biologist with marked powers of observation. He seems to have been the founder of the Sicilian school of medicine, and had a lasting influence on subsequent Greek physiological theories of sensation, and of the development of the embryo. He worked out a theory of the way in which animal organisms are produced under the alternating influences of Love and Strife which shows understanding both of the mutability of species and of the survival-value of 'favourable variation'. His contribution to the general principles of cosmology is of subordinate importance.

The exact reverse of this is true of Anaxagoras. The details of his scientific speculations, so far as known, are reactionary, mainly in consequence of his belated adherence to the flat-earth astronomy of Anaximenes. His great historical importance is partly due to the fact that he brought philosophy and science for the first time to Athens, where the best thirty years of his life were spent. It is due still more to his answer to the question about the source of motion. It is *Mind* (*nous*), he said, which is the source of order and arrangement in the world at large, no

less than in our own lives. Plato has recorded for us the impression this doctrine made on the youthful Socrates, when he first heard of it, and Aristotle has called it the utterance of a sober man in a world of idle babblers. This is because Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, all see in it a first recognition of what Aristotle calls 'the cause as *end*', an assertion of the presence of unity of rational *plan* throughout the processes of nature. Both Plato and Aristotle complain that Anaxagoras was not alive himself to the full significance of his identification of the 'source of movement' with intelligence, and made very little use of his principle, only invoking Mind, Aristotle says, when he is at a loss for some other explanation. This criticism is borne out by all that remains to us of his work. Mind was apparently still thought of as a body, or stuff, of some kind, for it is called the 'thinnest' of things. Anaxagoras appears, in fact, to have appealed to Mind only to set up 'eddies' in various regions of a primitive boundless mass, and then to have accounted for ordered 'worlds' as consequences of the 'eddies', much in the fashion of his Ionian predecessors. But the historically important thing was that the thought of Mind as the world-building force should be uttered; we shall see how the thought comes to dominate the whole subsequent current of Greek philosophy.

Zeno and the crisis in mathematics. The critical method of Parmenides had meanwhile been developed by his disciple Zeno (*fl. c.* 450 B.C.) with results of resounding significance. His particular trick of fence was to discredit the principles of opponents by showing that pairs of contradictory conclusions could be deduced from them with equal accuracy and cogency. The 'antinomies' thus constructed are the germs out of which the science of logic was in the end to grow, and this is why Aristotle spoke of Zeno as the real inventor of 'dialectic'. The premisses selected by Zeno for this damaging examination are naturally those of the immediate opponents of Parmenides and himself, the Pythagorean mathematicians; he, in fact, turns one half of the premisses of the geometers against the other half, and thus exposes the concealed incoherencies in them. All his

famous puzzles about motion are arguments of this kind, and against mathematicians who thought of their figures as made up of 'units', or *minima*, they are quite unanswerable. In fact they have only received their final solution with the development of a rational theory of continuity, within our own lifetime. If the straight line were really what the Pythagoreans had supposed it to be, Achilles would, in fact, never catch the tortoise. The straight line clearly cannot be what the Pythagoreans supposed, since Achilles does catch the tortoise, but what else it can be was more than mathematicians were to be able to explain for many centuries. It was to meet the difficulties raised by Zeno, and reinforced by the growing familiarity of mathematicians with 'incommensurables', that the Academic geometers of the following century inaugurated the reconstruction of mathematical doctrine embodied in the *Elements* of Euclid, where geometry is cut loose from the theory of the integers and made to precede it.

Effect of Zeno. The immediate effect of Zeno's 'bombshell' seems to have been immense. Men would, in any case, probably have been led to distrust of the scientific movement by the mere consideration that it appeared to have produced nothing but a Babel of conflicting schools, each confident that the theories of all the rest were false, and none able to show that its own were in better case. But the consequence of Zeno's apparent demonstration that even in the mathematics a proposition can be at once completely proved and also false was that the middle of the fifth century saw a regular 'bankruptcy of science'. On every side we find the abler men turning away from the inquiry into nature as hopeless, and trying to find some more satisfactory scope for their gifts by applying intelligence to the problems of practical social life. Meanwhile, the last word of purely materialist cosmology had been formulated by the Atomists.

The Atomists. Atomism owes its foundation to one Ionian, Leucippus of Miletus, and its full elaboration to a second, Democritus of Abdera (an Ionian colony in Thrace). Democritus, though evidently a great stylist and curious observer of men and things, appears to have played a minor part in the

formation of the main doctrine. This is, in fact, derived from Parmenides, by a very simple modification. Leucippus, a contemporary of Socrates, accepts the account Parmenides gives of body without reservation, but adds that there is no reason why there should be only one such body. If we once grant that 'emptiness', though it has none of the characters of body, may, for all that, exist, and suppose that in this 'void' there are an indefinitely great number of bodies moving about, each, except that its shape need not be spherical, being exactly what Parmenides held his *one* body to be, we can construct a varied world out of them, and cosmology becomes possible again. Thus Atomism was generated by simply blinking Parmenides' denial of the conceivability of the blank void, and indefinitely multiplying his 'One'. (In the ancient world there could be no consideration of the kind of *empirical* grounds which might be given to-day for the thesis that the structure of bodies is 'granular'.) Motion is once more taken, in the old fashion, as an inherent character of the everlasting 'indivisible bodies', and the formation of innumerable 'worlds' out of them, in various regions of the 'void', treated, as usual, on the analogy of eddies in water. In cosmological detail the whole scheme is reactionary. In particular, even Democritus, who was apparently a younger man than Socrates, and whose working life overlaps Plato's, still continued to maintain the outworn doctrine of the flat earth. The real importance of Greek Atomism lies not in any special contribution it made to science, but in the fact that it answers the question what the real world is in the only way it can be answered, on the assumption that whatever is is a body. The real world is a complex of everlasting and unchanging bodies *moving about in a void* (i.e. in something which is *not* real). The incoherence of the formula is manifest, but unavoidable.

3. THE CULMINATION. SOCRATES, PLATO, ARISTOTLE

Change of intellectual orientation. The apparent elegance of the Atomistic theory of reality covers a real incoherence. 'What is not' (the void), say the Atomists, *'is, just as much as what is'*

(body). That is, only bodies exist, but also, science is impossible unless something (the void) exists which is not a body. Science depends upon belief in something which we cannot rationally think. Such an attitude cannot be permanently retained, since it is, in fact, suicidal. Henceforth, therefore, to be rational, philosophic thought must cease to be strictly materialistic. In the Pythagorean emphasis on *form*, the introduction by the pluralists of the concept of causal *agency*, or *efficiency*, and the half-unconscious formulation by Anaxagoras of the notion of rational plan, or design, in nature, cosmology itself had already been feeling its way to principles which can find no place in a consistent materialism. We see here in germ the ideas needed for a richer and deeper interpretation of the universe, but these ideas could only come to maturity if first-rate minds turned for a time away from preoccupation with external nature to the study of the intellectual and moral life of man, the sphere where order, causality, rational plan are most visibly dominant. Philosophy had only the alternatives to end in scepticism or to become for a time preponderantly 'humanistic'. That it took the second course was largely due to the apparent accident of its translation by Anaxagoras to Athens.

Athens in the age of Pericles. The place and date of the translation are both significant. Athens, just after Salamis, was only at the beginning of her period of historical greatness. At no time does science, as understood by the Ionians, seem to have been a real interest of the Attic mind. Socrates and Plato are the only considerable Athenian philosophers, and very few Athenians were even members of Plato's Academy. But, unlike the Ionian colonies, Attica was the home of a people with long and unbroken moral and religious traditions of life, whose roots struck deep into a remote past; the secularistic temper of Ionian philosophy in general was a thing wholly uncongenial to the Athenian temperament, so rightly characterized by St. Paul as 'devout'. It was gods and men, not celestial phenomena, in whom Athenians were really interested. And the thirty years' residence of Anaxagoras in Athens belongs to the great 'fifty years' which culminated in the régime of Pericles, that

period of rapid development which saw the construction of a naval empire, the completion of the democratic system, the building of the great Athenian temples, and the birth of tragedy. Naturally enough the first demand of men conscious of ambition to play their part in this amazingly vigorous social and political life was for an education which would fit them, as the simple traditional curriculum of their fathers could not, to be the leaders of a great and growing nation. It was statesmanship, in all its departments, not astronomy or biology, that such men were anxious to learn. They wanted, above all things, ideas which could be turned to account in the practical direction of affairs.

The Sophists. This explains at once the appearance in the middle of the fifth century of those peripatetic professional lecturers on the art of 'success in private and public life' whom we call the 'sophists', their immense vogue among the well-to-do and ambitious young men of the Periclean age, and the years immediately following it, and the complete disappearance of the profession as the Athenian imperial democracy came more and more under the sway of the demagogues who finally ruined it. The secret of the initial success of the movement is also the secret of its intellectual barrenness. The leading members of the profession, Protagoras (*fl. c.* 450 B.C.) for example, were able men in whom the apparent 'bankruptcy of science' of which we have already spoken had bred a profound distrust of the capacity of the mind to attain genuine truth. Their highest ambition as teachers was not to communicate truth, but to impart ideas and 'points of view' which a disciple might turn to immediate practical account in the conduct of affairs. This was frankly avowed by Protagoras, whose famous formula 'man the measure' makes truth coincide, for each of us, with what it is directly *useful* to think. Preoccupation of this kind with immediate practical results as it springs from want of genuine philosophical interests, always leads to intellectual sterility. It was reserved for Socrates, who had no profession and no disciples in the strict sense, to inaugurate a new era in philosophy by 'bringing down philosophy from heaven to earth', that is, by

substituting man and his moral life for the 'firmament on high' as the subject of single-minded and disinterested study.

Socrates. His discovery of the soul. Socrates (*c.* 470–399 B.C.) more than any other one man in history is responsible for stamping on philosophy a character which it has never since lost; yet, owing to the fact that he was a man of the Periclean age, and that the Periclean age was not given to writing books, it is exceptionally difficult to put together, from the reports of admirers more than forty years his juniors, any detailed account of his thought which can be regarded as wholly beyond dispute. It seems quite certain that Socrates really discovered the 'soul', or moral personality of man, as a subject for serious philosophical inquiry. At least, the very word 'soul', in the sense in which moralists have used it ever since the days of Plato, as the name for the seat of our moral personality, is as good as absent from Greek literature before the fourth century; from the fourth century onwards it is quite familiar. The change must be due to the influence of some personality of genius belonging to the time immediately before Plato and his contemporaries, and we know of no one capable of effecting it except Socrates, from whose influence, as transmitted by Plato, all that is most important in subsequent Greek philosophy ultimately derives. How Socrates was led to his momentous discovery is fairly indicated by what Plato has told us of his native personality and early history.

His temperament. It is clear from Plato that Socrates possessed a highly complex temperament of the kind which would predispose him to introspection and deep concern in the 'making of himself'. He was by nature a devout soul, with an earnest faith in God, in the immortality of man, and in the moral government of the world. He was also by nature a 'rationalist', a man never content to take any line in life without satisfying himself that it could be justified to his intellect and conscience, and prepared, when satisfied of this justification, to follow his convictions at all costs, to the point of martyrdom. At the same time, like the great mystics of all times, he was a man of exceptionally strong and deep passion and emotion, and by temperament also from childhood, accessible to abnormal 'psychic'

impressions. Finally, he possessed a rich native fund of humour which enabled him to preserve the balance even between the rationalistic and the mystical tendencies within him. A man thus endowed is morally certain to be a problem to himself, and to find the understanding of himself the most pressing business of existence. It was no mere intellectual curiosity which led such a man to be incessantly asking for 'definitions' in morals; they were needed if he was not to make shipwreck of his life.

His early history. Socrates had been in his early years a pupil of Archelaus, the Athenian disciple of the philosopher Anaxagoras, and it is reasonably certain that Plato is historically accurate in representing him as having begun with an enthusiastic interest in cosmological speculation, learned all that his teachers had to tell him on these subjects, and finally, still a young man, come to the conclusion that no theory of the natural world deserving of the name of knowledge can be reached along the lines hitherto pursued. If it is true, as Anaxagoras had said, that it is 'Mind' which has 'set all things in order', we may be sure that the detailed structure of nature is exactly that which it is *best* that nature should have, but we are still as far as ever from being able to see what particular constitution of things is best and why it is best. Until we can answer these questions, such subordinate questions as those of the shape of the earth, of its position in the system to which it belongs, of its rest or motion, must remain matters concerning which we can have no assumed knowledge, but only conflicting opinions of varying degrees of plausibility. Meanwhile, there is another field in which it is imperative that we should attain assured knowledge, if we can. Individuals and societies are constantly ruining their own lives and wrecking their happiness for lack of certain knowledge of what is *good* for them, and the reason why they make these fatal mistakes about good is that they never aim at serious knowledge of *themselves*. Society perishes for want of sure moral and spiritual guidance; if this guidance can be supplied by a sound *self*-knowledge, we may well be content to resign ourselves to tentative 'opinions' in such fields as cosmology and astronomy.

His mission. Nor was Socrates satisfied merely to seek such self-knowledge for his own personal guidance through life. He was convinced that he had received a personal 'call' from God to devote himself to the mission of preaching the supreme duty of 'knowing one's self', 'tending one's soul', 'making one's soul as good as possible', to all who would listen to him, and especially to his fellow-Athenians. It was the single-mindedness with which he obeyed this divine vocation which reduced him to extreme poverty, and in the end brought him to the death of a martyr. His real offence, in the eyes of the good democrats who brought him to trial, was his conviction that no man who has not given himself to self-knowledge and the 'tendance of the soul' is fit to be a leader in public life, and the unsparing criticism to which this conviction led him to subject the characters and careers of the most admired figures in Athenian history.

Tendance of the soul. The main doctrine Socrates was never weary of preaching can be very simply stated. All men, and all societies of men, have at bottom one and the same supreme object in all that they do; they want to be happy, to make a success of their lives. If they fail in this, as most of them do, it is not because they have not the wish to succeed, but because they do not know the secret of success. And yet the secret is a simple one. Whether we are happy or miserable, live well or ill, depends not on what we *possess*, but on the way in which we *use* our possessions. All can be put to a right use, with happiness as a result, by the man who knows the right way to use them; All can be misused, with the result of misery, by the man who has not this knowledge. And we must reckon among the 'possessions' of which this is true not only our 'goods' of all kinds, but even our bodies, and all 'bodily advantages'. They, too, are things which a man can use well or ill; the body itself is not really the man; it is simply the most intimate of the possessions he owns. The man who is the user of these possessions is the *soul*, 'that in us in virtue of which we are called good or bad, wise or foolish'. The whole secret of happiness, then, lies in 'tending' this 'soul', making it as good as possible,

in order that it may make the right, not a wrong, use of all that it uses. And to make the soul good, it is only necessary to make it really wise in the knowledge of what is good for it and what is bad, since we may be sure, as no one ever wishes to be miserable, that no man who really knows what is good for his soul will choose what is bad for it. *Knowledge* of good is thus the one thing needful for an individual man, or for a society. We thus arrive at the three positions regarded by Aristotle as characteristic of the moral doctrine of Socrates: (1) all the virtues are really one thing, knowledge; (2) 'all wrong-doing is ignorance'—that is, arises from a false belief that some thing which is not really good is good; (3) and wrong-doing, therefore, is always involuntary—in the sense that it is doing what you would not have done, but for your false judgement about good. It is Socrates' conviction that if we have once grasped the truth of these convictions we shall see that the matter of supreme importance in personal and national life is the unremitting cultivation of justice, temperance, and the other great virtues which make the soul 'like God', and shall realize the triviality, in comparison with them, of all the other objects on which men and societies set their hearts—comfort, external prosperity, fame, power, prestige, and the like. Philosophy thus becomes with him, and never after him ceased to be, what religion has been to Christian ages, the supreme director of conduct.

Socrates and his 'disciples'. The kind of knowledge of self and of good on which Socrates insisted obviously cannot be imparted by one man to another in the way in which information about the course of nature, or the events of history, might be. Here, even more than in the mathematics, the utmost that one mind can do for another is to impart an initial impulse to an effort of thought which, to be effectual, must be intimately personal. This explains why Socrates founded no school, and insisted that the younger men who frequented his society 'learned nothing from him', and could not properly be called his 'disciples'. It also explains why Plato, when writing autobiographically of his early days, is careful not to call Socrates his 'teacher', but to speak of him simply as an older friend for whose wisdom and

virtue he had a profound veneration.   Socrates himself used humorously to describe this relation to his younger friends as a sort of spiritual midwifery.   All he could do for them was to help the thoughts with which their minds were already pregnant into the world and offer his advice on their fitness to survive. Through Plato the substance of the Socratic ethics passed, of course with modifications, to Aristotle, and through Aristotle to all subsequent thought on life and conduct.   Through an older member of the Socratic circle, Antisthenes, the same ideas, with a certain hardening in the direction of asceticism, influenced the fourth-century ascetics who were nicknamed Cynics, and passed from them, as we shall see, into the fabric of Stoicism.   But this permeation of thought by the influence of an outstanding personality is something rather different from the direct transmission of dogmas by a chain of scholarchs.   It is another, and a more difficult question, what the philosophy of Plato may owe to Socrates beyond moral inspiration, and, in particular, whether Plato's own ascription of the famous (so-called) 'Theory of Ideas' to him is conscious literary fiction or substantially historical truth.   The writer of the present pages believes, contrary to what seems to be the reigning opinion, that Plato's representations are in substance historical, but the point cannot be argued here.   The doctrine itself will therefore be spoken of in connexion with Plato, from whose dialogues we have, in any case, to learn it, for the sake of avoiding controversial historical issues.

Plato: his view of the functions of philosophy.   Plato (428–347 B.C.) has left a deeper impress on the whole moral and intellectual civilization of the world than any other philosopher.   Apart from his influence on metaphysics, natural theology, mathematics, and ethics, we owe to him the first suggestion of such educational institutions as kindergarten, high school, and university, and, more probably than not, of the juristic system which ultimately became Roman Law.   Like Socrates, he held that fruitful thinking is always an intimately personal activity which only finds very inadequate expression in the written word.   For this reason many of his profoundest thoughts were

never written down, but only communicated orally to personal disciples whose brief and obscure allusions are our sole source of information about them. It is important to understand that Plato wholly shared Socrates' conviction that the supreme function of philosophy is to be the moral and religious director of life. His native bent was to the work of an active statesman, a career he only abandoned very reluctantly for the double reason that Athens no longer provided an opening for great statesmanship, and that the fate of Socrates had proved that, could a true statesman arise there, he could find no followers without a radical regeneration of the national *moral*. National salvation requires that 'philosophers should become kings', that is, that the direction of national life should be in the hands of men who have an assured knowledge of the *good*, the true end of all human activities. Such men can only be produced by lifelong education of character and intellect on the right lines. They must bring to public affairs a character moulded by discipline in obedience to an absolutely sound moral tradition, and an intellect trained to true thinking by advanced and arduous science. There is no place in statesmanship for the second-rate character, or the second-rate intellect. This is why Plato made it his work in life to give the world its first 'university' by founding his Academy. It was to be the means of producing that blend of first-rate character with first-rate intellect which might yet save civilization if circumstances gave it its chance. No society was ever less 'academic' in the purposes for which its creator designed it.

The Theory of Forms ('*Ideas*'). So far as Plato put his thought into writing, it is contained in dialogues in which he never makes his own appearance. All but one—Plato's longest and last work, the *Laws*—are in form conversations of Socrates, and in most of them Socrates is the central figure, ostensibly responsible for any results arrived at. There is a small but important group, however, in which Socrates either falls into the background, or, in the case of the *Laws*, is absent, and philological study has proved that this group belongs to the last period of Plato's long life, and thus contains his maturest

thought. In the earlier group the philosophical thought culminates in, and is dominated by, the famous theory of 'Forms' or 'Ideas'; in the second, these Forms are rarely mentioned, and then in a way so difficult to interpret that we should hardly be sure that 'Forms' continued to play an important part in Plato's thinking but for the evidence furnished by Aristotle, whose intercourse with Plato belongs to the last twenty years of the older man's life. Even in the earlier group there is no systematic formulation of the doctrine; it is rather presupposed than explained.

We may state the central thought of this theory of Forms—it is better to avoid the word 'Ideas', since to a modern ear it conveys the quite misleading notion of 'thoughts in a mind'— very simply, if we start by noting the difference between any piece of scientific knowledge and such information about the world as we can get through our senses. This information is never precise; we cannot say exactly what it amounts to, and it seems to vary indefinitely with changes in our condition or circumstances. A scientific truth is exact, we can say just what it amounts to, and it is subject to no possibility of fluctuation or revision. Of a visible shape before my eyes I can only say that it is 'roughly' triangular, that its angles are 'more or less' equal to two right angles, and that it is (or is not, as the case may be) approximately equilateral, or isosceles. And even on these points I may judge differently according to the position from which I look at the thing. But when the geometer proves some proposition about 'the triangle', he means to be speaking of a figure which is exactly triangular and whose angle-sum is exactly two right angles, neither more nor less. And he is talking of something which is neither an equilateral triangle, nor yet isosceles, nor yet scalene, but 'just the triangle'; finally *his* triangle gives no occasion for uncertainties of judgement. Clearly, then, information supplied by the senses is not itself science; scientific knowing is the apprehension of something by 'the mind just by itself without the interposition of an organ'. And the objects about which science makes its assertions are not the objects perceived through the senses; the triangle which

is 'just a triangle' is nothing the eye can see. The business of the senses is not to present such objects to us, but to 'remind' us of them, to suggest them by showing us imperfect and fluctuating approximations to them.

It is these 'eternal' objects of scientific knowledge, exactly and perfectly knowable just because their structure is wholly determinate, that Plato calls Forms (*eidē* or *ideai*). If we had complete knowledge of the universe we should apparently see it as an all-embracing, rationally articulated, system of such wholly determinate Forms. In our ordinary daily life, where we have to depend so much on unexamined 'brute fact' supplied by the senses, all that we take in is a bewildering maze of imperfect and shifting embodiments of rational pattern, things which only 'imitate' Forms, or 'partake of them', temporarily and to a degree not to be precisely estimated. The work of science, and of philosophy, which is science criticizing itself, is to transform this medley of shifting kaleidoscopic impressions into a stable panoramic vision of the abiding, rationally interconnected system of the Forms themselves, and so to apprehend reality as a coherent pattern. This is the Platonic 'rationalization' of the world. In like fashion, the practical task of the statesman is to 'rationalize' the social activities of men. He is to save men and societies of men from living aimlessly and at cross-purposes through misunderstanding of the true nature of the human soul, its fundamental aspirations, and the character of the good which is being sought, however perversely or confusedly, in all human striving. Rational understanding of the good which all are seeking will enable its possessor to provide an organization for society in which all the various gifts and endowments of individual members will contribute, without confusion or conflict, to the achievement of rational felicity for the community as a whole. And in such a society, each individual will himself be truly happy, just because each is doing 'his own work', without let or hindrance; his 'work' will be coincident with his 'vocation'. Practical statesmanship will have taken the confusion and collision out of human aspirations, as a sound theory of the heavens takes the appearance of

irregularity and disorder out of the evolutions of the heavenly host.

Relations to earlier thought. It is manifest that in this vision of the world of nature and of morals as an ordered whole we have an integration of the leading thoughts of most of the earlier philosophers. The old Ionian conception of the fundamental unity of reality, from which science had sprung, persists as the presupposition of rational thinking, though this unity is now consciously apprehended as one of plan, not of stuff, or material. Equally obvious is the influence of the Pythagorean discovery of the significance of definite ratio and mathematical law as the supreme witness to coherent unity of plan, and the thought, half articulately expressed by Anaxagoras, that such thorough-going rationality of ordered structure presupposes Mind as its source. It is the Pythagorean sciences of arithmetic and geometry from which the theory of Forms has derived its vision of reality as it would appear to a perfect understanding, as it is geometry and arithmetic which are appealed to, in the first instance, whenever it is desired to produce a simple example of a Form. Mathematics, according to Plato, is the great indispensable instrument for the intellectual training of a philosopher-statesman. This is partly, no doubt, because no other branch of science had, in Plato's day, made sufficient progress to serve as the basis for a scientific education, and partly because the demand for capacity for sheer hard thinking made by mathematics is more exacting than that of any less abstract study. But there is also the further reason that mathematical order and form are regarded by Plato as typically characteristic of coherent pattern, alike in nature and in human life. 'God is ever playing the geometer', and the statesman too 'plays the geometer' when he gives his moral ideal its embodiment in the rationally organized state, with its delicately adjusted equitable system of duties, rights, and penalties.

Special relation to Socrates. Specially marked is the impress of Socrates. It is not merely that the Socratic conceptions of the 'tendance' of the soul, and of *knowledge* of the good as the secret of success in life are the foundation for Plato's whole super-

structure of ethical, political, and juristic theory. The doctrine of Forms itself involves a Socratic, as well as a Pythagorean, constituent. Half the commonly recurrent examples of such Forms are taken from mathematics ('the odd', 'the even', and the like). The other half come from ethics, 'the perfectly just', 'perfect temperance', and so forth. Morals stand side by side with mathematics as a second realm where the mind is in possession of exact and certain standards. (As we know precisely what perfect equality is, though we never see two perfectly equal yard-sticks, so, though we cannot be sure that we have ever met with an absolutely fair transaction, we know just what we mean by absolute fairness, and we use this knowledge as a standard of valuation in judging of the justice or injustice of actual transactions.) Mathematics and morals are thus intimately akin as the two great fields in which the objects with which our thought is concerned are 'ideal limits', and this is why they are also the two fields in which real certainty is possible. The great achievement of the originator of the theory —whether he was Plato or Socrates—is this bringing together of the moral and the mathematical. A third field from which illustrations of Forms are more hesitatingly chosen is biology. We hear, for instance, of the Form of man, that is the 'human type', only imperfectly reproduced in nature in actual men and women, but capable of being exactly known and described by the biologist. In the same way, it is suggested, all the physical sciences are concerned with the study of ideal types of structure to which actual examples only imperfectly conform. There is, for example, a typical corpuscle of air, or water, with a characteristic shape, which it is the business of physics to study, though an actual sample will only exhibit the type as approximately realized. In this way the theory of Forms lays the foundations of a corpuscular mathematical physics.

The Form of Good. The last word of the theory, as we find it in the Platonic dialogues, rests with Socrates. For the supreme principle which knits the world as it really is into a unity, and makes it at once real and everywhere intelligible, is the Form of *Good*, which is to the whole scheme of the real and knowable

what the sun is to the visible scheme. And as the sun, by whose light we see everything clear, is the last object the eye can bear to gaze on, so the Good only discloses itself in its true character, and that only in glimpses, to the mind which has made the long and arduous ascent from first sense-impressions to science. If we can only speak of it brokenly and in parables, that is not because it is in its own nature refractory to intelligence, for it is the one thing wholly and perfectly intelligible; it is because our human apprehension can only take in the system of facts, to which the Good is the key, tentatively and bit by bit. 'It is our organs which endure No light, being themselves obscure.' Yet our most scientific science, our systems of geometrical principles for example, are never quite undiluted science, and have not the precision and finality such science ought to have, because we have not yet seen them as inevitable consequences of the nature of the Good. Hence even the principles which the geometer or the moralist may be permitted to assume for his own purpose, before he can get to work, still need to be submitted to the critical scrutiny of the 'dialectician' (or metaphysician). Utter finality and rationality belong only to principles completely determined by the structure of the Good, and the Good can only be seen by its own light.

The later Plato. Plato's fundamental conviction, we see, is that, rightly understood, natural process and human aspiration towards a spiritual ideal form a single ordered system, dominated by a pattern which is absolutely rational, and because rational, therefore also ethical; the cosmic process, like the advance of a sonata or symphony, embodies an end of absolute intrinsic worth. In this conviction Plato never wavers, but we can see from his latest dialogues, and from the Aristotelian references to his unpublished teaching, that in later life he had come to regard the philosophical synthesis of his earlier dialogues as, in important respects, premature. There is obviously one difficulty of importance on which no light has been thrown by anything the earlier dialogues have told us about Forms. For all that is said in them, an historical individual thing would seem to be no more than the meeting-place for a time of a

number of these Forms; to use the language of a later day, the particular thing would appear to be a mere passing complex of 'universal qualities', and a particular concrete thing is plainly something more than this, though it is very hard to say just how much more it is. The problem, in fact, is the fundamental one of the true relation of the temporal to the eternal. As the doctrine of Forms had been first stated, it might seem to imply that, after all, Parmenides had been right in principle; time and the historical individual things which appear in it are illusions which would vanish for the knowledge of a perfect intelligence; for such an intelligence, there would be no time, and no things, only the Forms. Now this is frankly incredible to the sane mind; hence it is not surprising that one chief characteristic of the latest Platonic dialogues is that they display an increased interest in the particular sensible and temporal fact. Stress is laid less on the contrast between the abiding and intelligible reality and the evanescence and confusion of the appearance, and more on the very real presence of intelligible pattern in the appearance, when duly scrutinized. We hear less of the contrast between our faulty and changing 'opinions' and the precision and finality of knowledge, more of the way in which, as our insight into the conditions of a problem grows, 'opinion', though never losing its tentativeness, steadily approximates to the ideal of knowledge. This means not only that these dialogues show an enhanced sense of the positive worth of sensible historical facts, but also that the sciences, especially geometry, have received development, mainly at the hands of Plato's own associates, and that the strictures of the *Republic* on the arbitrariness and imperfect intelligibility of the geometer's assumed principles need to be correspondingly modified. Plato and his circle, in fact, grappled seriously with the problem raised by Zeno, how to 'rationalize' geometry by giving an intelligible account of the incommensurable. This problem, though not completely solved, had been brought much nearer solution by the work of Theaetetus on 'quadratic surds', and the recasting by Eudoxus of the doctrine of ratio in a way which makes it applicable to all

magnitudes, commensurable or not. The mathematical conception of the natural world rendered possible by these advances might succeed in escaping criticisms fatal to any mathematical thinker who could give no intelligible account of any but 'rational' magnitudes and the ratios between them.

Forms and Numbers. Aristotle's allusions to Platonism as he knew it from personal intercourse show that one chief problem of the Academy was the creation of a sound logical theory of the number-system, which was to justify the recognition of 'surds' like $\sqrt{2}$, $\sqrt{3}$, as numbers, and so vindicate the rationality of geometry, which had been so seriously challenged by Zeno. Preoccupation with this pressing mathematical issue presumably explains the reason why in Platonism, as known to Aristotle, Forms were said to be themselves 'numbers', and the relation between sensible things and Forms explained to be that the constituents of number are ultimately the constituents of all things. These constituents of number are themselves said to be two, 'the one', or unit, and the 'great-and-small'. Our extant materials do not enable us to reconstruct the theory in any detail, and some of the statements of Aristotle seem to indicate that it had not been worked out with perfect logical coherence. But we can at least discern both its general purport and its great philosophical importance. We know from the *Philebus* that the 'great-and-small' was Plato's name for what Aristotle himself calls 'continuous quantity', magnitude not capable of resolution into any plurality of 'units'; the incommensurables of geometry are, of course, the most salient examples of such magnitudes. The purpose of the Platonic theory is accordingly to arrive at a concept of number which permits us to recognize the 'continuous' as one of its constituents, and so to include the 'irrationals' along with 'rationals' in one coherent system.

How this bears upon the relation of Forms to things may be suggested by reference to the cosmology of the *Timaeus*. We are told there that the sensible world is fashioned by God, and fashioned throughout on a strictly rational pattern. Its immediate components are the corpuscles, or molecules, of the

'elements'; hence the rationality of the whole system depends on the fact that these molecules have a definite geometrical structure. The molecule of each 'element' has, in fact, the shape of one of the 'regular' solids. Now when we examine the numerical proportions on which the structure of these figures itself depends, we find that they all involve ratios with 'surds' as terms. Unless we can formulate a perfectly rational theory of such magnitudes, this will make it impossible to maintain that the pattern of the actual world *is* wholly intelligible, as it must be if it is dominated by the Good. If we can give a wholly rational theory of 'incommensurables', the difficulty disappears; the geometrical pattern of the physical world becomes a direct expression of rationality. This is how the Academic reconstruction of number-theory brings us nearer to Plato's ideal science, the understanding of the actual as fashioned on the pattern and in the likeness of the Good.

Plato's Astronomy. We should probably account for Plato's well-authenticated rejection of geocentric astronomy much in the same way. This dissent is the more noteworthy that it was his own friend, the mathematician Eudoxus, who propounded, as the solution of the astronomical problem, that elegant analysis of the planetary orbits into combined rotations of several spheres, with the earth motionless at their common centre, which provided the starting-point for the later system of Ptolemy. Mathematically the theory is at once elegant and simple, but it has the defect—to put the point in Academic phraseology—that it does not adequately 'save appearances'. That is, there were from the first certain outstanding observed facts to which it cannot do justice. (Thus it wholly disregards the fact of the inequality of the seasons, long familiar to empirical workers concerned with the practical reformation of the Calendar.) This, no doubt, was why Plato dissented. He rightly discerned that 'appearances' were not to be 'saved', that is, that the observed data were not to be coherently accounted for as a whole, except by starting with the assumption of a revolving earth. We cannot see the facts in the light of the Good, as a rationally connected system, unless we eliminate the appearance

of irregularity inevitably introduced into our observations by the displacement of the position from which they are made. It does not follow that this single correction will, of itself, make our scheme perfectly coherent, but it will, at least, bring it nearer coherence. An astronomer who starts with a revolving earth may not find that he has got at the whole truth by doing so, but his 'opinions' will be definitely much nearer being what science ought to be than if he had adopted any scheme, however elegant, which retained a central, motionless, earth. If our science never becomes unalloyed knowledge, it is growing more like it with every step in the right direction.

Natural Theology. The most far-reaching effect of this enhanced sense of the worth of historical fact is that it led Plato in the end to become the actual creator of philosophical Theism. Faith in God and God's moral government of mankind was, of course, no new thing. But it is with Plato, and in his latest work, the *Laws*, that Theism first makes its appearance as an explicit principle of philosophical explanation, and one which claims to be capable of convincing reasoned proof. Plato believes himself able to establish beyond dispute the position that God, that is to say a supreme soul or mind, exists, that God is absolutely good, and that He initiates or controls all the movement throughout the universe. It follows that the universe is ruled throughout by a divine Providence which neglects and overlooks nothing, and in particular, that God has so disposed the source of things that every man, in the end, is rewarded strictly according to his works, good or evil. There is a moral judgement of God from which no one can escape. Plato thus definitely maps out the domain of 'natural theology' on lines which it has followed ever since, and he is so convinced of the truth of his doctrine and its importance for right living that he would have the State treat obstinate denial of God's existence, providence, or moral judgement as a capital offence.

The Platonic proof of the existence of God, which is also, to Plato's mind, proof of the immortality of the human soul, runs briefly thus. The most universal of all facts is the fact of motion. Now motion may be of either of two kinds; it may

be communicated, imparted from without, or spontaneous, initiated from within. And it is clear that, in the long run, motion communicated from without must have its source somewhere in motion initiated from within. The source, or sources, of movement in the universe, must therefore be 'motions which are able to move themselves'. Now when we see a thing which is able to 'set itself in motion', able to initiate *spontaneous* movement, we mark the fact by saying that it is 'animate', or 'alive', or has a 'soul'. In fact, the definition of 'soul' is just that it is 'the motion which is able to move itself, as well as to communicate movement to other things'. And we know of nothing except the soul which is thus able to move itself. We may infer then that, in the last resort, all the motions we study in astronomy and the other sciences are initiated by 'motions of soul', and motions of soul are such processes as thoughts, purposes, desires, and the like. Such 'mental processes', then, are the indispensable presupposition of all the physical processes of nature, and the great mistake of the early secularistic physicists was that they were blind to this. Minds, or souls, then, and their actions, cannot be accounted for materialistically as results of physical processes; physical processes are results of them. Minds, or souls, are the real source of all good, and equally of all evil. Further, the perfect order and regularity which science reveals in the great astronomical motions which pervade the universe is sufficient proof that there is a sovereign, or dominant soul, supreme over the whole system, and that this soul is perfectly wise and good. This best soul is what we mean by God, and it is an easy and direct inference from God's perfect goodness and wisdom that He ignores and neglects nothing in the world over which He is supreme. We may be sure, therefore, that His government is a perfect moral government, and that every man's destiny is, here or elsewhere, to fare precisely as his character deserves that he shall fare.

The influence of Plato. Plato's philosophical foundation, the Academy, had a continued existence of nearly a thousand years, before it was closed by the Emperor Justinian in A.D. 529. It never, however, produced a philosopher of first-rate eminence

after Aristotle, and it was only within the last century of its existence that the revived Platonism of Plotinus and his successors found a footing in it. For the larger part of its history, it is chiefly known to us for its sometimes popular, sometimes more acute, dialectical polemic against the sensationalist dogmatism of the two third-century schools of the Stoics and the Epicureans. The real influence of Plato is not, however, to be measured by the fortunes of the school. In the ancient world it was mainly through his natural theology that this influence was exerted. Whenever, in the subsequent centuries, men are concerned to plead the cause of a real and living God and a genuine moral government of the world against scepticism, pessimism, or indifferentism, we find them looking to Plato as the chief source of their inspiration and their arguments. The chief historical legacy from his philosophy to subsequent ages is, in fact, the religious, and specifically, the theistic interpretation of the universe. It was this, taken in conjunction with the vehement polemic of the *Republic* against morally unedifying mythology, which was the great inheritance of the Christian Church, in its early centuries, from Plato.

Second only in importance, for its historical significance, is the influence of Plato's one cosmological dialogue, the *Timaeus*. Right down to the beginning of our thirteenth century, when the recovery of the works of Aristotle for a time diverted cosmological thinking into a different channel, the *Timaeus* continued to provide the educated with their standing general conception of the framework of the physical world. When the revolt against the Aristotelian cosmology of the later Middle Ages had become general, it was once more to the central position of that dialogue that the men of the seventeenth century, consciously or unconsciously, turned in their search for a new philosophical foundation for natural science. Galileo's declaration that the alphabet of the book of Nature is composed of geometrical figures, cones, cylinders, and the like, marks the birth of modern mathematical physics; it is also a proclamation, and, in the case of so good a scholar as Galileo, probably a conscious proclamation, of the return of cosmology from the methods and principles

of Aristotle to those of the philosopher who was fabled to have inscribed over the porch of his Academy: 'No admittance except for geometers.'

Aristotle. Aristotle (385–322 B.C.) is a thinker to whom it is very hard to do justice in a brief summary. Judged by his best work, his natural history and biology, he is, as the experts agree, among the greatest of the great. But the ages which have taken him as their avowed master have been less influenced by his biology than by his general philosophy, cosmology, and ethics, and it is hard, in any of these departments, to rank him on the same level with Plato. In cosmology he suffers from a certain incapacity for mathematical thought, as well as from an unfortunate adhesion to the geocentric astronomy. His positions in general philosophy are developed so much in the course of polemical discussion of particular points that he seems to speak in contradictory accents on all issues of general importance. In the treatment of the moral life, where he really has a definite point of view, he is thoughtful and shows plenty of sound sense, but his want of deep interest in the subject inevitably leads to a certain superficiality.

General characteristics. In all these subjects there can be little doubt that he is, in his own mind, the legitimate continuator of Plato, whose main business is to secure the substance of Platonism by pruning away the incidental excesses of a certain over-strained 'otherworldliness', though it may be a question whether he does not end by a much more questionable 'otherworldliness' of his own. It is important to understand the fundamental differences of temperament and outlook which separate the Athenian Plato and the Ionian Aristotle more profoundly than any divergence of speculative tenets. Plato's temperament is intensely religious and ethical; Aristotle is scientific, rather than ethical, in his interests, and temperamentally non-religious. His ideal, as was only natural in a man who never had a 'city' to call his own, is the great professor rather than the statesman. And there is a further difference in intellectual endowment. Plato is primarily a mathematician, Aristotle a biologist, and the two types of

mind, to this day, are rarely sympathetic to one another. It has also to be borne in mind that Plato's keen sense that fruitful thinking is always a personal adventure and that it is always a tentative adventure, leads him to avoid all appearance of system-making. This is why he says so little in his writings of many of the subjects on which he had meditated most deeply; he knows that there is still so much more to be done before his results are really 'ripe for publication'. Aristotle had none of this reluctance to expound his views on all things in heaven and earth; he is confident that they are nearly always final and exhaustive. He is thus the great system-maker, rubricator, and deviser of exact technical terminology of the ancient world, and this apparently exhaustive, precise, and orderly assignation of every conceivable inquiry to its proper compartment in a definitive scheme of completed knowledge is the secret of the attraction his philosophy will always have for certain types of mind. It also explains the complaint that whereas Plato's chief anxiety was to get mankind to think, Aristotle's ambition is to do their thinking for them, and the historical fact that the ages which have rated Aristotle highest have been just those in which the sense of new and unsolved problems and the need for exploration and discovery have been at their least acute.

Matter and Form. Aristotle's fundamental point of disagreement with Platonism is that he rejects the Forms, at least in what he assumes to be Plato's sense of that word. He cannot accept the doctrine, he says, 'even though his difficulties should be supposed to be due to a spirit of contention'. The theory, he complains, only seems to explain the world of concrete realities by postulating a sort of ghostly replica of it. 'It is as though a man should fancy that before he can count, he must double the objects he has to count.' Against the tendency, with which he reproaches his fellow-Academics, to convert all science into mathematics, he maintains that the concrete realities which science must explain are always composite, with the two constituents of *material* and characteristic structural *form*. The fully real is the individual, and the individual is a composite of these contrasted constituents, neither of which is

real, taken apart from the other. In the actual world we find neither mere form without material of which it is the form, nor mere matter without any characteristic structure. The real individual thing is always *this* particular instance of such and such a type. Its form is given by the type to which it belongs, but this form is always embodied in a material which no thing shares with another. The body of Socrates and the body of Plato exhibit the same organic structure and the same organic functions, but the stuff of each is incommunicably its own.

Matter and form, thus conceived, are, of course, relative to one another, and matter must not be confused with body. Our native passions and appetites, for example, are matter, or material, out of which a 'formed' moral character is developed by training in right habits. Again, what is, from one point of view, already a composite of matter and form, may from another be the matter for the production of a further form. The bricks used in building a house are, from the builder's point of view, so much matter, upon which he has to superinduce the characteristic form of a dwelling-house; but from the brick-maker's point of view, the matter is the clay, and it has already received form in being fashioned into a brick. Articles of diet are the matter of our nutriment, which has to be converted by the organism into the forms of the various living tissues, but each article has, before consumption, a form of its own due to elaboration by processes of nature or art. Mere matter, purely formless stuff, has no actual existence in nature, where we never find anything of simpler structure than homogeneous masses of the so-called 'four elements', each of which has clearly the *form* characteristic of air, water, or the like. Since as Aristotle believes, these elements can be converted into one another, there must be a common 'substrate' of all of them, but this substrate is never found actually existing in an 'unformed' condition.

Potency and act. We can state the same antithesis in a way which at once brings out the biological origin of the conception as the contrast between 'potentiality', 'potency', 'capacity', and the realization of capacity in 'act', or 'actuality'. The individual

thing is, we said, a combination of matter with characteristic form or structure. The element of matter in it is that which can, and does, with appropriate treatment, exhibit a certain form or structure; the element of form is the pattern of the structure; the individual thing is form actually displayed in material. We may express this otherwise by saying that the process of eliciting a form from, or inducing a form upon, a material is the process by which the capacities of the material are actualized. The growth of an organism from germinal state to maturity is a process in which the germ comes to be in actual fact all that it had it in itself to become. So in an artificial process the 'potentialities' of the material are actualized by artist or manufacturer. Thus the whole history of a concrete individual thing may be described equally as one in which a 'matter' is successively determined by 'form', or as one in which 'potencies' are being incessantly developed into 'act'. This involves two points of the first importance. (1) It is only in respect of their element of 'form' that things are knowable. As we get to know all that can be known of an object, we are steadily making increasing acquaintance with the law of its structure and functioning. The element of 'material' or 'substrate' in the thing has to be recognized, but wholly eludes all attempts at knowledge. Similarly, there is only one way to discover the nature of a 'capacity', or 'potency', viz. to study the corresponding 'act'. We can only, for example, discover the potentialities of the infant, or the embryo, from previous knowledge of the structure and functioning of the adult animal. (2) It follows at once that we never understand the true character of a process unless we know what its 'end' is. Hence Aristotle's whole philosophy is throughout 'teleological'.

Teleology. Every natural process has an 'end'; in this sense nature is everywhere purposive. 'God and nature do nothing in vain.' This does not mean that nature is a machinery contrived by a superhuman engineer to produce some result external to itself. What is meant is seen by considering the case of an organism. The 'end', or 'completion', or 'perfected state', of the organism is the living organism itself, as it is when it has

reached full maturity. To understand the structure of the organism at any stage of its growth which precedes maturity, or to understand the succession of these stages, one has first to know what the growing thing will be and will do when it has become 'adult'. The *reason* why two indistinguishable minute specks of germinal matter develop on very different lines is that, when the growth is completed, one of them is going to be a plant or animal of one kind, the other a plant or animal of another kind. What a growing thing is *tending* to be makes all the difference in the world to the history of its growth. The *future* of a growing organism, even more than its past, is the determining factor in its history, and Aristotle, interpreting nature through biology, regards the principle as one of universal applicability. Nature has a coherent pattern, but since the unity of the pattern is what binds past and future together, the pattern itself can never be discovered by the mere study of the pasts of things without taking into account the futures to which things are tending.

The four causes. This conception is crystallized into a formula in Aristotle's account of the 'four causes', or rather four senses of the word *cause*. To have *scientific* knowledge of any matter of fact, it is not enough to be aware that the fact is so; we must also know the reasons why it is so, and know that, in virtue of these reasons, 'it cannot possibly be otherwise'. By the *cause* Aristotle means the complete reason 'why the thing is so, and cannot be otherwise', the complete rational explanation of the fact. To possess such a complete explanation of any product of nature or art, we need information on four points. (1) We must know out of what the thing has grown, or been made, what is the element in the concrete thing before us which is combined with a certain type of form or structure. This is the *matter* or *material* cause of the thing. Thus the acorn is the matter which grows into the oak; the bronze, or marble, the matter which is made into the bust. (And we see the importance of knowledge of the matter, if we remember that the whole execution of the work of art will be largely determined by the fact that the bust is to be carried out in wax, in stone, or in

metal.) (2) We must also, of course, know what is the characteristic form or structure which is combined with the material in the individual thing now before us. This is the *form*, or *formal cause*. (3) We must know the *agent*, or *agency*, which has set the process by which this form is educed from, or induced in, this material at work, since there will always be such an individual initiatory agency required to start a process. This is what Aristotle calls the 'source of the motion'; the later technical name is *efficient cause*. Thus the cause, in this sense, of the existence of a child is said to be the father who begot him, the cause of a house the architect who designed it, or, more remotely, the patron who gave the architect his commission. (4) And we must also know, for the reasons already given, what the object before us will be when and if its growth, or the process of its making, has reached completion, what it is growing, or being made, into. This is the '*end*', or 'cause as end', or '*final* cause'. Our scientific knowledge of an object is never complete until we can specify its 'cause' in all of these senses.

We observe that, in the case of both natural and artificial processes, the three last of these 'causes' tend to coalesce. The 'end' of the process by which a house is built is the actual embodiment of the plan or *form* of the building in this given material of brick, stone, timber. And the *efficient*, or 'source of the process' may also be said to be the *form*, or plan, of the building, as already existing 'by way of idea' in the mind of the architect. The making of the house is a process by which the same form which existed at first 'by way of idea' comes afterwards to exist as the form of a 'real' house. So again, the 'end' or 'completion' of a lad's growth is the adult human being into which he is tending to grow. The 'efficient' which started the growth is, according to Aristotle, the father who begot the boy. And 'only a man can beget a man'. Thus the 'end' of the process, when it is reached, is the reproduction, in a different 'matter', of the *form* characteristic of the efficient which starts the process—the 'perpetuation of the type'. Thus formal, final, efficient causes tend to coalesce, as the active factor in all process, in antithesis to a passive factor, the 'matter'.

Cosmology. The natural world, as conceived by Aristotle, then, is constituted by the realization of form in matter, the instrument by which the realization is effected being motion. This process of the concretion of form with matter is strictly everlasting in both directions, without beginning and without end. But the concretion is much more completely realized in one of the two great regions into which the physical world falls, the celestial, than in the other, the elementary, or terrestrial. By converting the rotating spheres of the mathematical hypothesis of Eudoxus into corporeal globes, Aristotle conceives of the 'heavens' of the various planets and the 'fixed' stars as a finite system of spheres, several for each planet and an outermost one for the true stars, one within another, and with their common centre at the centre of the (motionless) earth. These spheres, and the stars and planets they contain, are made of a special stuff, and have a special dynamics of their own, according to which their motion is one of absolutely uniform unending rotation. Owing to the perfect adaptation of celestial matter to its form, the heavens and the stars and planets in them remain everlastingly numerically identical and wholly unchanging. The only capacity of celestial matter which is not already realized from eternity to eternity is the capacity of its portions for occupying different regions of absolute space, and this is periodically realized infinitely often, as each sphere rotates on its axis. The movements of the heavenly bodies are thus regulated absolutely by uniform law, in every detail, and our knowledge of them is *necessary* knowledge. Strictly speaking, it is the only knowledge of physical matter of fact which is at the same time knowledge of necessary consequences, and so really science.

The case is quite different in the terrestrial region between the centre of the universe and the orbit of the moon. Here the matter which receives form—the simplest state in which it actually exists is that of the 'four elements' of Empedocles—is only imperfectly adaptable to form. Consequently the individual combinations of matter and form are not abiding, but temporary. An actual individual parcel of water, for example,

may cease to be water and take on the form of air, or of earth. The 'forms' characteristic of various living species, again, are eternal, but not the individuals who bear them. The individual plant or animal is born, reproduces its type in combination with fresh matter, in its progeny, and then dies. And, moreover, owing to the imperfect plasticity of the material to the form, a given individual may not be 'true to type'; it may be only an imperfect, or distorted, specimen of its 'kind'. And deviation from type, being due to the material factor in things, which is the factor inaccessible to knowledge, is unpredictable and unaccountable. One cannot say in theory where, and to what extent, it may be expected. Hence the sequence of events in the sub-lunary region of the universe is not necessary but contingent. We can lay down no rigidly necessary laws for it, but, at best, general rules which hold in the great majority of cases, but with liability to unforeseeable exceptions which have to be put down simply to the imperfect adaptation of 'elementary' matter to the forms it receives.

It should be specially noted that this bisection of the physical into two regions, a celestial and a terrestrial, each with its own special dynamics, was introduced into Greek thought for the first time by Aristotle. It is the source of the later medieval dogma of the 'incorruptibility of the heavens' and of the difficulty felt by the contemporaries of Galileo in appreciating the argument from the known behaviour of the movements of bodies near the earth's surface to the movements of sun and planets. Before Aristotle, no one had doubted that sun and stars are made of the same kind of stuff as everything else, and that we may reason by analogy from the mechanics of terrestrial systems, like an eddy for example, to those of the heavenly bodies. It was unfortunate, also, that the sharp distinction between the necessity of celestial and the contingency of terrestrial events provided indolence with a ready excuse for neglect to investigate the laws of 'terrestrial' nature. The exceptional could always be accounted for without mental exertion as due to some incidental misbehaviour of 'matter'.

Theology. Aristotle's cosmology leads up to his theology. He

has, of course, to assign an efficient cause, or 'source of motion', for each of the everlasting uniform rotations into which he has resolved the apparent orbits of the heavenly bodies. Since these movements are without beginning or end, and are absolutely uniform and continuous, the 'movers' who cause them must be thought of as beings eternally perfect and self-same, who have no element of unrealized capacity in them, but are eternally, once and for all, all they have it in them to be. The most important of these 'unmoving movers' is, naturally, that which causes the astronomical movement which controls all the rest (that is, the assumed diurnal rotation of the whole outermost 'sphere' on its axis). It is this 'unmoving mover' whom Aristotle calls God. He is so far influenced by Plato's argument for the priority of 'soul' that he describes God as an eternal, conscious, intelligent being, perfect in Himself, and therefore supremely happy. But he will not allow that a perfect and eternal thinker can think of any but a single and perfect object, and the only object adequate to such thinking is the 'mover' himself. God therefore, throughout His eternity, contemplates Himself and Himself only. 'He thinks himself, and his thinking is a thinking of thinking.' It appears that though God is the cause of the one movement which embraces the universe, He is entirely unaware of the very existence of the world He sets in motion. He moves it, Aristotle says, 'as the object loved moves the lover', and the point of the comparison is that the beloved may perfectly well be ignorant not only of the 'motion' of the lover's soul, but even of the lover's existence. It follows that Aristotle has no place in his scheme for the providential care and the moral government which are prominent in Plato's account of the relation of God to the world. He even actually denies that moral goodness of any kind can be ascribed to God, on the ground that the moral virtues presuppose mundane conditions and interests which cannot be thought to exist in God. (Courage is meaningless for a being who has not dangerous competitors, justice for one who has no needs and no property, and so forth.) Since the argument from motion to its efficient cause demands a distinct efficient for each independent move-

ment, Aristotle has to assume further that there are inferior 'unmoved movers' for each of the fifty odd spheres of his astronomy. Presumably they are also eternal intelligences of the same type as his God, but how they are related to God, whether they even know of God's existence, or in what ways they are less than God, are problems on which we are told nothing. In medieval speculation these subordinate 'movers' become the 'angels' presiding over the various planetary spheres. What is clear is that in this strange theology, Plato's moral ruler of men has become little more than an 'unknown' required as the solution of a problem in mechanics.

Psychology. The antithesis 'matter-form' is used, in particular, as the key to the relation of body to mind. The soul, or mind, is the *form* to which the body is the *matter*, the *actualization* of the *potencies* of the organism, as vision is the actualization of the potencies of the eye. By tracing the process of actualization through its ascending levels, from mere animation, through sensation, to self-conscious thought (*nous*), Aristotle founded genetic psychology. In virtue of the expressly enunciated principle that the higher level presupposes the lower as its foundation, we should expect to find that mind is inseparable from the organism of which it is the actualization. Aristotle surprises us by saying, in a few broken words, which he never explains, that there is another sense in which mind (*nous*) is 'separate', eternal, and the active efficient cause of the whole process of development which he has traced for us. As he never explains the relation of this 'active intellect' to the 'passive intellect' which has a history, we have no right to foist on him any of the widely diverging theories of Neoplatonists, medieval Arabs, or Christian schoolmen. It remained the desperate task of the scholastic Aristotelians to reconcile the thesis that the soul is the form of the body with the Christian dogmas of immortality and resurrection, and to interpret the doctrine of the 'active intellect' in a way consistent with Christian views of personality in God and man.

Practice. Aristotle's views on the right conduct of human life differ very little in principle from Plato's as expressed in such

dialogues as the *Laws* and *Philebus*. The great divergence between the two philosophers concerns their estimate of the importance of morality in the scheme of the universe. Since conduct is throughout a matter of adjusting ourselves to situations which are various in unforeseeable ways, Aristotle holds that 'practice' falls wholly in the sphere of the contingent, and wholly outside the domain of science in the proper sense of the word. Hence he naturally dismisses altogether the Platonic demand that ethics shall be based on metaphysics. Even if there is a universal 'Form of Good', the statesman and educator no more need to know the Form, in order to train good men, than the shoemaker needs to know it, in order to make a good shoe. It is enough for them to have a sound working notion of the 'best life for man' in particular, and such a notion, Aristotle holds, is already provided by Plato in the *Philebus*. On this question, what is the best way of living for a man, then, Aristotle is in substantial agreement with Plato, and his *Ethics* has been one of the main channels through which Platonic ideas about moral conduct have permeated modern civilization. Unfortunately Aristotle's depreciation of the 'contingent' leads him to think of 'practice' as a very secondary thing in the universal scheme. It is rather an indispensable pre-condition of our highest felicity than any part of that felicity. The real reason why we must have settled order and peace in society, and a high personal moral character, is that without them we shall not enjoy the leisure and freedom from distraction needful if we are to rise to the supreme blessedness given by scientific contemplation of the heavens and their unbroken and 'necessary' order. The life of virtuous moral practice is the 'good' for man considered simply as man. But in each of us there is a 'superhuman part'—presumably the mysterious 'active intellect'—and this 'divine something in us' gets its felicity entirely from a super-moral contemplation of the 'spheres' and their 'unmoving movers'. Virtue is no longer thought of as itself an 'imitation of God', who, as we said, is declared to be a non-moral being, but merely as a needful preparation for entering into the sabbath-rest of contemplation, 'so far as a man may'.

Morality thus loses its religious inspiration and religious sanction. It may be a gain to insist that a man can do good work as a statesman without being divine or metaphysician, but the gain is dearly bought by the relegation of practical problems to second-rate minds. The Christian thinkers who borrowed from Aristotle the doctrine of the superiority of contemplation over active good works were sedulous to transform the theory by making the sanctifying God of Christianity the object of the contemplation, but it may be doubted whether, even so, the doctrine has ever quite ceased to be dangerous.

The immediate influence of Aristotle on philosophical thought was not great. His school ceased to be of importance with the death of his immediate successor, Theophrastus (288 B.C.), and the consequent disappearance of Aristotle's manuscripts for a couple of centuries. Even after their publication at Rome in the first century B.C. they were little studied until the rise of Neoplatonism. The subsequent immense reputation of Aristotle is mainly due to the Neoplatonist scholars of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. who were engaged in conserving the tradition of Greek philosophy and science against the menace of the 'dark ages'. It was natural that they should fall back on the work of Plato's great pupil as a substitute for the voice of the Master in regions where Plato had been reticent. They thus unconsciously prepared the way for that exaltation of Aristotle over Plato himself which was to come in the thirteenth century.

4. THE DIFFUSION

From the death of Aristotle (322 B.C.) to the arrival of Plotinus at Rome (A.D. 245) is a period of more than five centuries sterile in original philosophical genius. Men have ceased to be anxious to understand the world, and the advent of the nation-state has confined the conduct of practical affairs to the hands of bureaucracies. The universal practical need of the time is a rule of conduct for the individual's life, possessed of the authority which had belonged in an earlier age to the 'use and wont' of the city-state, and was, at a later date, to belong to revealed religion. This rule philosophy is expected to provide

out of its own resources. Hence the interest of the two typical philosophical systems which arise in this period, Epicureanism and Stoicism, is almost purely ethical. In science both schools merely revive fifth-century Ionian ideas, which they proceed to deprave. Epicurus falls back on the atomism of Leucippus, the Stoics on the still more reactionary physical monism of Heraclitus.

Epicureanism. The guiding thought of Epicurus (341–270 B.C.) is simple to *naïveté*. The business of philosophy is to prescribe the rule for a tranquil and happy life. Now the great obstacles to such a life are three: avarice and inordinate desire, superstitious fear of the interference of the supernatural in the course of events, terror of what may await us after death. The first is eliminated by the moral teaching of Epicurus, that pleasure, agreeably-toned existence, is the only good, and pain the only evil. The aim of a wise man will therefore be to secure the former and avoid the latter by practising himself in rational prevision of the consequences of his acts, and in limiting his desires to satisfactions which are simple and easily to be obtained. Act soberly and with due forethought, and learn not to desire the superfluous and unreasonable, and you will have a happy life. Above all, avoid entangling yourself with the burdens of active public life, which are never compensated by resulting enjoyment. It is the morality of 'enlightened self-interest' as understood by an amiable moral valetudinarian. For the elimination of the second and third sources of unhappiness Epicurus appeals to science to prove the mortality of the soul and the non-existence of divine initiation or guidance in the natural world. Hence he insists upon the principles of atomism, precisely because they exclude all divine agency in nature, and, by making the soul itself an atomic complex, imply its destructibility. Provided we are delivered from fear of the gods and of the world to come, he holds, it is indifferent what speculative explanation we give of natural phenomena. Happiness is the only concern of man, and our happiness is not affected by our theories of the heavenly bodies. We can understand the attractions of this simple practical philosophy for the

common type of temperament which is neither inquiring nor devout, but its value as a contribution to the understanding of the real is negligible. All that Epicurus did for the theory of atomism itself was to throw it into hopeless confusion by ascribing to all atoms a primitive movement with the same velocity 'downwards', that is, in the same direction in 'absolute space'. He has then to assume, in order to bring his atoms into combinations, a succession of wholly arbitrary and uncaused 'deviations' of the atom from its supposed rectilinear path.

Stoicism. Stoicism, from the congeniality of its ethical teaching with much that is best in the Roman character, proved a powerful moral and religious force; in fact, it provided the finest minds of the late Roman republic and early Empire with their working religion. Like Epicureanism, it made its appearance at Athens at the opening of the third century B.C. The original founder was Zeno of Citium in Cyprus, but the doctrine received its systematization from Chrysippus (280–207 B.C.), and, in the form in which it is best known to us from the still extant writings of Stoics of the Roman period, has been further modified by Platonic influences. The system has permanently and profoundly influenced later ideas in the regions of morals, law, and natural theology; in other departments of thought its effects have been temporary and not always beneficial. The early Stoics were pertinacious and pedantic formal logicians; it is from them that the traditional treatment of the 'conditional syllogism' in our text-books has been derived. In physical science they unfortunately combined belief in a single world, rigidly interconnected throughout all its parts by laws of invariable sequence, with the old Heraclitean doctrine of 'fire' as the substance of things. They thus arrive at a kind of 'pantheistic' materialism. The one real substance, which is also called God, is an all-pervading fire, which is also all-knowing. It alternately differentiates itself into an ordered world of apparently manifold bodies, and receives the system back into itself by a general 'conflagration'. As these processes are regulated by a uniform law (called 'Fate', or 'Destiny'), the events of every cycle of the world's history are exactly repeated

ad infinitum in every other. A further consequence of the sovereignty of 'Fate', the principle of causal concatenation, is that every event is causally interconnected with every other. Hence the Stoics became, against the Epicureans, the champions of dreams, prophecy, omens; the doctrine of Fate provides an apparent rationalization of the least rational features of popular religion. In particular, Stoic philosophers appear to be chiefly answerable for the long domination of the European mind by astrology.

Stoic ethics. The Stoic ethic is primarily a rule for the conduct of the individual, based as one-sidedly on reason as the Epicurean rule on feeling. The great object of life is 'conformity to nature'. We are to fill our proper place in the universal order of which we are part, and, owing to the intimate causal concatenation of all the parts, this is equivalent to living conformably to our own special nature as human, and therefore rational. In a rational being, reason, collected thought, should be absolutely supreme. The 'passions' (misconceived as hasty judgements of value), are to be extirpated. The ideal state for a 'sage' is *apathy*, complete freedom from the influence of emotion and complete domination by the 'dictate of reason'. That dictate declares reasonable action, that is virtue, to be the only real good, unreasonable action, vice, the only real evil. Whatever is not virtue or vice is *indifferent*, neither good nor evil, though Academic critics drove the Stoics to the concession that some indifferent things (e.g. good health, good repute) may reasonably be preferred, and others (such as bad health, 'ill report') declined. The ideal 'sage', the man who is wholly influenced by reason, is inerrant and impeccable; he makes no mistakes in his value-judgements, and therefore no faults in his choices and avoidances. Hence, whatever his worldly status, he is the only free man, and because free from 'passion', the only rich man. All men who are not perfect sages are slaves (to passion), and beggars; all their judgements are false, and all their actions vicious (because influenced by unreasonable passion). It is even held that all misdeeds are equally evil (because all alike miss the true mark).

In practice it was admitted that the 'sage' is not met with in actual life. Socrates, and one or two others, may have realized the ideal, but the best that can be said of the rest of mankind is that, though still among the 'fools', they may be making progress in the way which leads to the bliss of wisdom and freedom. The practical ethics of the school thus tend to become a set of rules for the aspirant to a still unattained blessedness. What is demanded is a high standard of right and wrong, an inflexibly dutiful will, and steady and vigorous self-examination on our own progress. This rather hard and unemotional morality of duty is the ancient analogue of the Kantian ethic of the Categorical Imperative. We can hardly exaggerate the importance of the part played by Stoicism in the development of the thought of the sovereignty of conscience. This was the inspiration of the high-minded, if impracticable, republican opposition under the early Roman Empire; the Stoics are the Puritans of the age of Nero or Domitian. Since it is part of the theory that man is made for a world-wide society, just as that society itself is made for its place in the still wider 'city of God', the order of the whole universe, Stoicism did much to prepare the way for Christianity in giving expression to the spirit of universal humanitarianism; both conceive, in their different ways, of the fellowship to which our moral loyalty is due as one where there are no barriers between Greek and barbarian, bond and free.

Influence on Law. It is to this Stoic conception that later ages directly owe the conception of the fundamental principles of morality as a 'law of nature', which has played so prominent a part in political and social theory. Since the universe is a great family or society, a 'city of God', it has a coherent universal law 'taught by nature itself to all creatures'. In the beasts the instruction takes the form of an outfit of implanted instincts, making for individual and racial preservation. In the rational creature, man, it appears as 'innate ideas' of right and wrong common to all human societies, independently of their differences in institutions and historical traditions; these innate ideas are the foundations of morality. Hence great Roman lawyers, themselves frequently Stoics, came to identify the *ius*

gentium, conceived as an ideal system of equity, with the principles of the 'law which nature herself teaches to all living creatures'. Specially noteworthy and historically important is the appeal to 'universal consent' as the proof that a given principle really belongs to the law of nature and is not the expression of some special racial, national, or sectional prejudice. The Stoics are the originators of this appeal to universal diffusion as the test of 'innateness', and consequently of truth.

Natural Theology. The tone of the system is thus deeply religious and in sharp contrast with Epicurean secularism. Its worse side is shown in the zeal with which the sect defended the more superstitious features of the popular cults, and even justified their obscene elements by resolving them into symbols of harmless physical truths. On its worthier side it led to an ardent defence of natural theology. The order of Fate, or Destiny, which rules the course of history, is conceived as at the same time a righteous providential and moral order, the expression of a wholly wise and good divine will. Unhappily the materialism ingrained in the system commits the school, in its assertion of 'eternal providence', to the shallow optimism which treats the very presence of evil in the world as a mere illusion arising from the limitations of our knowledge. Since God and nature are not really distinguished by the Stoics, they have to maintain that 'whatever is, is best', and that 'partial evil' is simply 'universal good'. The same crudeness of thought leads them to degrade the notion of 'final causality' by finding the ends for which the creatures exist in their mere utility for human convenience. Natural theology owes to them the prominence of *theodicy* in its programme, but also the appeal to 'universal consent' as the main theistic argument, the unethical minimizing of evil, and the popular abuse of the 'argument from design'. It also owes to them, in the first instance, its standing problem of the reconciliation of 'fix'd fate, foreknowledge absolute' with the freedom of the human will, a freedom which Plato and Aristotle had simply assumed as an obvious fact. The first prominent philosopher to offer an explanation of the compresence of human freedom with Providence and rational law

was Chrysippus. The Stoics no more denied the fact of our freedom than Augustine or Calvin after them; it is only because the fact is admitted that there is any problem. We are free agents and masters of our choices, yet these choices are themselves the very instrumentality through which the 'purpose of Zeus' achieves its fulfilment. The difficulty does not exist for the Epicurean who denies the reality of 'fix'd fate', and of divine foreknowledge, any more than it does for the necessitarian who denies the reality of free choice.

Greek philosophy at Rome. When the Romans came into contact with philosophy in the middle of the first century B.C., as a result of their conquest of Macedonia, their first attitude was one of suspicion and contempt. A hundred years wrought a complete change of feeling; the penetration of Roman society by Greek culture brought the general recognition of philosophy as the true end of education and the foundation of an effective good life. The great literary monument of this change of attitude is to be found in the series of philosophical essays thrown off by Cicero in the closing years of his life (46–44 B.C.). Cicero had, indeed, neither profound interest in philosophical studies, nor great knowledge of the subject, for which he was, in fact, content to 'cram', but he performed an inestimable service to what was to be the subsequent Western world by providing it with its philosophical vocabulary; he taught philosophy to speak Latin. His projected philosophy for a Roman world has two eminently Roman characteristics. It is only too practical, and, by consequence, it is eclectic. Its exclusive concern is with ethics, a rule for the direction of action, and with religion as a sanction for the rule. Like his fellow-Romans, Cicero has at heart no serious interest in theoretical problems which do not bear directly on practice.

From this point of view he recognizes just two philosophies of serious significance, the Academic and the Stoic, and, though leaning to the Academic side from humorous repugnance to the strain of fanaticism in pure Stoicism, is never quite decided in his choice between them. The two systems had historically been in sharp conflict. The successors of Plato had long thrown

their main energies into a polemic against the confident Stoic dogmatism, to the neglect, apparently, of Plato's deepest positive teaching. It is, in fact, their one-sided development of the negative dialectic of the dialogues which has made the very word 'academic' a synonym for 'sceptical'. But in Cicero's time the two philosophies, which are akin in virtue of their moral and religious temper, were drawing nearer together. Teachers like Panaetius and Posidonius had humanized Stoicism and abated the edges of its fanaticism by wholesale incorporation of Platonic moral psychology; in the Academy itself Antiochus of Ascalon had started a reaction against mere negative dialectic by representing the differences between Academicism and Stoicism as mainly verbal. It is this blend of Platonism with Stoicism which is characteristic of the main body of the philosophy of the Graeco-Roman age right down to the time of Plotinus. The Platonized Stoicism of Seneca (d. A.D. 65), or the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 121–80) is a much more human and sympathetic doctrine than that of Chrysippus; the moral and religious philosophy which the famous Alexandrian Jew Philo (c. 25 B.C.–c. A.D. 45) discovers by elaborate allegorical interpretations in the Pentateuch is either a deeply Stoicized Platonism, or a deeply Platonized Stoicism, as one pleases to consider it. The attempts of a religious reformer like Apollonius of Tyana (d. c. A.D. 97) to propagate a more spiritual worship of God, professing to be a revived Pythagoreanism, are an interesting illustration of the religious unrest of the Roman world, but hardly belong to the history of philosophy. Philosophically more original is the development, in the early Christian centuries, of a genuine and acute philosophical scepticism, but the movement is only really known to us from the writings of Sextus Empiricus (c. A.D. 200), and seems to have exercised no widespread influence.

Neoplatonism. Neoplatonism, the last great constructive philosophy of the ancient world, is, in its essentials, the creation of one man of genius, Plotinus (A.D. 205–70). Nothing is known of his origin or early life except that he was living from the age of eighteen to thirty in the great cosmopolitan city of Alexan-

dria. This was all that could be ascertained by his devoted biographer, Porphyry, and in view of the facts that the name Plotinus seems to be Latin, that Greek was certainly the philosopher's mother-tongue, and that his writings contain no single allusion to Egyptian beliefs or practices, it is hardly likely that he was an Egyptian by birth. His philosophy was enunciated first at Rome, where he spent the last twenty-five years of his life, and only flourished in Alexandria much later for a short time, during the career of the unfortunate Hypatia (murdered A.D. 415). The more closely it is scrutinized, the freer it is seen to be from all Oriental influences. And it is what it professes to be, a reasoned philosophy, not a religious mysticism. Plotinus was himself a practising mystic, but he does not rely on his personal mystical experiences for any of his philosophical doctrines. The attainment of the mystical union with deity was always regarded in the school as a very rare experience. Porphyry records that it was four times achieved by Plotinus, and once in a long life by himself. The later writers of the school make no claims to have experienced the union, and apparently regard it as all but impossible in this life. In the fourth century the Syrian Neoplatonists, of whom Iamblichus is the best known figure, dabbled in spiritualistic magic, but this is an accidental development which had no basis in the teaching of Plotinus and was condemned by Porphyry, his most eminent disciple. Nor does Plotinus in any way anticipate the fantastic speculative theology elaborated from spurious 'Chaldaean oracles' by such later Neoplatonists as Proclus (A.D. 410–85), the erudite systematizer of the doctrines of the school. In Plotinus himself detachment from minor and controversial issues is so complete that there are not even any certain allusions in his works to the Christianity which was already threatening to supersede Hellenism. The battle, in the name of Greek culture, against the new religion was seriously taken up by Porphyry (A.D. 233–c. 301), from whose time onward definite opposition to Christianity, as an Oriental intruder into Hellenic civilization, becomes traditional with the 'Platonists'. The ill-judged attempt of the Emperor Julian

(reigned A.D. 360–3) to construct a rival religion on the basis of the old Hellenic rituals and myths was largely inspired by inferior Neoplatonists of the Syrian type. After the definite promulgation of Christianity as the official religion of the Empire, open hostility had, of course, to give way to personal dissent, and it was this attitude of dissent which finally led to the closing of the philosophical schools by Justinian in A.D. 529. The last of the official successors of Plato ended as harmless and learned commentators on the Platonic and Aristotelian text.

General character. We can most readily understand the fundamental Neoplatonic conception of the real as a hierarchized system, if we start from what we may call the moral psychology of the school. The life of man is, or should be, a pilgrimage from sense-experience, which is a baffling medley of apparently disorderly and patternless plurality to the supreme experience of direct contact with a single transcendent reality from which all appearance of multiplicity has disappeared, so that even the consciousness of the distinction between the experiencer and that which he experiences has been lost. On the practical side moral progress is from the life of dissipated and incongruous momentary impulse to one in which the energies of the self are unified and concentrated in the eternal successionless affirmation of its being. These conceptions are rationalized by regarding all reality as the expression, at different levels of adequacy, of a single principle, the place of each level in the hierarchy being determined by the axiom that what is most truly one is most real; multiplicity is a symptom of unreality, and increase in multiplicity keeps pace with loss of reality. A conscious creature has an individual unity not found in an unconscious thing; the truths of a science have a systematic unity and coherence missing in the loose medley of sensations, recollections, and anticipations which make up our everyday perception and thinking. Soul, then, is more unified and more real than mere Body, and Intellect, or Mind (*nous*), than mere Soul. Even in the most closely-knit scientific thinking there is not complete unity, for there is always the opposition between

the thinking subject which knows and the objective verities known. The supreme reality, then, is not even thought, or mind; it is 'the One', an absolute unity in which there is no longer even the distinction of knowing subject and known object, or even of logical subject of attributes from attributes predicable of it. The whole universe of reality and illusion is a series of increasingly inadequate self-expressions of this supreme and absolute principle of unity, knit together into a system by an all-pervading law of efficient causality. The law is that each 'emanation' in the hierarchy is caused by its pre-cursor, but the effect is, in every case, an imperfect 'image' of its cause, owing to the increase of multiplicity with every stage in the descent. Hence there is always more reality in the cause than can find expression in the effect. The cause is thus always a 'transcendent' cause; yet, since the 'One' can, of course, never go outside itself, the effect is always 'immanent in' the cause.

The Triad of Principles. At the apex of the hierarchy, above the whole series of imperfect mirror-images, stands the One, or Absolute Unity. It is, in fact, the principle Plato had called the Good, or Form of Good, which is the 'cause at once of being and of intelligibility; but itself beyond both'. Its immediate and most nearly adequate expression is Mind, or Intellect (*nous*), but here the multiplicity which is always a symptom of partial unreality is already beginning to exhibit itself. With Mind comes in the primary duality, that of contemplating intellect and contemplated object. The object contemplated by Mind, 'the intelligible world', is the system of the Platonic Forms in its entirety, and Plotinus is careful to insist that, since the whole 'sensible world' is a further inadequate mirror-image of the Forms, everything which is a real member of the sensible world must have its own pattern in the intelligible; there must be Forms of the individual, no less than of the species, of Socrates and Plato no less than of Man. The immediate ex-pression of Mind at a lower level of unification is Soul, the principle of consciousness and life in general, with its multi-plicity of 'functions', or 'operations', and the supreme soul is

that which Plato's *Timaeus* had depicted as animating the visible frame of things as a whole, the 'Soul of the world'. It is these three principles, The One, Mind, Soul, which are called by Plotinus the three 'primary hypostases', and have often been spoken of by Christian writers as the 'Neoplatonic Trinity'. The associations of the phrase are misleading. Origen, with whom the attempt of the Christian Church to express its doctrine of the Godhead with precision begins, was a contemporary of Plotinus, and perhaps even a fellow-student with him in Alexandria. And it was inevitable that both Neoplatonist metaphysicians and Christian divines should make use of the existing philosophical vocabulary, since both were concerned with the same problem, the respective places of unity and multiplicity in the ultimate reality. But here the resemblance ends. The Christian doctrine is not concerned, like that of Plotinus, with the relation between the Absolute and the system of 'creatures', but with the inner life of the Godhead itself. It asserts an 'essential trinity' within what Plotinus regards as the undifferentiated 'One'. Hence, while the 'triad' of Plotinus is graded, or hierarchized, the Christian doctrine inevitably demands a triplicity of co-ordinate *hypostases* in which none is 'before or after another'. Hence, too, the Christian distinction, absent from Neoplatonism, between the eternal 'procession' of Son and Spirit from Father, and the freely willed act of 'creation' by which the threefold Godhead produces the world of finite beings. The Neoplatonic 'One' does not give rise to Mind and the 'intelligible world' by a free, or even a conscious, act; it 'runs over' like a water-spring, or 'diffuses itself' in the fashion of light flooding the atmosphere. And the origin of the Christian problem is not *cosmological*; it arose from the necessity of being clear about the relation of the Creator of *Genesis* to the Son who had put on humanity in the womb of Mary, and the Spirit given at Pentecost.

Human Souls and the World-Soul. The One, Mind, Soul, together make up what Plotinus regards as the 'real' world. Below souls in the hierarchy stand bodies, the immediate 'reflections' of soul or souls. But at this level unity, the prin-

ciple of reality, is all but totally submerged. Body, the extended, is, at least in conception, indefinitely divisible, and no part of it seems to have any real right to be regarded as a 'unit'. It is only by a convenient fiction that we regard any extended thing as one, rather than as indefinitely many. Bodies thus are more truly said to be 'appearances' than to be 'realities', though we must remember that they are genuine appearances of something which is real, not mere illusions. It is also important to remember that plurality does not make its first appearance in the scheme with body and extension. There is a real plurality of individual Minds and Souls. Both Minds and Souls, besides constituting a stage in the universal hierarchy of being, are themselves hierarchies. The universal Mind and the Soul of the World stand at the head of their subordinate hierarchies, but the human mind and soul of Plotinus or Porphyry are genuine, indeed, eternal, individuals; they are not mere 'fragments' of universal Mind and Soul. The 'fall' of the finite soul, that is, its entrance into intimate relations of reciprocal dependence with a particular bodily organism, is a prominent topic with the Neoplatonists, their common thought being that the ideal condition for human souls is that in which all are in complete harmony with one another and with the highest soul, that of the world. The 'descent into generation' inevitably disturbs this perfect harmony, since the special and close connexion with a particular organism at once limits the soul's avenues to knowledge and contracts and brings egotism into its interests. This is why it is a 'fall' from which it is the task of the virtuous soul to recover by the practice of the philosophical life. The last recorded words of Plotinus were: 'I am striving to reunite the divine within me to the divine in the universe'. It is in keeping with this attitude that he often represents our very possession of human bodies as a consequence of an ante-natal sin of presumption; the soul has 'descended' because it aspired to have a realm of its own in which it could be 'as God'. The predominence of this way of thinking in much Neoplatonist writing leads to the radically un-Platonic conception of body as something in itself evil, and the source of evil.

Yet Plotinus has also a second and quite inconsistent theory that the 'descent' is not due to a sinful impulse of pride, but to the legitimate aspiration to 'imitate God' by becoming the ruler and providence, under God, of the lesser world of the individual body.

The return to God. As the system of the 'creatures' proceeds from the One, so it also eternally reverts, or returns, to its source; the One is the Omega, as well as the Alpha, the 'final' no less than the 'productive' cause of all things. And the process of 'reversion' is hierarchized exactly like the antithetical process of 'procession', or 'emanation'. The principle is that each stage in the hierarchy finds its completion, or perfection, by 'reverting' to the stage immediately above it; body 'reverts' to soul, soul to mind, mind to the One. The thought is that the things of the corporeal world only fulfil their true function, and thus only become all they have it in them to be, when they minister to the life of conscious beings, become instruments of their rational purposes, and yield up their secrets to their knowledge. The senses and passions, again, only fulfil their true function in the scheme of things when they in their turn are the servants of understanding and intelligent purpose, and intelligence only fulfils its true function when it leads us beyond the mere understanding and controlling of what still remains an 'external' world to conscious and immediate union with the supreme One—the *visio beatifica*. But there is a fundamental difference between the 'reversion' of body to its immediate principle, Soul, and the other stages of the ascent. In its 'reversion' into Soul, body does not also 'revert into itself', but in all the higher stages of the process 'reversion' to a superior stage is also 'reversion to self'. That is, presumably, in becoming the plastic instrument of the soul, the body remains a mere instrument of that which is higher than itself. But a soul, as its senses and instincts and passions become more and more the servants of rational thought and purpose, or a mind, as it comes nearer and nearer to the beatific vision, only loses itself to find itself 'to life eternal'. 'Become what thou art' may be said to a soul, or a mind, as it could not be said to a stone, or a mass of

metal. This is because, according to the Neoplatonic view, even the humblest soul is still eternal in its nature, however merely temporal its activities may be, but the merely bodily is wholly temporal, always, through and through, in the making and never made. And it is only that which has eternity within it that is truly 'real'. The merely bodily, being utterly temporal, has *no* 'self' either to lose or to find.

The task of man. We can readily see what the main business of human life will be in a world thus conceived. Man is a soul dwelling in a body whose limitations are the source of error and confusion in his thought, and whose clamorous appetites lead him into conflict with his fellows and himself. His first and most imperative task is therefore to control the unruly appetites and passions which set him at variance with himself and other men, and this is to be done by the assiduous practice of the 'political', or, as Aristotle had called them, the *moral* virtues, the habits which transform the human animal into the self-respecting and law-respecting citizen. But it is not enough that a man should become a decent citizen of a civilized society; he must go on to become a thinker, and the thinker must prepare himself, by arduous concentration, for the crowning experience of 'union'. This means that to the political virtues must be added the *purgative* and *illuminative*, the painfully won intellectual habits by which the temple of the mind itself is made a fit receptacle for a divine visitant. And here Plotinus himself stops. 'It is for the God to come to me, not for me to go to him.' The divine visitor chooses His own time for coming; we can only make ourselves ready and wait. We are in view here of the medieval conception of the life of the contemplative and the mystic, but Plotinus himself, whatever may have been the case with some later disciples, sets his face against all attempts to induce the supreme presence by devices of our own.

Neoplatonism was the form in which the Church was to receive the philosophical legacy of the dying Hellenic civilization. There were, of course, some Neoplatonic characteristics which could not find a place in any conception of the cosmic

order where time and history have the profound significance they necessarily have for Christianity, with its personal Creator who has also been 'made man' in a particular human life. The incessant revolution of events in cycles without beginning or end had to be replaced by the doctrine of a first day before which history was not, and a day of Doom after which it will be no more. Under the influence of the new religion the adventure of man through time, in particular, has to culminate in the winning of a life which is final and abiding. Heaven, not endless reincarnation, must be the goal of human progress. This, indeed, seems to have been the conception of Plato himself, and Plotinus was faithful to it in teaching that the soul which has resolutely followed the upward way to its goal has no more to 'descend' again; but the school as a body rejected this eschatology, as they also rejected the connected doctrine that in all of us there is a 'part' of the soul which never 'falls'. The considered verdict of Neoplatonism was that when the soul 'descends', it descends wholly, and the endless alternate descent and ascent is a destiny from which it never escapes. A religion with an historical Incarnation, again, cannot simply relegate bodies to a status which puts them outside the strictly real. But the broad general outlines of Plotinus' conception of the world as a hierarchy, and of the double movement of the 'procession' of the successive orders of the hierarchy from their transcendent source and their 'reversion' to it pass direct into Christian philosophy and persist there. Even after the Thomistic substitution of Aristotle for a Plato seen through the eyes of Neoplatonists as the official philosophical authority of the Church, this fundamental Neoplatonism still survives as an integral factor in Thomism itself.

PHILOSOPHY IN THE MEDIEVAL WORLD

A. PATRISTIC PERIOD

THE early Apologists. Christianity was neither invented by the philosophers nor preached, in the first instance, to philosophers. Its task was not to understand the actual world, but to rescue men from practical godlessness and evil lives by proclaiming the good news of God's reconciliation of an estranged world to Himself in Christ. Hence it looked on Greek 'wisdom' at first with a distrustful suspicion as part of the vain inventions which blind mankind to the only knowledge of real moment, the knowledge of what God requires of them and has done for them. This knowledge is to be learned from God's own declarations in the Church's Scriptures, not from the guesses of men wandering in darkness. This attitude naturally could not be permanent. Before long the new religion had to defend itself against the criticism of educated opponents, to carry the war into the enemy's camp by a reasoned attack on the intellectual and moral weaknesses of paganism, and to secure itself against the bizarre theosophical fancies of Gnosticism, which threatened to convert the Faith itself into a fantastic superstition. To do all this, the Church required a reasoned philosophy of its own, and in the construction of such a philosophy more than one Greek thinker, Plato above all, was found an invaluable ally. The apologists of the second century, Justin Martyr, Tatian, Athenagoras, already appeal to Plato's passionate denunciation of superstition and immoral religion as proof that the true God had not left Himself without witnesses in the pagan world itself.

Clement of Alexandria. The first attempts at a more systematic Christian philosophy was made in the third century at Alexandria by Clement (*c.* A.D. 150–*c.* 215) and Origen (A.D. 185–254), successively heads of the catechetical school of that city, and in both cases the metaphysical and cosmological foundations for such a philosophy are found in Plato, whom Clement regards as

charged with the same sort of mission to the Hellenic world as the great prophets had exercised towards the Israelites. It is with Clement that the persistent attempt to discover the Christian Trinity in the *Timaeus* makes its appearance. Theoretically he holds that the incarnation of the divine Word has made philosophy, the partial revelation of the unincarnated Word to the Gentiles, henceforth superfluous. But his actual procedure, when he comes to construct a code of morals for the average Christian, is to build the code up almost wholly, in virtue of the identification of the Word with 'reason', on the familiar lines of Platonized Stoicism. It is the same with his treatment of the knowledge of God. It begins, in the first instance, with an act of simple faith in God's recorded declarations, but this faith, which is sufficient for the ordinary Christian, is defined, in Stoic fashion, as an intellectual assent, and Clement holds that in the few who go on to perfection, faith is converted into actual knowledge. His account of the contents of this knowledge of God differs very little from those of the Platonists of the opening centuries of our era. It would not be a great exaggeration to say that, in his view, the object of the mission of the incarnate Word is simply to teach the mass of humanity by authority truths about God and the rule of right living which would otherwise be accessible only to the few who are capable of following philosophical demonstrations.

Origen. Origen, the most eminent of the Greek Fathers, comes so near in his philosophical views to the Neoplatonists that Porphyry spoke of him as 'Christian in his manner of life, but Greek in his thinking'. As a Christian he cannot dispense with a beginning of the world, but he comes close to the conception of the endless cycle in his assumption of a series of worlds antecedent to our own, and to the doctrine of 're-version' in his more famous tenet of the final restoration of the lost (including, as was alleged, the devils). He agrees with the *Timaeus* in asserting the simultaneous creation of all souls at the beginning of the world and the doctrine of repeated reincarnations, and with one strain in Neoplatonic thought in making the connexion of the soul with a mortal body a penal

consequence of a primitive 'fall' of unembodied souls. Thus his general view of the world owes as much to Plato as to Scripture; the two are reconciled by free use of the allegorical method of interpreting the Bible. The one great defect he finds in Greek philosophy is that, though it seems to recognize the Father and the Son, it knows nothing of the Holy Spirit. His real, or alleged, belief in the ultimate salvation of devils was more than the Church could assimilate, and led to his condemnation as a heretic by a Synod held in Constantinople in the sixth century, but the Platonizing tendency was continued in the fourth century by the Cappadocian divines, notably by St. Gregory of Nyssa, from whom the Platonic influence passed to the West through St. Ambrose of Milan.

'*Dionysius the Areopagite.*' At a later date, not earlier than A.D. *c*. 500, the East contributed a further important factor to the propagation of Neoplatonic conceptions within Christianity, the writings of the so-called 'Dionysius the Areopagite'. These are, in fact, a thinly disguised adaptation of the theosophical speculations of Proclus, but their ascription by a literary fiction to St. Paul's Athenian convert, Dionysius the Areopagite, led to their acceptance as an account of the mysteries revealed to the Apostle when he was caught up to the 'third heaven'. The main thought of the writer is that the world of creatures, from the highest of the angels downward, is an ordered hierarchy each descending stage in which repeats, with increasing confusion and obscurity, the characteristics of its divine source, God; the divine source itself is utterly transcendent of human knowledge. Hence there are two theologies, a 'positive' and a 'negative'. The positive theology attempts to understand the nature of God in the light of the analogies supplied by the structure of His creatures; its principle is that every perfection of a creature corresponds to some characteristic which exists in a more eminent manner in the Creator; all nature is thus a system of imperfect symbols of divinity. The negative theology is concerned with God as He is in Himself, and its principle is that all the symbols provided by created things are inadequate; hence the highest truth about God can only be

reached by denying of Him all the perfections found in creatures. From the positive theology of Dionysius the medieval Church derived its doctrine of the ninefold angelic hierarchy and the illuminating influence of each but the last of the nine orders on that immediately below it. From the negative theology came the whole theory, as distinguished from the practice, of mysticism with its practically dangerous tendency, against which the more sober and orthodox had perpetually to struggle, to culminate in the deification of the merely Unknowable.

St Augustine. The main channel through which the influence of Plato reached the medieval West was different. Western theology and philosophy, in the Christian world, has never ceased to bear the stamp of the marked personality of one man of genius, St. Augustine (A.D. 354–430). Augustine had already been deeply affected, before his conversion, by the presentation of the Platonic moral ideal in the (now lost) *Hortensius* of Cicero, and by a Latin version of the writings of Plotinus. From these sources, he says in his *Confessions*, he had learned both of God and of the Word, eternally one with God, 'through whom all things were made'. The vital thing he had not learned from them was that the Word 'was made flesh and dwelt among us'. Hence, when Augustine set himself to think out a philosophy of the Faith, his metaphysical starting-point was Platonic, though his Platonism owes its specific form to his own personality. His fundamental concern, like Newman's, is with God and his own soul; to all else he is comparatively indifferent. He has the metaphysician's passion for certain knowledge of the mysterious source of all reality, and the passion of the introspectives, of whom he is the first and one of the greatest, for clear understanding of that other mystery, the *abyssus humanae conscientiae*, human personality. And it is in reflection on the second and lesser mystery that he finds the clearest hints of the solution of the first. *Nature* as such, it has been said, had no interest for the earlier Middle Ages; they saw in it only a collection of symbols which distantly adumbrate theological truths, the only truths which really matter to us. The attitude

was already determined by Augustine's concentration of attention on God and the self.

Leading metaphysical tenets. Augustine is the real source of the thought afterwards to receive such far-reaching development at the hands of Descartes, the thought of the immediate certainty of the real existence of the thinking mind. I may doubt of everything else but not of my own existence, for the very fact of the doubt in this case proves the reality of that which is doubted; the mind which doubts its own reality affirms it in the act of doubting. The individual mind, then, is real beyond all question, and it is itself, in a way, a 'made' trinity, an understanding, a memory, and a will. In all these capacities the nature of the mind throws a real light on the nature of the source of all reality. Memory, with its power of contemplating the past and enabling us to anticipate the future, raises the whole problem of eternity and time and the relation of the passing and temporal to the eternal and abiding which had already been so prominent in the thought of Plato, whom Augustine follows in the main, with much added wealth of psychological insight. Understanding, again, gives rise to a problem which had also exercised Plato, the problem of *learning*. What is the real nature of the process which we call learning a 'new truth'? For the truth is really not 'new', if it is a truth; it was true before any one had learned it, and it will remain true if every one should forget it. (Thus the problem is the standing one of the presence of an *a priori* element in truth.) Augustine puts the difficulty in a form peculiar to himself. How can one man really learn a truth from another man? What the 'teacher' communicates directly to the 'disciple' is a series of vocal or other symbols. But in receiving this communication I do not 'learn' the truth which was already known to my preceptor, unless he and I both *understand* the meaning of the symbols and understand it alike, and the understanding of a meaning is not something which can be put into one man by another. This was why Plato had said so often that the utmost a master can do for a disciple is to direct his attention to a problem for which the disciple must find the answer by a personal effort.

Augustine's solution is that truth, which neither begins to be, nor ceases to be, but eternally is, must have its residence in a supreme mind which simply is, or is eternal, and that when I 'learn' a truth from the lips of another, the understanding of what is said to me is due, like the corresponding understanding on the part of the speaker, to a direct contact of my understanding with this eternal mind. Thus the Platonic doctrine of the Forms is reiterated with the modification, for which the way had been prepared by Philo of Alexandria and the Neoplatonists, that the Forms become 'thoughts of God', types eternally present to the divine mind, on which the world of temporal things has been erected. More precisely, these eternal 'exemplars' are said to be contained in the divine Word, the Son who is the eternal object of the Father's knowledge, and this 'exemplarism' persists all through medieval philosophy. It is a part of the theory that in all acquisition of knowledge, the real 'teacher' is directly God, who makes use of human preceptors merely as occasions and instruments. Christ, the Word of God, is *magister ad omnia*; knowledge of natural science, no less than knowledge of the 'saving truths' of the Faith, is due to a direct *illumination* of the individual mind by the one light which lighteth every man'. This *illuminationism* remains characteristic of Augustinianism all through the Middle Ages, and we see it still persisting in the modern world in such a doctrine as that of Berkeley, that sense-perception itself is a kind of direct conversation of God with the soul in a 'divine visual language'. We shall see later on how far the thought is modified in the Christian Aristotelianism of St. Thomas. At present we may just note that it involves a close assimilation in principle of 'natural' and 'revealed' truth, and that this assimilation explains both the indifference of the earlier Middle Ages to nature as an independent object of study in its own right, and the readiness of thinkers like St. Anselm to attempt proofs from philosophy of theological propositions which according to Thomism can only be known on the authority of revelation. The distinction could not be absolute for thinkers who regarded all truth as 'revealed'.

The paramount importance of Augustine's treatment of will is matter of common knowledge. All 'voluntarism' in philosophy, and the whole of the serious treatment of the 'problem of evil' may be said to go back to him. His doctrine is determined partly by his exceptionally acute sense of the tremendous reality and the exceeding vileness of deliberate wrongdoing, partly by the insistence of Christianity on the moral character of an omniscient and omnipotent God, and the difficulty of reconciling the absolute sovereignty of such a God with the existence of evil in the world. Augustine's main contribution to the problem, which became the universally accepted answer, is his distinction between the *nature* with which a creature is endowed by God, and its will. The natures of all creatures, even Satan's, are, and remain good; it is only their wills which can be evil. And that a creature should have been created with the capacity to choose evil is not itself an evil; a creature incapable of willing evil would have been equally incapable of willing good. And it is the creature itself that chooses to will evil; the choice is not made for it by the Creator. All evil is either sinful choice (*malum culpae*) or suffering (*malum poenae*). And suffering, the only evil due to God, is always a consequence of sin (not necessarily the *personal* sin of the sufferer). That sin should have this penal consequence is not evil, but good, for the consequence is demanded by justice. Thus the *freedom* of the sinner's choice is an indispensable part of the theory. Augustine is the source at once of the Predestinationism of subsequent western theology, and of all the Libertarianism of subsequent western moral philosophy.

Boethius. The sixth century, when a 'dark age' of three centuries was already rapidly setting in, produced one last work of wide appeal and enduring influence. Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius (*c.* A.D. 475–524), a Roman of illustrious birth, wide scholarship, and high official rank, who incurred the suspicions of his sovereign, Theodoric, the great Gothic King of Italy, and was put to death with circumstances of some cruelty, composed in his last imprisonment at Pavia a meditation of singular charm, in a medley of verse and prose, *The Consolation*

of Philosophy, which became the most popular serious book of the whole Middle Ages. (It was translated into English by both King Alfred and Chaucer, and Dante tells us how the reading of it reclaimed him from the unworthy life into which he had fallen after the death of Beatrice.) The fame of the book stood all the higher that Boethius was also the author of the theological tracts which summarized the orthodox doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation. Since the king who condemned him was an Arian heretic, he was popularly regarded as a Christian martyr. The exposition follows the usual lines of Platonic ethics and natural theology. Boethius is consoled by a vision of Philosophy, who chides him for the inconsistency of his despondency with the professions of a lifetime, and reminds him that no misfortunes can deprive him of the true good of man, conscious union with God. It is then proved from Plato that God is supreme in the universe, and that his Providence permits no evil to befall the righteous; the temporary presence of evil in things is due to man's misuse of his free will, and is thus no argument against the sovereignty of Providence. The writer's silence about all specifically Christian hopes is probably to be explained, with the most recent editor, by the fact that Boethius was not writing face to face with death; he is not really contemplating any doom more serious than confiscation and banishment from Rome. As the Middle Ages took from one of the author's theological tracts their standard definition of a *person*, 'a person is an individual substance of rational nature', so they took from the *Consolation* a second famous definition, that of *eternity* as 'whole, perfect, and simultaneous enjoyment of unbounded life'. The thought of Boethius is throughout Platonic and Augustinian; his book owes its enormous influence to the brevity and simplicity with which the Platonic principles are stated, and the grace and charm of the diction.

B. THE CHRISTIAN MIDDLE AGES: SCHOLASTICISM

Scholasticism; meaning of the name. Intellectual life began to revive in Europe, after the eclipse of the Dark Age, with the era of Charlemagne (crowned Emperor A.D. 800). The thought

of the Christian West from that date until the definitive rise of modern physical science, towards the year 1600, may conveniently be called Scholasticism, a name which means simply that the theories to which it is applied are those inculcated during eight centuries in the recognized 'schools' of higher education. The earliest of these schools was that attached by Charlemagne to the Frankish Court; more important, in view of their wider influence, are two types of such institutions with permanent abodes, the conventual schools conducted in great monasteries, and the episcopal schools of great ecclesiastical sees. These, in time, furnished the model for the organization of studies in the universities which are the supreme educational creation of the Middle Ages. Thus 'scholasticism' is not, any more than 'modern science', a single body of doctrine. The name stands for a multitude of diverse and often conflicting theories, with a history of eight hundred years. What is common to these theories is not a special set of theses, but a general orientation of thought which determines the form in which the problem of philosophy is raised.

General characteristics. Medieval thinkers were well aware that their first task was the recovery, in broad outlines, of the synthetic vision of an ordered world already enjoyed by antiquity. Apart from Latin versions of Aristotle's logical treatises, the material for this work of recovery, Augustine, Boethius, the Latin version of Plato's *Timaeus*, Macrobius, was all Platonic in character; hence the general outlook on the world thus regained was at first Neoplatonic. Only in the twelfth century does Aristotle begin to influence thought deeply, and only in the thirteenth, after the rediscovery of his work on physics and biology, does he replace Plato as providing the general framework for a reasoned scheme of things. The Middle Ages equally accept the content of Christian theology, as fixed in the creed-making centuries, as a body of truth about God and His ways with His creatures, for which we have the authority of God Himself. The most pressing problems created by the possession of this double inheritance is naturally that of conceiving the single system of ordered reality as a coherent

synthesis of the truth God has declared to us about Himself with the truths the 'Gentiles' had been able to discover about nature. This is a metaphysical problem, and the raising of it presupposes that nature, the part of reality which we can discover for ourselves, and supernature, the part of which we can only learn by direct revelation from the divine Author of the whole scheme, form a single rationally ordered hierarchy. It is not surprising, therefore, that the philosophical thought of the scholastic ages should exhibit certain distinctive characteristics. Scholastic philosophies, whatever their differences, are all metaphysical; their solution of logical, ethical, psychological problems are determined by their view of the underlying ground-plan of the real. They are all severely rationalistic; it is taken as axiomatic that the ground-plan, when discovered, will completely satisfy the demand of the intellect for logical coherence. They all assume a hierarchical, or many-levelled reality; all are preoccupied with the question how far up the ascending levels the human mind can travel without the aid of faith in revelation. The knowledge which is specially prized is knowledge of the source of the whole hierarchy and of those highest levels which stand nearest to the source; the lowest level, that of the nature accessible to sense-perception, rarely interests a medieval thinker deeply on its own account, and it is this lack of interest in sensible nature for its own sake which, more than anything else, makes it hard for modern readers to appreciate the medieval philosophers.

The ninth century. Johannes Scotus Erigena. The first original thinker of the Middle Ages proper, Johannes Scotus Erigena (born in Ireland, taught in Paris at the 'school' of the palace under Charles the Bald, towards the middle of the ninth century), though in intention Christian, in execution remains predominantly Neoplatonic, a fact which explains why the doctrines of Scotus incurred the condemnation of contemporary Councils, and his writings narrowly escaped extermination by Papal authority in the thirteenth century. Scotus, by his Latin translation of 'Dionysius', introduced the 'negative theology', in an extreme form, to the West. His own philosophy, expounded

in the *de divisione Naturae*, is a grandiose vision, conceived in Neoplatonic fashion, of the procession of all reality, from the eternal Word down to the most ephemeral of creatures, from the supreme God whose being is unfathomable not only by any creature, but even by Himself, and the return of all to their divine source, a return which involves an ultimate abolition of evil, a transfiguration of matter into spirit, and of spirits into complete conformity to the image of the divine Son, and, finally, the 'subjection of the Son to the Father'. It is certain that Scotus had no intention of theological heterodoxy; he was not a concealed 'free-thinker'. His famous depreciation of authority, in comparison with reason, as a source of knowledge, refers solely to the authority of patristic interpretations of revelation, not to that of revelation itself, which is implicitly accepted. But the trend of his thought is unconsciously un-Christian in important respects. His excessive exaltation of 'negative' theology over 'positive' leads to the same complete Agnosticism in which Neoplatonism had ended, and his refusal to admit that evil of any kind has any positive reality is inconsistent with the moral earnestness of Christianity. Fully thought out, his philosophy, which is rather that of a man of vivid imagination than of a close and cautious reasoner, would end in a combination of practical 'naturalism' with entire metaphysical Agnosticism. Historically its interest is that it shows how profoundly the Neoplatonic view of the world has still to be modified before the thought of a Christian philosopher will be really in accord with his faith.

The problem of universals. The ninth century sees the beginning of the famous dispute, originated by a passage in Porphyry's *Introduction* to the *Categories* of Aristotle, about the nature of 'universals'. The question, still a very living one, is really one about the nature of a 'kind' or 'species'. Are the names of kinds, such as 'man', 'horse', mere words, with no realities corresponding to them (the nominalist view), or do species exist as realities (the realist view), and if so, does the species exist only *in* its individual members (this man, this horse), or has it some kind of *separate* existence of its own? In other words,

when I speak of e.g. 'humanity', 'humankind', am I really *naming* anything, and if so what? In the ninth century the answer generally accepted, suggested by expressions used in Plato about the 'Forms', is realist. The kinds, sorts, or classes into which, in our thinking, we parcel out the contents of the world, are regarded not as divisions made by the human mind for its own convenience, but as real lines of cleavage established by God in the very nature of things, and, indeed, as having a reality superior to that of the individual things which fall under them. 'Man' is more real than Peter or Paul, 'living creature' than 'man', and 'being' more real than all of them.

The tenth century. Intellectual life could not flourish healthily in the troubled political atmosphere of the tenth century. Its outstanding figure in this sterile age is Gerbert of Aurillac (Pope, under the title Silvester II, 999–1003). The low standard of contemporary attainments is strikingly illustrated by the fact that his knowledge of the four Pythagorean sciences (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music), earned him a lasting legendary reputation as a dealer in the black art.

The eleventh century. Berengarius. The eleventh century is a time of much greater intellectual activity, and to it belongs one of the most important figures of medieval philosophy, St. Anselm of Canterbury. To this period belongs the rise of that passion for merely formal, and often futile, logical dialectic which is often unjustly charged upon the schoolmen as a body. The most famous example of this exaltation of formal dialectic was given by Berengarius of Tours (*d.* 1008), when he denied transubstantiation on the ground that 'accidents' cannot exist where their 'subject' is absent. It is natural that there should have been an equally marked reaction on the part of pure theologians against the claims advanced by the dialecticians for their logic. The most famous expression was given to this anti-philosophic attitude by St. Peter Damian (1007–72) in the well-known formula that the methods of human science ought not to be applied to Holy Scripture with its revelations of superhuman truths, and that where the first must be called in

to elucidate the meaning of the second, 'philosophy' must be content to be the humble 'handmaid' of divinity.

Nominalism. Roscellinus. The eleventh century witnessed the rise of the nominalist tradition in logic, originated by Roscellinus of Compiègne (*c.* 1050–*c.* 1120), and illustrated by eminent philosophers down to our own times. The strict nominalist position, which starts from the Aristotelian doctrine that the only complete reality is the concrete individual thing, is that *words* are the only 'universals'. In this unqualified form, nominalism is as difficult to maintain as extreme realism, since it involves the consequence that the universal terms indispensable to science are at once significant names, and yet names for nothing. This explains why Roscellinus found himself accused at the Council of Soissons (A.D. 1093) of the heresy of Tritheism, that is, of holding that there is no single reality denoted by the name *God*, but three distinct realities (the persons of the Trinity). The nominalism of Bishop Berkeley might have exposed him to a similar accusation if the eighteenth century had been seriously interested in theology.

St. Anselm. Faith and reason. The outstanding figure in the thought of the whole century is St. Anselm (born at Aosta 1033, prior, and subsequently abbot, of Bec in Normandy, 1063–93, archbishop of Canterbury 1093–1109). As a philosopher Anselm is in all essentials a faithful follower of the Augustinian and Platonic tradition; it is this which explains his often misunderstood 'rationalism'. The first and indispensable step for the Christian philosopher is an act of faith; he assents unwaveringly and implicitly to the revealed truths of which the Church is the custodian. But his duty does not end here; he is called upon to go on to understand what he has begun by believing. Devout and earnest meditation will lead him to see the intellectual necessity of propositions which he began by accepting on authority without seeing their necessity. Anselm is so convinced of this possibility that he attempts to demonstrate the intellectual necessity of such specifically Christian doctrines as the Trinity and the Incarnation (truths which later scholasticism regarded as undiscoverable by the unaided human

understanding), a position which is the logical consequence of the Augustinian conception of all knowledge, secular or theological, as due to direct divine 'illumination'. Rationalism of this type has nothing in common with that of the modern 'rationalist' who declines to believe until he already understands.

The theistic arguments. Anselm's chief contribution to the formation of Augustinian scholasticism is concerned with the proofs of the existence of God. The arguments on which he relies are, to a large extent, those of Augustine himself, more rigorously stated; they thus depend upon the Neoplatonic position that the universe is an ordered hierarchy, and that all the reality possessed by any member of the hierarchy is derivative from a corresponding absolute reality in its source. We may thus reason (1) from the relative *goodness* of the creatures to an absolute goodness in their source; (2) from the conditioned and dependent *being* of the creatures to the unconditioned and absolute being of their source; (3) from their greater or less *perfection* to the absolute perfection of their source, all lines of thought which constantly recur in the natural theology of St. Thomas and subsequent philosophers; and are all prefigured in Plato.

The 'ontological' proof. The special personal contribution of Anselm to philosophical thought is the famous 'ontological proof' of God's existence. What he undertakes is to show that the very meaning of the word *God* is such that any man who apprehends it must also recognize that God really exists; the notion of God is itself the guarantee of the real existence of its object. Anselm's way of putting this is as follows. We know that what the word *God* means is 'a being so great that none greater can be conceived'. Every one who thinks of God at all, even the atheist, who in words denies that there is any God, is aware that this being exists at least in his own mind, 'by way of idea', when he makes any statement about God, even if the statement is the denial that God exists. But if God existed only 'as an idea in my mind', God would not be a 'being than which no greater can be conceived'. We could conceive of a still

greater being, viz. one who existed both 'in our minds' and in the objectively real world. Hence it is self-contradictory to say that God, a 'being than whom no greater can be conceived', does not exist. And therefore God necessarily exists. The argument was acutely criticized as a sophism by Anselm's contemporary Gaunilo of Marmoutiers, and no less severely by St. Thomas. Descartes revived it in a slightly different form, which in its turn has been made the object of relentless criticism by Kant. Taken formally as an argument intended to refute the atheist from his own premisses, it is probably invalid, as St. Thomas and Kant agree. It is another question whether it does not express a very fundamental metaphysical truth, viz. that true thinking is itself the only and the sufficient guarantee of the independent reality of its object. The connexion of the argument with the Augustinian principles is obvious. If *all* knowledge of truths is illumination by direct contact with God, the reality of God's existence should be the most immediate and luminous of certainties.

The twelfth century. School of Chartres. John of Salisbury. The twelfth century witnessed a remarkable quickening and intensifying of intellectual interests generally. This was largely the work of the influential school of Chartres. The Platonism characteristic of the school is strikingly illustrated by the writings of Thierry of Chartres (*d.* 1155), who set himself to interpret the Creation narratives of *Genesis* in the light of the *Timaeus*; from this quarter comes also that literary personification of Nature as a divinity or semi-divinity which has left so deep an impress on much of our own greatest poetry from Chaucer to Robert Bridges. The most striking monument of the marked humanism of Chartres is the work of John of Salisbury (*c.* 1110–80), a man of thoroughly 'modern' mind anxious to substitute a modestly practical philosophy, based on that of Cicero, for the ambitious and barren speculations of the 'dialecticians'. (The dispute about 'universals' is, in his eyes, the typical example of the waste of spirit over an insoluble problem. What they may be 'in themselves' we do not know, nor need to know; what we do know is the use to which we can put them and the

way in which we obtain them; we get them, as Aristotle had said, by *abstraction* from particular facts.)

Abelard. The most arresting and important figure among the dialecticians of this century is the famous Abelard (1079–1142). His sensational personal history does not concern us here; what is important is that though personally in the end crushed by the persistent hostility of St. Bernard, Abelard was the most brilliant and influential teacher of his century, and left, through his pupils, a deep and permanent impression on the form of all subsequent medieval teaching in philosophy and theology. He was not, as he has been called, the father of scholasticism, a name which might with more truth be given to Anselm, if not to Scotus Erigena. But his *Sic et Non* (Yes and No), a collection of the very diverse expositions of Scripture passages in the Fathers, provided the theologians and philosophers who were to follow him with the model of what became their standing method of leading up to a conclusion by a preliminary exhaustive examination of the rival arguments for and against every thesis. The method is misinterpreted when Abelard's purpose is taken to be that of a sceptic, or free-thinker. His object is simply to show the necessity of a clarification of the issues by rational reflection before a question can be determined. To the permanent body of subsequent philosophical doctrine he contributed little, except in ethics, which owes to him—and not to J. S. Mill—what became the standing formula that the merit or demerit of an act depends upon its intention. But he prepares the way for his successors in the next century by his insistence on the concrete individual as the only real existent, and his clear formulation of the process of abstraction by which our minds come to apprehend the universal. On the other hand, he avoids the error of crude nominalism; the universal is not a *mere* name, but a discourse, or a name as standing for a plurality of objects. We see in all this the beginnings of the process by which Aristotle was, in the following century, to take the place of Plato as the recognized master of metaphysic and epistemology, though only the beginnings. All through the period the 'dialecticians' are still exposed to the animosity

of the pure theologians, of whom St. Bernard is the most illustrious. Walter of St. Victor expressly denounces the most famous dialecticians of the age, Peter Abelard, Peter Lombard, Peter of Poitou, Gilbert de la Poirée, as the four 'labyrinths of France' who have corrupted the straight way of truth into a tangle of errors by mingling divine revelation with human speculations.

St Bernard. Hugh of St. Victor. In the same spirit, St. Bernard, the most eminent personality of the century, declared that the one and only philosophy of the Christian is the 'knowledge of Christ crucified'. Bernard's identification of the object of mystical contemplation with the man Christ is of supreme importance for the history of practical mysticism; to philosophical speculation he made no contribution. More important for philosophy are the Augustinian mystics of the Parisian Abbey of St. Victor, particularly Hugh of St. Victor (1096–1141), with whom mysticism means primarily, perception of the inner symbolism of the visible world, and thus presupposes the encyclopaedic knowledge of the sciences which deal with the visible as its foundation. It is a sign of the developments of the next century that he, like John of Salisbury and Abelard, is Aristotelian in his epistemology; in all three abstraction from particular sense-experiences replaces direct illuminative contact with the suprasensible as the process which conducts to knowledge.

The thirteenth century. The thirteenth century, the golden age of scholasticism, has only one later parallel as an age of manifold and rapid expansion of speculative genius, the wonderful hundred years (1600–1700) which followed the birth of modern physical science. In both these ages men felt themselves to be living in a new intellectual world, to be 'modern' in the sense that all pre-existing ways of thinking had become antiquated for them. The two great historical facts which had transformed the world of the men of the thirteenth century were the recovery of the metaphysics and natural philosophy of Aristotle, and the rise of Universities, and, in particular, of the great University of Paris.

Recovery of Aristotle. Since its emergence from the darkness of the seventh and eighth centuries, Western Christendom had known nothing of Aristotle beyond his formal logic. The indifference of thinkers like Anselm to nature may not be wholly due to engrossment in theology; they were acquainted with no literature which could readily suggest that the visible world, apart from such symbols of divine things as it may embody, itself offers an inexhaustible field for the pursuit of knowledge. But while Aristotle was forgotten in Western Christendom, he was remembered elsewhere. In the early centuries of our era he had been translated into Syriac, and later on, under the Abbasid Caliphs of Bagdad and the Mohammedan princes of Spain, there had grown up a Moslem Aristotelianism with a large infusion of Neoplatonic elements, represented chiefly by Avicenna (Ibn Sina, 980–1037) and Averroes (Ibn Roshd, 1126–93). Judaism also had produced a distinguished Neoplatonist at Cordova in Solomon Ibn Gabirol (known to schoolmen as Avicebron, 1021–*c.* 1058), and a more famous Aristotelian in Maimonides (R. Moses ben Maimon, 1135–1204). In the Crusading era Christendom became aware of this intellectual life beyond its own borders. Translation of Aristotelian works from Arabic versions, often distorted into a Neoplatonic sense, had already begun in the last third of the twelfth century, and was eagerly pushed forward. With these translations came naturally translations of the Moslem and Jewish interpreters, Avicenna, Averroes, Maimonides. Actually it took some time to make the discovery that the Arabic versions were often far from faithful, and the Commentators far from true to the real thought of their authors, though the greatest men of the thirteenth century were well aware of this and pressed the necessity of fresh translation direct from the Greek. But from the first Aristotle came as a revelation; he taught men that visible nature is something more than a theological cryptogram and richly repays study on her own account.

The Universities. Paris and Oxford. General tendencies throughout the century. Aristotelianism as seen through the medium of Avicenna and Averroes amounted to what may be loosely called

a 'nature-pantheism', a view of the world which left no real room for genuine personality in God or men, for a real Creation, or for the life to come and the judgement of men according to their works, all capital tenets of the Christian faith. It thus became the 'burning question' for the thinkers of the century whether the new learning and the old faith could keep house together, and the circle in which the problem at once became acute was the newly created University of Paris, founded under the patronage of the great Pope Innocent III as an international centre for the training of an educated clergy. In the bitter historical conflict, the details of which cannot be related here, several distinct problems were involved. Were the suspect metaphysics and science to be taught in the University at all? If so, was the Faculty of Arts entitled to teach such matters independently, or only under subordination to the theologians of the Faculty of Divinity? Finally, were members of the two great thirteenth-century orders of Friars, Dominicans, and Franciscans, to be permitted to teach in the Universities? Here we can only record one or two salient facts. In the statutes of the University of Paris sanctioned by the Papal legate in 1215, all teaching of any works of Aristotle beyond the familiar logical treatises was strictly forbidden, and the interdict was renewed more than once, though ineffectually. But by 1266 Papal authority made the study of the once proscribed works obligatory on all candidates for the Arts degree. The bitter struggle between the Mendicant orders and the 'secular' teachers likewise ended entirely in favour of the Mendicants. All the outstanding schoolmen of the century, Bonaventura, Roger Bacon, St. Thomas, Duns Scotus, are either Franciscans or Dominicans.

On a general review of the philosophical activity of the century we can distinguish four principal currents, discriminated by the different attitudes adopted towards Aristotelianism. (1) There is the minority of the 'Averroists', among whom the best-known figure is Siger of Brabant (c. 1235–c. 1284), who accept the Arabian Aristotle without reserve, at the cost of having to pronounce theology and philosophy inconciliable,

while professing to accept both. (2) There are—especially among the Franciscans—the Augustinians who assimilate and incorporate in their own thought as much as they can of Aristotelianism without surrendering the sharp and vital distinction between man and God; the outstanding figure among them is St. Bonaventura (1221–74). (3) There is, in the University of Oxford, a special group of Augustinians and Franciscans—Roger Bacon is the most eminent among them—whose special interest is less in metaphysics than in experimental natural science and in mathematics, and to whom we probably owe it that the ideal of a mathematical physics was kept alive to bear fruit in a later age. (4) Finally there is the group which is immediately of most historical importance, the Dominican Aristotelians who make a reinterpreted Aristotle the very foundation of their philosophy, and turn Aristotle triumphantly against his supposed interpreters; their dominating figure is St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–74).

The Averroists. Little need be said here of the Averroists, whose doctrines are still only imperfectly known, mainly from the representations of their antagonists. (Important works of Siger have only been discovered recently and are still unprinted.) They are often represented as maintaining the irrational proposition that the same statement may be at once true, as philosophy, and false, as theology. (It appears, however, that Siger, at least, maintained nothing of the kind. As a philosophical teacher he regards it as his business to expound not the truth, but the opinions, true or false, of Aristotle, while as a Christian, he accepts revealed truth without questioning.) The irrationality of this attitude is precisely what lays it open to the attack of St. Thomas, who will not admit that all rational argument goes to prove the eternity of the world, the impossibility of divine foreknowledge of the future, and the mortality of the soul, and that these conclusions must be rejected, against reason, in blind deference to authority. The main controversy was conducted with reference to the doctrine of the 'unity of the active intellect', derived by Siger from Averroes. Averroes held the 'active intellect', spoken of by

Aristotle as the only imperishable constituent of the mind, to be no part of our human personality, but a superhuman 'spiritual principle', numerically one and the same for the race. All I possess as personal to myself, according to him, is a passive capacity for receiving the influence of this principle—a doctrine incompatible alike with Christian dogma and with the recognition of genuine personal individuality. It is therefore not surprising that the main theses of Averroism were formally condemned as heretical by Tempier, Bishop of Paris, in 1277.

The Augustinians. The Augustinianism of which Bonaventura is the central figure shows its connexion with the earlier Augustinianism and the Platonism behind it, particularly in four characteristic differences from the more completely Aristotelianized doctrine of the great Dominicans. (1) In its theory of knowledge, it finds a place for the distinctive Augustinian conception of 'illumination' by the side of the Aristotelian 'abstraction'. (2) It retains the conception of the combination of matter with form as universally characteristic of created things, and thus teaches that even angels, regarded by Thomism as pure 'forms', have a material—not, of course, a corporeal—element in their constitution. (3) It adheres to the doctrine of the 'plurality of substantial forms'—a relic of the earlier realism. In the Thomist and more strictly Aristotelian theory, a particular thing owes its substantial character to a single 'form', that of the type (man, horse) to which it belongs. In the Augustinian view, there is from the first, present, but latent, in every created thing, a plurality of 'forms' of increasing speciality, which will be progressively unfolded in the course of the thing's development. (4) The Augustinians, consistently with these positions, hold a view of the relation of soul to body which is akin to Plato's, and in marked contrast with that adopted by St. Thomas from Aristotle. In this latter view, since the soul is the 'form' to which the body is the 'matter', neither is a complete individual reality without the other; the 'parted soul', in the interval between death and resurrection, is a *res incompleta*, half a personality. In the Augustinian view, both body and soul have their own 'form' and their own

'matter'. The rational soul 'perfects' the body, but the body would be a complete individual without it; the 'parted soul', though temporarily separated from its body, is not *res incompleta*.

St. Bonaventura. Bonaventura's conception of the mission of philosophy is still substantially the same as Augustine's. Man has been created to know and love God and to find rest in Him, and can only achieve his true happiness in this way. The first step to this goal—it is already an act of love—is loyal adhesion to revelation by simple faith. But the love which begins by inspiring us with the will to believe will not be satisfied to rest in mere assent to what is beyond our understanding. It impels us further to seek for reasons for our faith, and attempt to understand what we have begun to love. It is thus that philosophy, the quest of knowledge, comes in as an essential stage of the ascent of the mind to God; it is an integral part of the 'illuminative way' which leads to the beatific vision of eternity.

The ascent has three stages, and philosophy is of service in two of them. In the first stage, we are led upward to God by consideration of his 'foot-prints' in the visible world around us, which is, so to say, a book written in symbols which distantly and darkly reveal its author, the Triune God. In the second, we look within, and discern the 'image' of the Creator stamped on our own souls. At both these stages philosophy and science are, of course, of invaluable aid. In the third stage, we discern God still more clearly 'in that which is above us', that is, in such actual experiences as are vouchsafed to us of the gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit, and here we have left philosophy and its succours behind us.

The thought, so far, is a systematization of what we have already learned to know as Augustinianism. But Bonaventura reveals the influence of Aristotle in the distinction he draws between the methods of knowledge available for the first and for the second stages of the ascent. He accepts, so far as knowledge of the external sensible world is concerned, the Aristotelian view that the function of the 'active intellect' is simply that of abstraction, disentangling a general truth from the setting of irrelevant detail in which it is exhibited by the facts

of the perceptual order. It is otherwise when we pass on to discern the direct image of God stamped on the soul itself. Here the Augustinian conception of knowledge as due to a direct illumination is in place. It is not by abstraction that we apprehend the self, or the first principles of philosophy; we see them directly in the light of the 'divine Ideas' themselves. (They are not 'collected', or 'inferred', but directly seen.) Hence Bonaventura can say that to Aristotle was granted the gift of 'knowledge', to Plato that of 'wisdom', to Augustine both.

It is in keeping with this insistence on the reality of a knowledge which is not 'collected' from sense-data that Bonaventura, unlike Thomas, attaches great value to the central thought of the 'ontological proof'. Precisely because he is convinced that profound meditation on any fact will point to God as its source, he is not anxious to systematize 'proofs of the being of God' or to state them with formal accuracy. But the ontological argument, as he understands it, acquires a new and unique significance. When we turn from outward things to the contemplation of the self, we have direct evidence of God, because God is actively present within as the light by which the self is seen. 'God is intimately present to the soul, and therefore knowable by it.' If the self is directly apprehended in virtue of a divine illumination, how is it possible not to apprehend the presence of the illuminating light in the very act of apprehending the self? Thus understood, the 'argument' is not so much an inference as the statement of an immediate certainty, and this is perhaps the secret of its persistent reappearance after every apparently unanswerable refutation.

One other characteristic doctrine of Bonaventura may be briefly mentioned, his answer to the question of the 'principle of individuation', that is to the question what makes the difference between two members of the same species. The Aristotelian and Thomist answer is that it is 'matter', and this is, of course, the only answer possible on the assumptions that the various individuals of the species are composites of form and matter, and that the characteristic form of all individuals of the species is one and the same. The difference between, for

example, Socrates and Plato must lie in the 'matter' with which their common 'form' (the rational human soul) is united in each. This answer is excluded if the body of each is already constituted by form and matter, independently of its conjunction with the soul, and their souls already have a 'matter' of their own, independently of union with the body. Hence Bonaventura holds that the 'principle of individuation' is neither matter nor form, but the fact of the union of the two.

The Oxford Franciscans. Robert Grosseteste. Roger Bacon. The outstanding personages of the Franciscan group at Oxford specially interested in mathematical and natural science are Roger Bacon (*c.* 1210?–*c.* 1292), and his teacher Robert Grosseteste (1175–1253). They and their associates rendered a service to Europe indispensable to the future birth of modern physics by continuing the scientific and philological work of the school of Chartres through the period in which the resounding success of St. Thomas had turned the keenest philosophical intellects of the Continent in the direction of apologetics and 'philosophy of religion'. The special merit of Grosseteste is to have laid it down, in the spirit at once of Plato and of Galileo, or Descartes, that the key to the whole science of nature is geometry, the knowledge of 'lines, angles, and figures', a fundamental truth to which Aristotle had been blind. The proclamation of this truth could not, of course, have the fruitful results it was to produce in the seventeenth century at an earlier date when the knowledge of lines, angles, and figures available was itself insufficiently developed. Grosseteste's conviction of it is connected with his adherence to the '*light-metaphysic*' according to which light is, as has been said in later days of electricity, the very stuff of the whole physical world, and the geometrical laws of its propagation and reflection therefore the fundamental laws of nature.

Roger Bacon. Roger Bacon strikes what appears at first sight an even more modern note. To his teacher's insistence on the necessity of mathematics as the foundation of natural knowledge, he adds the indispensability of actual experimentation as necessary to produce complete conviction, to deliver us from

the repetition of the errors of the ancients, and to open the way to the discovery of hitherto undreamed-of secrets of nature. It is said that the very phrase 'experimental science', which recurs so often in his writings, is one of his own coinage. When we read his complaints of the mistakes into which philosophers from Aristotle down to his own contemporaries, St. Thomas and others, have fallen from want of a proper sense of the necessity of experiment, and his appeals to the Pope to subsidize experimentation, we are irresistibly reminded of his later namesake, and we might even be tempted to mistake him for a nineteenth-century empiricist. And yet Roger is at heart a much more 'medieval' thinker than St. Thomas. He accepts, without any reserve, the traditional Augustinian conception of all knowledge as due to direct revelation or 'illumination' by God. Like the Arabian interpreters of Aristotle, he holds that the 'active intellect' is no part of the human mind; unlike them, he identifies it immediately with God, the 'Father of lights'. This is his way of expressing, in an Aristotelian formula, the Augustinian doctrine that there is at bottom no difference between natural and supernatural knowledge. His serious theory is that all certain knowledge is experimental, but experiment is of two kinds, experiment made on external nature, the source of certainty in natural science, and experimental acquaintance with the work of the Holy Spirit within the soul, the source of the knowledge of heavenly things which culminates in the vision of God. It is a consequence of this view that he holds that the pursuit of natural knowledge itself demands the possession of spiritual graces. The whole of science is a revelation enjoyed in its fullness by Adam before his sin, and partially granted since to patriarchs, prophets, philosophers, in proportion to the purity of their characters and the warmth of their charity. Even the 'utilitarian' side of Roger's thought takes a special colouring from this vein of mysticism. He, like his later namesake, is most anxious that discovery should bear fruit in invention, but for reasons of his own. Anti-Christ, as we learn from prophecy and the astrologers, is near at hand, and it is the Church's duty to make itself mistress of the forces of nature,

partly with a view to the conversion of the outside world before it is too late, partly for the purpose of frustrating the sorceries by which Anti-Christ will seduce the unwary, partly for the destruction of the infidel armies which will follow in his train. Great as is his zeal for experiment, it does not appear that Roger, any more than Francis, had himself made experiments of any great scientific worth, or had clear ideas on the conditions of fruitful experimentation. Both Bacons preach the necessity of experimental work, both entertain hopes for magnificent results of it; neither knows much of the way to set about it.

The Dominican Aristotelians. The great intellectual feat of the century, however, is the systematic reinterpretation of Aristotle in a way which eliminates the Arabian 'nature-pantheism', and so makes it possible not only to reconcile Aristotelianism with Christian faith, but actually to build on Aristotelian foundations a new systematic philosophy which will be the ally of faith. The construction of this philosophy was the work of two Dominicans of genius, Albert of Bollstädt, called the Great (1206–80), and his pupil, Thomas of Aquinum (1225–74). In this sense Albert and Thomas may be said to have Christianized Aristotle, if we take care to remember that we owe to them the first really clear distinction between philosophy and theology, and that their philosophy, as such, contains no specifically Christian doctrine. It is possible to be a Thomist in philosophy without being a Christian, as it is possible to be a Christian without also being a Thomist. We must observe also that in working back to Aristotle behind Averroes and Avicenna, they are not simply reconstructing historical Aristotelianism, and are quite free from any superstition about the infallibility of 'the philosopher'. Our own sketch of Aristotle's theology will have shown that with this Christianity could have made no terms. In all that it says of God's nature and God's relations with the world, the new philosophy will continue to be dominated by the Platonic conceptions. Its most significant features are two: (1) Aristotle's theory of knowledge and the knowing mind will henceforth replace Plato's; (2) acquaintance with Aristotle's encyclopaedic work in the natural sciences will lead to the

drawing of a sharp distinction between a sphere in which truth is unattainable except by reliance on revelation and a region in which the human mind can be left wholly to its own resources. Historically the great achievement of the two Dominicans is that, by establishing this distinction, they definitely give the scientific inquirer a charter of emancipation from theology; the 'natural world' is recognized as a domain which belongs to him as his own, and where theological authority has no right to intrude.

Albert the Great. The insistence of Albert the Great on this distinction marks a real epoch in the history of human thought. For the distinction has now become clear between a proposition which is strictly demonstrable, and one which, however true, is not, and it is understood that the proper concern of science is with what can be proved. Albert's proclamation of Aristotle as the great authority in 'physics', because 'he knew nature better than others', has the same significance. His claim to respect as an authority rests on a basis which we can test for ourselves, and is therefore conditional. In 'physics' there is henceforth to be no infallible 'authority'. Albert's avowed programme, not that of a mere expositor, was to put 'Latins' in possession of 'metaphysics, physics, and mathematics'—the whole compass of the sciences—whether already treated by Aristotle or not. The vast range of fresh information covered in his work had the unprecedented result that he was himself already appealed to as an *auctor* (authority) in his own lifetime, much to the annoyance of his Franciscan rival, Roger Bacon. On the same ground both men had a posthumous legendary renown as wizards.

St. Thomas Aquinas. St. Thomas had not Albert's interest in external nature, but had, in the highest degree, balanced judgement, critical acumen, and the genius for system. Few thinkers, if any, have shown the same power to construct a theory which combines impartial contemplation of the whole of known or supposed fact with rigid logical consistency in dealing with the facts. To do full justice to the achievement we must remember that while little of what we regard as the relevant facts about

external nature was within his cognizance, the whole content of Christian dogma was universally accepted as certain fact. Bearing these points in mind, we may attempt a condensed statement of the most salient positions of Thomist philosophy.

Reason and revelation. The scope of philosophy is delimited by the sharp distinction between it and revealed theology. Philosophy proceeds throughout by rational inquiry; within its sphere authority only counts in the sense that the proved competence of the expert affords some presumption that he has sound reasons for his judgement, even where we do not understand what these reasons are. And his first principles must always be such as can be seen to be true by human intelligence. Revealed theology takes as its first principles authoritative declarations of God, which we accept as true, not because human intelligence can perceive their truth, but because they come to us with the authority of God as their warrant. There can, indeed, be no real contradiction between the conclusions of reason and the deliverances of authentic revelation, since both have God, who is the absolute Truth, as their source. But we must not expect, like Anselm, with sufficient reflection, to reach the point at which every revealed truth is discovered to be a necessity of rational thought. At the best, philosophy can never prove the distinctive doctrines of Christianity; it can only show that the reasoning by which unbelievers claim to prove them false is bad reasoning.

Natural theology. Still there is ground which is common to theology and philosophy. We cannot expect the world to accept the dogmas of our theology on the strength of the divine authority behind them unless we can produce rational proof that a God such that His word is a sufficient guarantee of truth exists. Revealed theology thus presupposes a preliminary philosophical, or natural, theology which has the task of establishing, on grounds independent of authority, the existence of God and His twofold relation to the world, as the source from which it proceeds and the goal to which it returns. (The subject of natural theology is thus that already indicated by Plato, God's existence, God's providence, God's moral sovereignty.)

The existence of God. Five lines of proof of God's existence are recognized. Partly they are of the already familiar Platonic-Augustinian type. From the series of 'efficient causes' we infer a supreme 'first cause' of the whole mundane system; from the hierarchies of degrees of perfection, and degrees of being, a supreme absolute perfection and absolute being. The teleological order pervading the universe likewise presupposes a supreme 'end' of the world-process, which, because it is outside the whole process, must be identical with the absolute being which is also the source of the process. The Aristotelian argument from the very fact of movement to a supreme 'unmoving' source of movement is a still simpler and more direct way of proof. Anselm's attempt to find an even more direct proof in the alleged self-contradictoriness of the denial of God's existence is, as we saw, rejected as fallacious.

Creator and creature. Creation. The impassable gulf between Creator and creature is found, as by the Augustinians, in the composite character of the creature. Where Thomas differs from them is in rejecting the view that the composition universally characteristic of the creatures is that of form with matter. What is distinctive of the creatures is that they contain an element of *potentiality*, unrealized possibility, as well as of *actuality*: God alone is *pure* actuality without any unrealized possibilities. To put it differently, the *essentia* of a creature (*what* it is) and its *esse* (the fact *that* it is) are distinct; in God, and there only, *essentia* (*what* God is) and *esse* (the fact *that* God is) are inseparable. Again, we may call the unactualized possibility in a creature 'not-being', and may therefore say that only God is pure, or sheer, being; the creatures are composite of being and not-being, actuality and the lack of it. *Ex hypothesi*, the *whole* of their positive actuality is communicated to them by their eternally actual source, and this communication is what we mean by 'creation'. Creation is the process by which the *whole* actuality of the creatures issues from the complete eternal actuality of their Creator. Hence creation is not the fashioning of things out of a pre-existing material of any kind, but strictly 'creation out of nothing', i.e. there is no

residue of actuality in any creature which does not come from God. The process of creation must not be thought of as imposed on the Creator by any kind of necessity; it is an act of His free will, and in communicating a remote analogue of His own being to His creatures, He does not make any change in His own being, which remains unaffected by the process. So far as reason is concerned, it would be equally possible to hold that this communication by God of partial actuality to a world of creatures is a process without beginning, or that it began at a finite distance from us in the past, but Thomas regards the second alternative as certain, in spite of the absence of philosophical grounds, on the authority of Scripture.

The Archetypal ideas. If we see the Aristotelian influence in the way in which the argument from motion to an 'unmoving mover' is placed at the head of the proofs of God's existence, and in the assertion, contrary to the earlier scholastic opinion, that it is only from revelation that we learn that the world had a beginning, Neoplatonic influence is no less manifest in the rest of this doctrine of creation. A still more important element of Platonism is the complete acquiescence in the Augustinian version of the doctrine of 'Ideas'. Like Augustine, Thomas holds that the Platonic 'Forms' are the archetypal model of creation, and are eternally present to the mind of God, who contemplates them as they exist in the divine Word which is one with Himself. Where he breaks completely both with Plato and with Augustinian 'illumination' is in holding that the human mind, in this life, has no contact with these 'Ideas'; it is precisely here, as we shall see, that a human intellect differs from that of an angel.

Evil. If the world is the work of God, how comes it that there is evil or imperfection of any kind in it? Thomas gives substantially the same explanation as Leibniz. Evil, or imperfection, is not, properly speaking, anything positive; it is just the absence of complete perfection, and the absence of complete perfection from a creature is only the other side of the fact that it is a creature, and not the Creator. God causes the whole of the positive actuality of the creature, and this includes the

limitations which make it the specific creature it is. There is no further act of creation of the creature's limitations. Thus we must not say that God is the cause of evil; we should rather say that evil has no cause; it is what Shakespeare calls an 'effect defective'. The presence of evil, or imperfection, in creatures is another name for the unbridgeable gap between the creature and its Maker.

The angels. At the head of the ordered hierarchy of the creatures stand the orders of angels, intelligent creatures of a higher type than man. Being creatures, they are composite; *essentia* and *esse* in them are not identical, and so they have in them elements of unrealized possibility. But Thomas rejects the Augustinian doctrine that there is any element of 'matter' in them. An angel is wholly 'form' without 'matter', like the movers of the planetary spheres in Aristotle's cosmology; each angel, therefore, like the 'sole Arabian bird', is the only one of its kind. Not being tied, as we are, to matter, the angelic intelligence does not need to arrive at truth by the process of abstraction from sense-perception; it possesses from the first 'infused' or 'innate' knowledge of universal truths, and, unlike us, it can directly contemplate the archetypal Ideas in the divine Word. The standing criticism passed by modern Thomists on Descartes' doctrine of 'innate ideas' is that it asserts of the human mind what would only be true of an angelic intelligence.

Man: soul and body. Human knowledge: the active intellect. Moderate realism. Perception and its mechanism. Man is the last term in the descending order of intelligent creatures, the link which connects them with the animals, who are merely sensitive. His reasonable soul is tied to a body which is its 'matter', and of which it is the 'substantial form', and the only substantial form. Unlike the soul of a brute, it can survive separation from its body, and continues to exist, between death and resurrection, as a 'separated' form, but the disembodied soul, in this transitional state, is not the complete person, as Plato had supposed. Being tied to the body, man has primarily no way to knowledge but that provided by the senses; he has neither 'innate ideas',

nor direct contact with the divine archetypes of things. There is nothing in his understanding but what has come in through the senses. Universal and necessary truth has to be painfully won by a process of abstraction from data furnished by sense-experience. That this process is possible at all is due to the presence in man of the 'active intellect', which is not an outside superhuman intelligence, but the human understanding itself in active operation. Its characteristic function is to 'illuminate' the 'phantasms'—the presentations—of sense-perception and memory, that is, to apprehend the universal and necessary connexions which they exemplify, in abstraction, or detachment, from their irrelevant concrete setting. Without a material thus supplied, in the last resort, by particular sense-perception, the human intellect will not function. For our understanding, in the Aristotelian phrase, is to truth as the eye of the bat is to the sun; a fuller illumination would be more than it can bear. The 'universal' has, in fact, a three-fold existence, 'before the thing', in the divine archetypal Idea, 'in the thing' as its characteristic 'form', 'after the thing', as a term in our scientific classifications. The Thomistic doctrine, which recognizes in us the power, by abstraction, to apprehend universal connexions 'in things' is thus a moderate realism. The account given of sense-perception is also, in modern terminology, that of a critical realism. The external thing is held to produce in the percipient an image of itself (the 'sensible species'), without which there would be no perception, but this image is not itself perceived; it is the means by which the external reality is perceived. When I see the rose, for example, an image of the rose is produced in me, but I do not see this image and infer from it the existence of the rose as its original; by the instrumentality of the image I directly see the actual rose.

Will. Freedom of the will. On the active side the fundamental operation of our minds is that of will. Every creature capable of volition necessarily and always wills its own highest good, or happiness. In point of fact, our highest good, if we only knew it, lies in union with God by complete fulfilment of the divine law, which is also the law of our own being. But owing to the

imperfection of human insight, we often do not recognize our own highest good, or if we do, we forget its superiority to some lesser good which appeals to our imagination or passions, and so come to reject an inestimable good for one of infinitely inferior worth, and this is the essence of moral evil or sin. The reason why we can commit this error is to be found in the peculiar kind of freedom which belongs to the human will. We do not possess the highest freedom of all, which would be clear insight into our highest good along with consequent inalienable adherence to it. Our freedom is freedom of choice, or election. That is, we can always compare two goods and form our own judgement which of them is the better, and the judgement is our own unconstrained act, equally whether it is a true judgement or a false one. When we have so judged, our choice inevitably follows our judgement of relative good; before we have 'made up our minds', our will is 'indetermined towards either alternative'.

The principles of morals. Human reason, without the aid of revelation, is capable of recognizing the great principles of a true morality, and understanding that the real good of man, so far as it can be attained in this life, depends upon the sincere practice of the moral virtues and the establishment of a morally sound society. This explains why the great Gentile philosophers were able to lay down the foundations of an ethical and political doctrine which St. Thomas accepts. There is a still higher felicity possible to man, that of the saints in Paradise who enjoy the vision of God, and are lifted by it above the natural level of humanity into participation of the divine nature. But of this supernatural exaltation promised to man by God, and of the way in which it is won we learn from revelation, not from philosophy.

Natural science. St. Thomas, whose main interest is in God and man, not in external nature, is content to accept the general Aristotelian scheme in physics, cosmology, and biology, a fact which explains the neglect into which his work fell in a later age, when natural science had come to be regarded as the type of what all true knowledge should be. But he does not follow

his master in a spirit of blind devotion. When he repeats the current astronomical theories he is careful to add that he will not assert their truth. They seem to be the best explanation of the observed facts so far devised, but it is quite possible that those facts might be explained better by some hypothesis as yet undiscovered.

Opposition to Thomism. The new Aristotelianism was not accepted by contemporaries without a struggle. 'Brother Thomas' is among the innovators on whom Roger Bacon comments with characteristic acidity. The rejection of the earlier doctrine of the illumination of the mind by direct contact with the divine Ideas was widely resented, as seeming to banish God to an inaccessible distance; Aristotle, it appeared, was to triumph over the Gospel. Hence Thomist, as well as Averroist theses, are among the propositions condemned by the Bishop of Paris in 1277. The ultimate recognition of the Angelic Doctor as the central figure of scholastic philosophy was a well-earned tribute to the systematic thoroughness of his thought.

Duns Scotus. The immediate result of that work was to divide philosophers into two main groups, Thomists (mostly Dominicans), and followers of Bonaventura (chiefly Franciscans). The most eminent thinker of the end of the century is a Franciscan, born either in Berwickshire or in Northumberland, Johannes Duns Scotus (1266?–1308). Like St. Thomas, Scotus is fundamentally Aristotelian in his theory of knowledge, and even goes beyond him when he denies that the Ideas, as objects of God's contemplation, are co-eternal with Himself. At the same time, he retains the Augustinian doctrines of the presence of 'matter' in all created things, and the plurality of 'substantial forms', and even rehabilitates the 'ontological proof'. According to Scotus, as according to Leibniz, the argument is sound, but incomplete. In the case of the concept of God, the infinitely perfect being, and in no other, we can argue direct from the concept to the real existence of its object. But it is necessary first to show, as Scotus holds we can show, that the concept of such an infinite being is *possible*, i.e. that it contains no hidden internal contradiction. The complete argument then runs thus:

if the infinite being is possible, His existence is necessary; but the infinite being is possible; *ergo* He exists, and that necessarily. It is characteristic of Scotus that he has less confidence than Thomas in the capacity of reason to prove theological truths; thus he holds that the immortality of the soul must be believed on authority, but cannot be demonstrated; the alleged proofs of philosophers are only 'probable'. Similarly it is not demonstrable that God, the being of infinite perfection, is omnipotent, just, merciful. These are truths which we can only know from revelation. In fact, as a pupil of the Oxford mathematicians, Scotus has a much more rigid standard of demonstration than Thomas; he will not admit that reasoning from effect to cause, the method we have to employ when we argue from creation to the Creator, is ever strictly demonstrative, and this is precisely why the 'ontological proof' is important to him. It is the one 'proof of the being of God' which is not an argument from effect to cause.

Voluntarism. We cannot here enter into the difficult details of the obscurely expressed thought of Scotus. Its historical interest is largely that it prepares the way for later developments by its already mentioned tendency towards an increasing withdrawal of theological problems from the domain of the philosopher. Scotus also anticipates certain modern developments in his marked exaltation of will, in both God and man, at the expense of intellect. His breach with the doctrine of eternal archetypal Ideas makes it impossible to regard the divine understanding as furnishing a rule for the divine volition. Creation is what it is as a consequence of God's will, and it is senseless to ask for a more ultimate ground for that will. Similarly, whereas Thomism holds that the intrinsic rightness or wrongness of acts is the reason why they are commanded or forbidden by God, Scotus anticipates Hobbes and other later moralists in their view that acts are made right or wrong by the fact of being divinely commanded or forbidden. Had God issued different commands, as He might have done, we should have had a different moral law. The same primacy of will is asserted in the case of man. Our will is always the *total* cause

of our volitions. Our choices, indeed, follow on our judgements about the goodness of objects, and so presuppose cognition of the objects, but we only have this cognition because we have chosen to give attention to those particular objects rather than to others. It is this doctrine which gives the ethics and moral psychology of Scotus a certain non-rational colouring not to be found in Thomism.

The fourteenth century. The fourteenth century, a golden age of mysticism, is not one of great constructive philosophies. It is a period of destructive critical reflection, continuous with and preparatory to the new constructive departures to be inspired by the rise of modern physics. The elimination of theology from the domain of demonstration, begun by Scotus, is carried much further in the direction of that complete severance of divinity and philosophy, which, for good or bad, is so marked a feature of more modern thinking. As against the earlier identification of knowledge with insight into universal and necessary connexions, the ideal of knowledge comes to be sought in direct exhaustive acquaintance with the concrete individual fact in all its individuality, knowledge of the 'universal' being regarded as an imperfect makeshift. The reckless individualism of modern 'positivistic' theories of knowledge is a direct descendant of this tendency. In natural science the dawn of a new era is already inaugurated by the complete collapse of the preposterous Aristotelian dynamics; the way is thus cleared for the subsequent appearance of Stevinus, Kepler, Galileo. The stimulus to these developments comes from the scientific work of the thirteenth-century Oxford Franciscans; the thinker whose immediate influence is preponderant in affecting them is himself a Franciscan of Oxford, William of Ockham (*c.* 1300–*c.* 1350).

William of Ockham. Unreality of the universal. Terminalism. Ockham's main line of thought is familiar to many to whom his name is unknown, from the fact that it reappears as one principal strain in the doctrine of Locke and his successors. We only know a proposition to be true if it is either immediately and intuitively evident, or proved true by rigorous demonstra-

tion. And the ultimate premisses of a rigorous demonstration must themselves be immediately evident. Now the only universal and abstract propositions which have this immediate certainty are propositions about the relations between *concepts*. If a proposition about real existence is to be evidently certain, it must be a singular proposition, and it must rest on *experimental* evidence, i.e. on that of immediate sensible experience. (As Locke puts it, 'general propositions concern not existence'; they state only an 'agreement or disagreement between our ideas'.) Thus the whole problem, which plays so large a part in later works on Logic, of the 'existential import' of propositions is started by Ockham. Now it is certain that nothing exists in reality, 'outside the mind', but individual things and their properties. A universal, then, is only a *concept*, or *term*; it has no existence 'outside the mind', and we might even say that it is only a name. The older Nominalism thus reappears in the so-called Conceptualism, or Terminalism, of Ockham. But of what is a universal, like 'man', the name? It is the name of each of an indefinitely numerous group (Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, &c.), whom I am unable to enumerate singly. When I say 'man is mortal', I mean that each member of this group is mortal, and I mean nothing more. The 'universal' *man* in this proposition simply 'suppones for', that is, takes the place of, the names Socrates, Plato, &c., and my 'universal' statement about the mortality of 'man' is merely a compact 'shorthand' substitute for a series of singular propositions, each asserting the mortality of one specified individual man. (This is one of the two inconsistent theories of the meaning of 'general propositions' which Mill tries to combine in his *Logic*; it is the professed theory of Mach and the scientific 'positivists' generally.) It follows, of course, that really perfect knowledge would consist entirely of singular propositions about individual things. A 'general proposition' is a rough summary of confused information about a vast number of particular facts with which I am not fully acquainted in their detail. In strictness this denial of all reality to the 'universal' would mean that rational *science* is impossible, but this is a consequence it was reserved for Hume to

make clear. But it is true that a system like Thomism is over weighted with abstract rationality; a very stiff dose of 'brute fact' had to be infused into men's thought of nature if it was not to remain sterile, and it was the scientific disciples of Ockham to whom it fell to administer the dose.

The 'razor'. Starting from this general position, Ockham deals in a very drastic way with his constructive predecessors. His great weapon for the demolition of their constructions is a principle, taken in fact from Aristotle himself, but proverbially known as 'Ockham's razor' from the use now to be made of it, the principle that superfluous hypotheses are condemned by the fact of their superfluity. Application of this principle at once eliminates the whole doctrine of the 'active intellect', and the machinery by which it was supposed to extract the 'universal' from sense-experience, as mere mythology. If the 'universal' is only a confused and imperfect substitute for a 'collection' of particulars which we cannot bring clearly before the mind, there is no problem to be solved, and the professed solutions must be imaginary. We have only to accept the fact that where there is an object to be apprehended and consciousness to apprehend it, apprehension takes place, and to add that the act of apprehension leaves some kind of trace, or mental modification, behind it, and 'knowledge of the universal' is sufficiently accounted for.

Application to theology. Application of the same principle makes short work of the whole contents of natural theology. The 'proofs of the existence of God' have no demonstrative force, since none of them can be shown to follow from premises of any intuitive evidence. The same is true of the divine unity, infinity, and the other attributes which philosophers have professed to demonstrate. The immediate facts of consciousness afford no evidence that the soul is either substantial or immortal. All these assertions of divinity Ockham, like Hume, regards as reposing on a supra-rational faith which has nothing in common with science. In his insistence on the merely positive character of the moral law as a wholly arbitrary command of God he goes beyond Scotus. God, in fact, commands us to love Him,

but antecedently it would have been equally possible that He should have enjoined us to hate Him, and it would then have been our first duty to do so. We know from revelation that God has taken *our* nature upon Him, but it is antecedently equally conceivable that He should have taken on Him the nature of a log of wood, in which case worship of the log would have been the 'great commandment'.

Natural science. A more legitimate object of Ockham's criticism is the Aristotelian dynamics. It is he, not Bruno or Galileo, who first rejects Aristotle's distinction between 'celestial' and 'elementary' matter, that standing impediment to a rational mechanics of the planetary system, and prepares the way for the true formulation of the laws of motion by annihilating criticism of the preposterous Aristotelian account of the flight of a projectile (viz. that the projectile is propelled by the 'surrounding air').

Ockham's doctrine rapidly found a firm footing in the University of Paris, which it dominated for a century and a half in spite of repeated condemnations. It is not surprising to find his disciple Nicholas of Autrecourt carrying the principles of his master to their logical consequence by a penetrating criticism of the very notions of cause and substance which results in conclusions substantially the same as those of Hume.

The scientific Ockhamists. Buridan. Albert of Saxony. Nicholas Oresme. In a brief sketch like the present, we must be content to call attention more particularly to the complete disintegration of Aristotelian 'physics' effected by the 'scientific Ockhamists', Buridan (*c.* 1300–*c.* 1360), Nicholas Oresme (*d.* 1382), Albert of Saxony (*d.* 1390), and others. Buridan—the 'ass' of the legend connected with his name has nothing to do with him, and the sophism really belongs to the ancient Megarians—concerns himself specially with the problems of the flight of a projectile and the accelerated motion of bodies falling under gravity, and in everything but the assignment of the mathematical law of the acceleration anticipates the correct account to be finally given by Galileo. He acutely points out that if we suppose the heavenly bodies to have been given an original impetus at their creation, these principles will sufficiently account for the

continuance of their motions. Albert of Saxony attempts actually to supply the formula for gravitational acceleration, though he arrives at the mistaken result that the velocity of the falling body is directly proportional to the space already traversed. He also prepares the way for the downfall of the geocentric cosmogony, by distinguishing what had hitherto been regularly confused, the 'centre of gravity' of the earth and its centre of volume. It is, according to him, the earth's centre of gravity, not its centre of volume, which is the 'centre of the universe'. Nicholas Oresme, bishop of Lisieux, distinguished in economics as well as in physical science, is held to have anticipated at once Galileo, Copernicus, and Descartes, as well as to have been the first Frenchman to write serious scientific and philosophical treatises in the vernacular. He anticipates Descartes by his discovery that the continuous variations of an intensity of any kind may be graphically represented by the relation between the co-ordinates of a curve. Applying this thought to the problem of uniformly accelerated motion, he reached before Galileo the correct result that the velocity thus acquired in a given time is directly proportional to the time. He anticipated Copernicus in holding that the supposed 'diurnal revolution of the universe' is in fact a rotation of the earth. (The idea was not novel. Students of Aristotle were aware that some of the Pythagoreans had regarded the earth as a planet, and men like St. Thomas were equally aware that what we call the 'Copernican' doctrine had been taught in antiquity by Aristarchus. The new thing was that what had hitherto been treated as a curious speculative aberration was now being once more put forward as probably the truth.)

The Averroists. Averroism still persisted in spite of formal condemnations. Its best known representative in this century, John of Jandun, while professing, probably insincerely, to acquiesce in Christian doctrine by an unreasoning faith in the incomprehensible, regards Averroism in all its details as the perfection of reason. It is important to note that this Averroism contributed nothing to the creation of modern science; it was wholly unprogressive and amounted only to disrelish for

Christian theology. Padua, the last stronghold of Averroism, was also the seat of the longest and most obstinate resistance to the 'new sciences' of Galileo.

By the end of the fourteenth century, all the necessary conditions for a new departure in philosophy were thus already assembled. Growing disbelief in the possibility of demonstration in divinity, the collapse of the Aristotelian mechanics, increasing recognition of experiment as the foundation of all certainty in science indicated the near approach of an era in which the extension of experimental knowledge of nature would be the dominant intellectual interest. The intensification of these already existing tendencies by the stirring historical events of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries inevitably led to the great age which opens about the year 1600.[1]

[1] The writer is inevitably dependent in parts of this section on the work of specialists in medieval studies, and desires in particular to make grateful acknowledgement of his deep obligation to the various works of Prof. Étienne Gilson of the Sorbonne and the École des hautes Études. The reader who may desire a brief but masterly account of the whole movement of thought from the ninth to the fourteenth century may be referred to M. Gilson's *Philosophie au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1922, Collection Payot).

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